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* For the use of this woodcut acknowledgment is due to Mr. Noake, of Worcester, in whose "Worcester in the Olden Time" it had been previously given.

† For this, and the woodcut representing a brank found in Edinburgh, the Institute is indebted to Mr. Thomas Constable, of that city.

‡ These woodcuts are contributed by Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P.

§ Contributed through the kindness of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 80. Sir Henry Ellis observes, in his "Original Letters," vol. iii. p. 47 (1st series), that the Cottonian MS., Nero B. viii. fol. 3, preserves the Latin letter from K. Philip and Q. Mary to the Czar, in favour of mutual commercial intercourse; dated at Westminster, in April, 1557.

Page 112, line 4, before *nostro* add *sigillo*.

Page 181. The document in the Walsingham Register, Cott. MS. Nero E. vii, may be more correctly read, as follows:—

Copia semitæ inter Priorem et Stephanum Blac. Ad curiam tentam apud Walsingham, xv°. die Junii, anno regni regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum x°. coram Roberto Hethe tunc ibidem Seneschallo, Dominus concessit Johanni Priori Ecclesie de Walsingham, et ejusdem loci conventui, quandam semitam ducentem de communi via versus quendam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell, in communi villata de Walsingham parva, ut unum purprise quod non est ad nocumentum aliquorum Communarium ibidem, ut testatum est per homagium. Reddit inde domino per annum obolum in festo Sancti Michaelis. Et dat domino de fine vj. denarios.

[Notes.]

Et nota, quod ista semita jacet sub fovea aquilonari tenementi vocati Blakkes, juxta cruftam vocatam Powerscroft. Et Cabbokeswell jacet in angulo Australi foveæ de Powerscloos, videlicet juxta prædictam foveam de Blakkes.

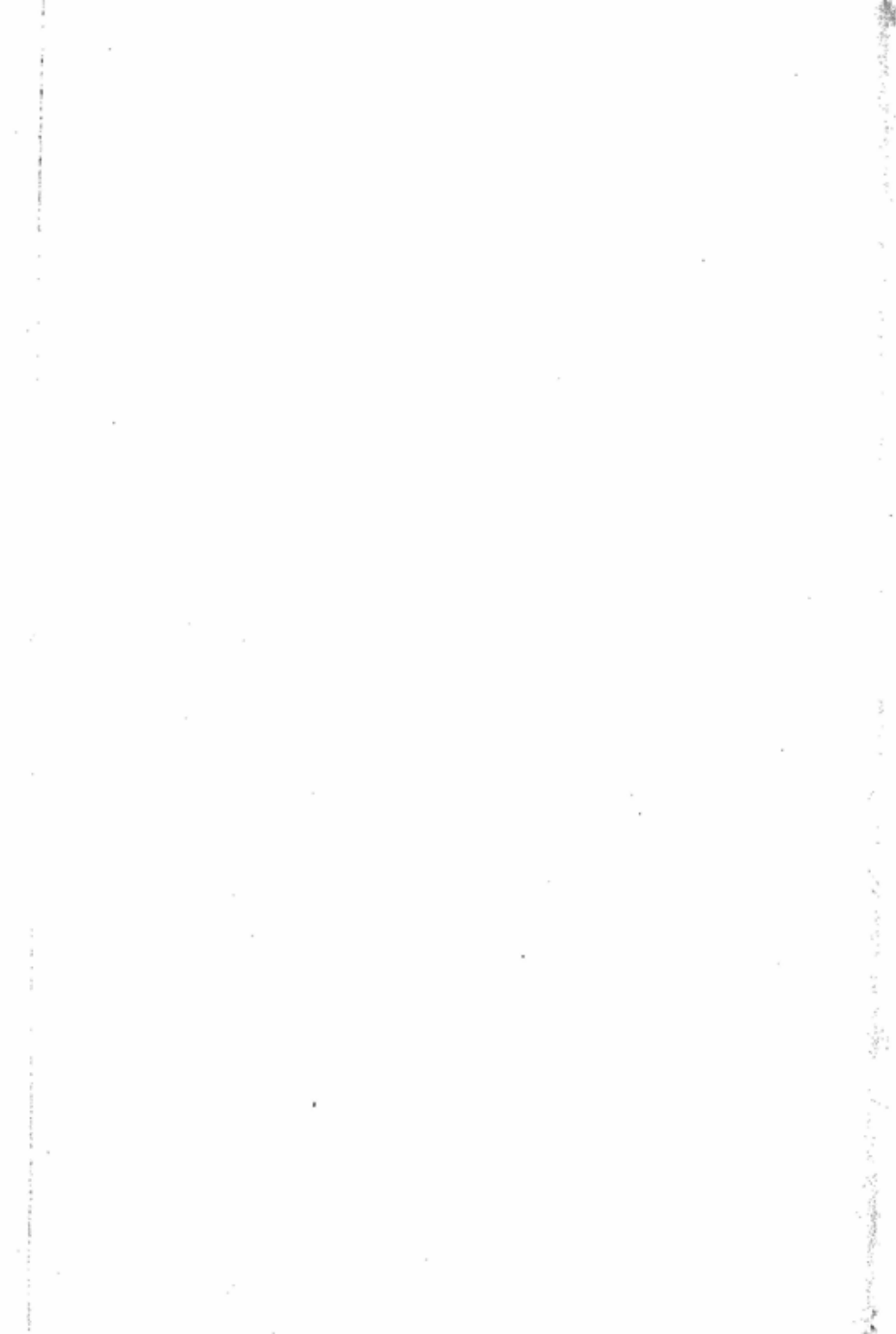
Et nota, quod Dominus Richardus Dux Eboraci postea, tempore Thomæ Hunt Prioris, confirmavit prædictum, et super hoc etiam dedit Prioratui totam parcellam terre ex parte occidentali vocatam Eleemosinariam, quæ jacet inter semitam et prædictam Eleemosinariam.

[Endorsements.]

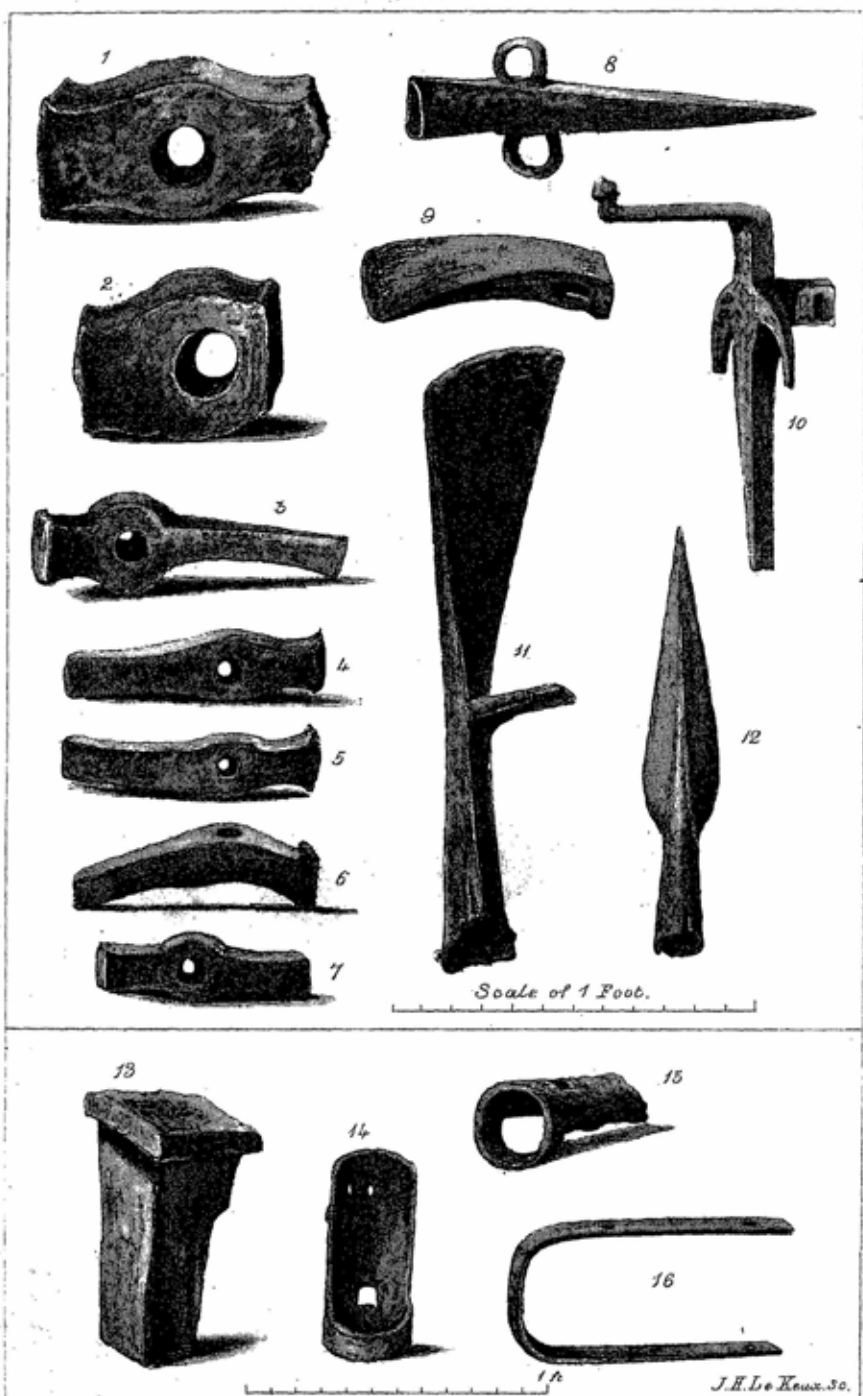
Semita subtus Blackes. Item pars terre vacuæ inter semitam, et vetus Eleemosynarium Prioratus.

Ista Billa facit mentionem de quadam semita ad finem aquilonarem hujus villæ, subtus tenementum quondam Nicholai Blac, postea Jacobi Cawnoel [or Cawnel?]

Page 295, line 10, an impression from the seal here noticed having since been obtained, the name appears to be Fulbert.







ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF IRON, FOUND AT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1856.

DESCRIPTION OF A REMARKABLE DEPOSIT OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF IRON, DISCOVERED AT GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX, IN 1854.

BY THE HON. RICHARD CORNWALLIS NEVILLE, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE discovery of a shaft or cavity filled with Roman implements and objects of iron, in most perfect preservation, has been noticed in a former volume of this Journal.¹ A detailed description was then given of the numerous deep pits at Chesterford, filled with black mould, and containing Roman reliques and débris in great variety. The nature of the receptacle which I now propose to describe would have entitled it to a place in that communication, had it been possible to do justice at that time to a discovery, which, from its importance and singular character, seemed worthy of a separate memoir.

In order to introduce the subject properly, it is necessary to describe some of the contents of the ground in close proximity to the pit which contained the iron, without reference to the numerous other shafts in the same locality. On the 3rd of January, 1854, a sort of square grave was opened by my labourers in the Rectory grounds at Great Chesterford; this contained four skeletons, three of them lying intermingled, the fourth at some little distance. Six armlets of bronze, plain and ornamented, of Roman type, a slight bronze finger ring, the neck and shoulders of an elegant two-handled glass bottle, an iron *falx*, a buckle, a ladle, and a dark coloured vase, broken, were found with the three first; with the fourth skeleton, was found a bronze ring upon the bone supposed to be that of the middle finger, and, besides a bronze bracelet, two iron knives, and a

¹ Archaeological Journal, vol. xii. p. 117.

broken bronze box, resembling one found at Little Wilbraham (Grave, No. 141, "Saxon Obsequies," plate 15), a spoon of bronze with an oval bowl, and a pointed end to the handle, a circular metal plate, an iron spear, in remarkably perfect condition (See plate 1, fig. 12), a perfect urn of gray ware, with bosses on the sides and shoulders, and a small coin of Arcadius were also taken from this large grave. A space of between three and four yards intervened between it and the pit under consideration; the soil continued deep and black, and from it were taken an iron key with a lute-shaped top of bronze to the handle, half an armlet like those before mentioned, and a perfect circular bronze box with its lid attached to the side by a small chain as before. The two last objects were found immediately above a layer of chalk, which proved to be nearly two inches thick, and spread carefully over the mouth of a deep pit. On penetrating the chalk, the point of the pick came in contact with some of the iron objects with which the cavity was filled; the shaft was six feet deep, sunk like the neighbouring pits below the black soil, through the natural gravel of the locality. No difficulty was experienced in emptying it, and the following articles, ninety-six in number, were taken out:—one anvil, one bed of an anvil, five small anvil pegs, two axle or pole guards, one axe, five bars of iron, three flat bands, one beetle ring, two chains, five coulter of ploughs, ten fellow bands, seven hammers, four hoops, four holdfasts, seven hinges, three keys, four locks, one pivot of a millstone, one pail handle, two pail hoops, one pair of shears, eight shackles, one saw, twelve scythes, one square girder, one turf cutter, two wall pegs, one small wheel. These were laid one upon the other, in no particular order, the two large locks were among the first taken out, and the scythes lay at the bottom. The list conveys but an imperfect idea of the interest and variety of the objects, to say nothing of their marvellous state of preservation. The accompanying representations, prepared from faithful drawings of the principal objects, executed by Mr. Youngman, of Saffron Walden, may enable me to attempt a description, which, without their aid, I should have despaired of accomplishing.

The ANVIL is 10 inches high, inclusive of the top; the stem is 3 inches square at the base, and continues of the same size for 6 inches in height, it had been set thus far into a

wooden block ; it then increases to 5 inches, and the marks of its setting are evident by the friction on its sides and shoulders ; the top is flat, 2 inches thick, 7 long by 5 broad, projecting on two sides an inch beyond the stem which it is even with in breadth. Four inches of it would thus be raised above the wooden stand ; but this mode of setting appears to have been unusual among the ancients, since their anvils are spoken of as *upon* rather than *in* the blocks, and there are representations of them with forked ends or feet to stand upon. One corner of the top is broken off, which prevents my asserting, positively, that there was no projecting peg or point, as was usually the case for forging the links of chains or hollow objects. The occurrence of five anvil-pegs among the rest of the find, which appear designed for this purpose, renders it improbable ; besides, such a projection would be at the centre rather than at the corner of the top. (See plate 1, fig. 13.)

ANVIL BED.—This was a large lump of iron, 3 or 4 inches thick, of irregular shape, with a flat surface, and it was at once recognised by the labourers and others, as designed to be placed beneath the anvil block. Not being removed at first, on account of its weight, with the rest of the iron, it was laid aside, and probably appropriated by some Vulcan of the vicinity, since it was afterwards missing.

ANVILS.—Five small anvils or anvil-pegs ; these appear to have been used for forging the links of chains, &c. ; they are of different sizes and form, like a large peg with pointed end and broad, flat, circular top. Three of them measure 9, two 11 inches in length ; all have loops, one on each side, projecting from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches horizontally ; these are 5 inches from the points of the three first, and 7 from those of the other two, and would prevent them from penetrating too far into the block when hammered upon. Their tops would then be elevated 4 inches above the surface of the wood, and correspond with that of the larger anvil. The tops measure from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and have all been much battered. (See plate 1, fig. 8.) A small anvil, of similar form, without the loops, was found some years since by my labourers, in the Boro' field, and then considered a "gate anvil" in modern phraseology.

AXE.—This is nearly a fac-simile, in shape and size, of one found in grave 83, in the Wilbraham cemetery, and im-

properly termed an adze in the "Saxon Obsequies," (plate 39). It is slightly curved, and resembles, also, others taken from Frank graves at Selzen as well as in Normandy. See Lindenschmidt's "Todtenlager," and the Abbé Cochet's "Normandie Souterraine." The blade is 6 inches long, $2\frac{3}{4}$ across near the edge, and 1 at the haft end, which has an oblong hole to receive the wooden handle. (See plate 1, fig. 9.)

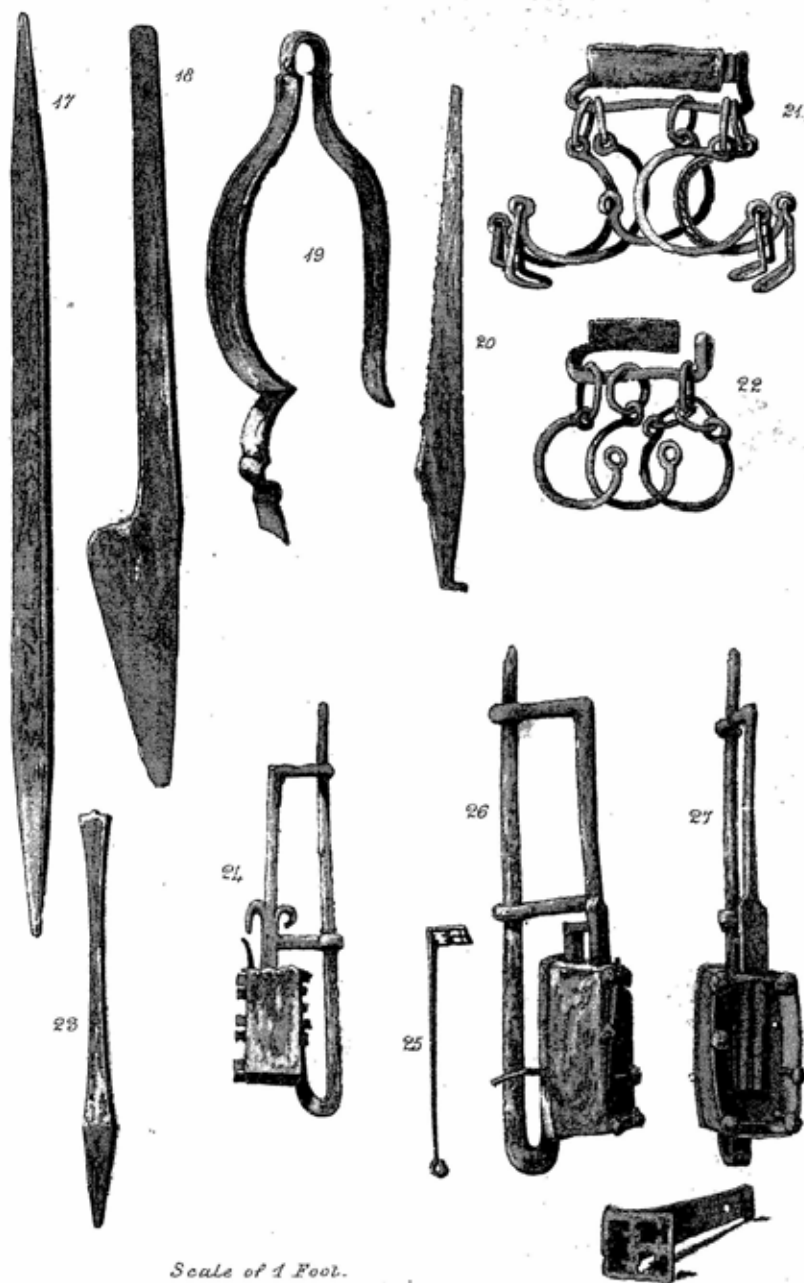
AXLE GUARDS.—There are a pair of these precisely alike: a smith who has seen them informs me he makes the same now for strengthening axles. They consist of a ring $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, to go round the wood, with a sheath 7 inches long, extending from the upper side curved to fit it. There is a large nail hole through the end of this next the ring. (See plate 1, figs. 14, 15.)

BARs OF IRON.—There are five of these, square sided, and pointed at both ends: they vary in length; two of them are 3 feet, and three from 2 to 2 feet 6 inches, but the sides of all are the same, 1 inch by $1\frac{1}{4}$ across. These bars are in wonderful preservation, and ring clear on being struck against each other. (See plate 2, fig. 17.)

BANDS OF IRON.—Three in number, and all flat; one measures $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, 21 inches long, 2 across at the broad end, and tapers to a point at the other. A long nail for fastening it to some object remains through it near the broad end. The other two are $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, 21 and 22 long, and 1 across their whole length. They have likewise been fastened to something, and each of them has nail holes 6 and 7 inches apart. Another iron band affixed as blacksmiths suppose, to some wheeled vehicle, is figured, plate 2, fig. 19.

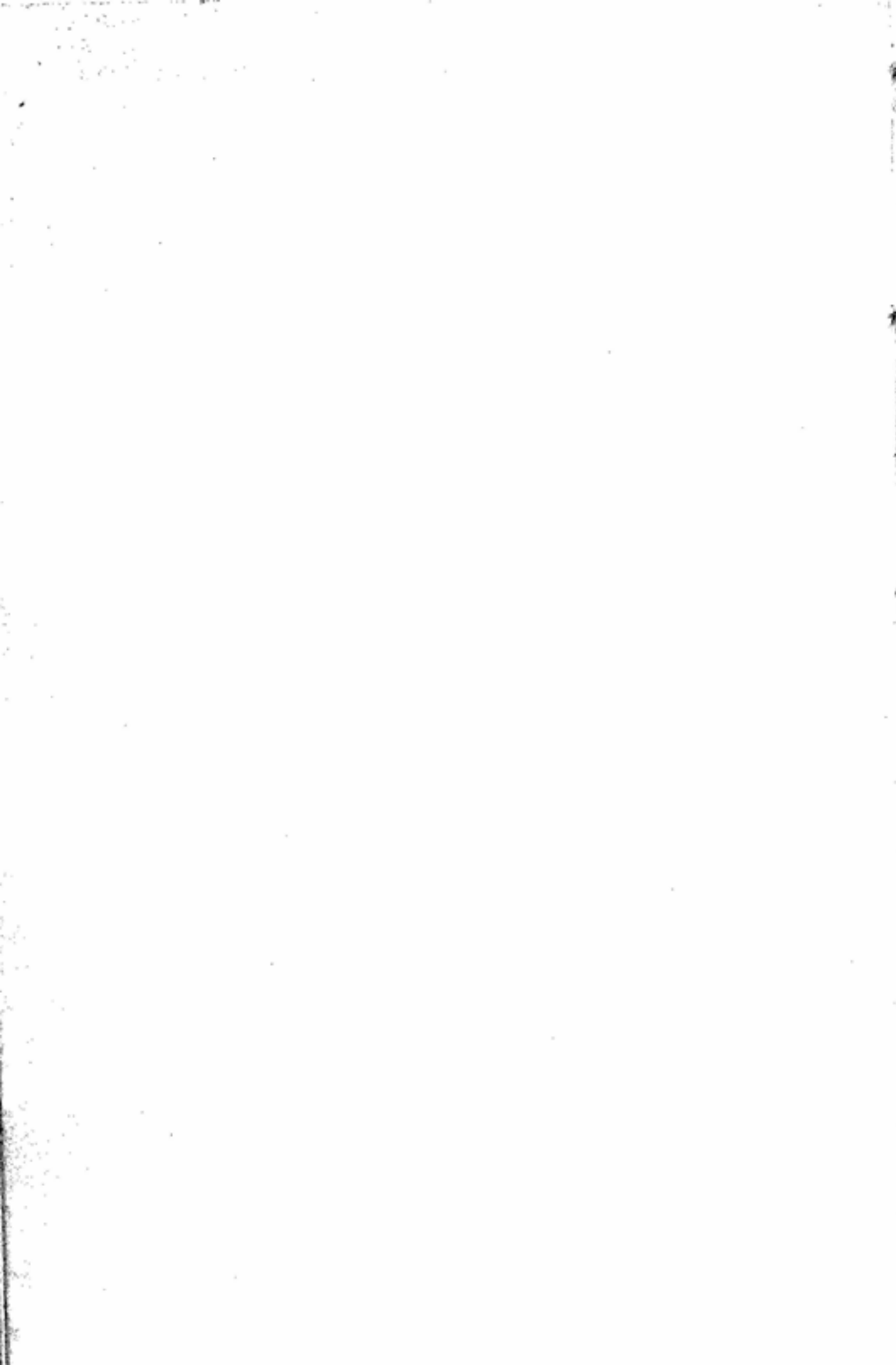
BEETLE RING.—A circular band, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ diameter, without any nail holes.

CHAIN WITH HOOKS.—The entire length is 7 feet 7 inches. At the top is a ring, a flat hoop $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick, 1 inch wide, and 5 inches in diameter inside. In the lower part of this is inserted a large ornamented swivel, 6 inches in circumference, 2 in length, to which are attached, by their hooked ends, five cords of iron, 15 inches long, skilfully wrought to imitate rope; these are festooned and brought together at their lower ends, which are also hooked; from two of them depends a single chain of twelve double links, each 3 inches long by 2 across; to the twelfth link a flat



25 Enlarged

J.H. Le Keux. Sc.



knot twisted like cord, 7 inches long, is attached ; from this knot hang two chains of five double links of the same size, each of which has a large hook, 10 inches long, hanging to the end. These hooks terminate in a round knob instead of a point, their backs are 1 inch broad, and ornamented with a plain corded pattern. (See plate 3, fig. 32.)

The simple term chain is quite inadequate to convey a correct idea of this unique object, to the elaborate workmanship of which, my description, even with the powerful aid of Mr. Youngman's pencil, can scarcely do justice ; nor is it easy to explain its purpose, for it must have been intended for use as well as ornament, though quite as much care seems to have been bestowed on the latter as the former, in the construction. Although they afford no clue to its use, my excavations enable me to offer two examples which indicate the people who used it. In 1848, the end of a chain consisting of three double links of similar shape and size, with a hook of similar form, 9 inches long, attached, was found in the Roman building, near Ickleton, and in October, 1854, among the Roman remains at Bartlow, my labourers met with another chain ; two feet of this remain ; it is constructed with a flat ring top, 5 inches in diameter, which has also a swivel inserted in it ; from this, instead of a festoon, two plain ropes of iron, 9 inches long, depend, and are bound together in two places, by a flat band : to the ends of these are attached four double links of the same pattern, but rather under 3 inches in length. It is singularly fortunate that both these discoveries on Roman sites confirm the shape and size of the double links of the large chain under consideration, while each individually identifies a peculiar feature in its construction ; viz. the flat ring and swivel at the top, and the round-ended hook dependent from the bottom.

A SECOND CHAIN.—This measures more than 14 feet in length, and is of a different construction from the first. The links are thirty-seven in number, long and flat, they are composed of two bars of iron, welded together in the centre, but looping at each end. Eleven of them measure more than 4 inches long, seventeen more than 5, six are 6, two 7, and one 8 ; all are 1 inch across their centre, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in girth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across their loops. A hook, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a blunt end, is fastened to the last link at one end ;

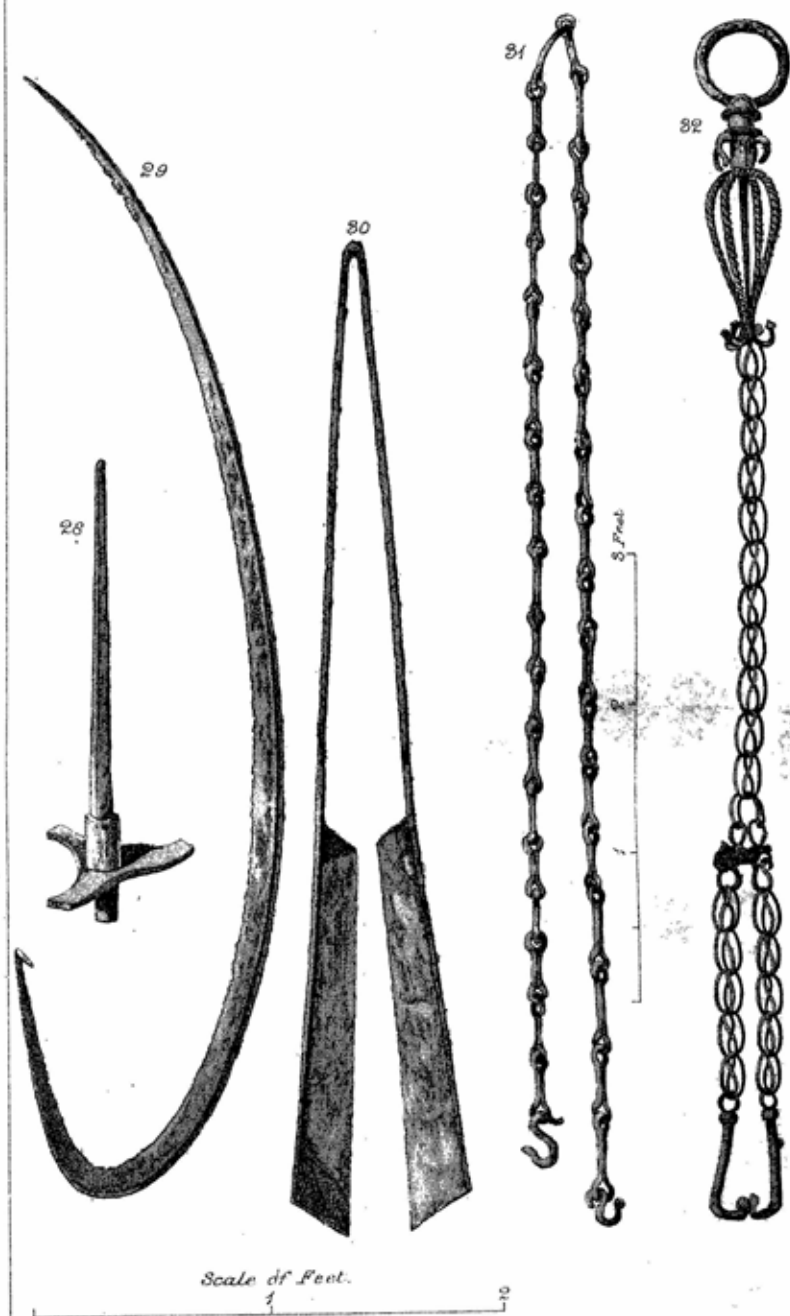
in the last link at the other extremity, when found, there was, what is known in modern harness as a S hook, 4 inches long, which can shifted at pleasure. Blacksmiths, and other experienced persons, are of opinion that this chain was intended for some purposes of draught, but whether for carts, chariots, or ploughs, it is impossible to say, since its strength would adapt it for all these. (See plate 3, fig. 31.) A somewhat similar chain was found in the fens in Cambridgeshire, and is now in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in the University.

COULTERS.—These ponderous implements are five in number, and the carriage of the plough to which they belonged, must have been a strong one, since the weight of the lightest is 14, that of the heaviest 16 lbs. Unlike those now in use, they are made with a stem, and measure from 2 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 11 in. long, inclusive of their blades; the length of the blades varies from 8 to 11 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 inches at their tops; their points $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch across, and all appear to have been much used. The stems of two are octagonal, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, the other three are 2 inches, and square. (See plate 2, fig. 18.)

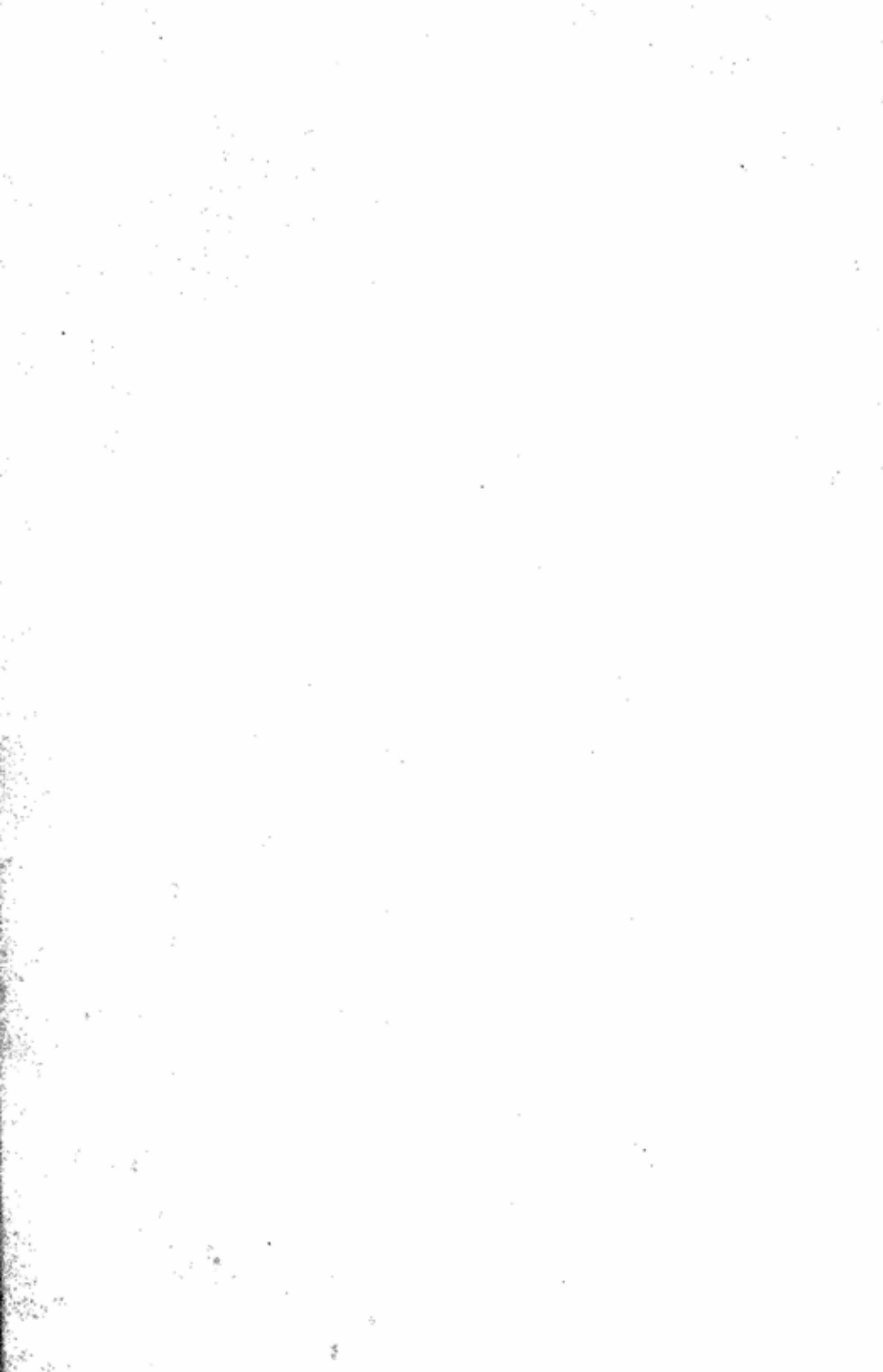
FELLOE BANDS.—There are ten of these, five large and five smaller, which correspond as the outside and inside of as many wheels; they are very strongly made, and have projecting rims over the outer edges as the modern ones. The diameter of the large ones is 8 inches, that of the smaller $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; breadth of the bands $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches: their rims are $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch across.

HAMMERS.—There are seven of these of different weights and shapes. All of them are flat, and all more or less curved, excepting one large and one small one, which are quite straight. The two largest answer to our sledge-hammers, weigh 8 lbs. and $5\frac{1}{2}$, measuring 7 and 8 inches in length: the last is a straight one: the weight of the largest of the other five is $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb., that of the smallest $\frac{3}{4}$ of a lb. Two of them are 7 inches long, the remaining three 6 inches. The diameter of the heads is 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the large ones, 1 inch in two, and $\frac{3}{4}$ in three of the small ones. The diameter of the perforation for the handle varies from $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch to $\frac{3}{4}$. They have been much used. (See plate 1. fig. 1 to 7.)

HINGES.—There are seven of these, but only one is perfect.



J. H. Le Gros.



It is made with two flat band sides, one 18 inches the other 6 inches long, and is very much like those now used on barn doors. Both sides have ornamental ends, are 2 inches at widest and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. The side of one of the broken ones is 20 inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and all of them seem to have varied in size. The rivets from side to side and long nails for fastening remain in several of them.

HOLDFASTS.—These exactly resemble the objects now used for the same purpose; they are made with strong flat sides, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, in form like a staple, to be affixed outside a beam or other object. There are four of different sizes, varying from 13 to 18 inches in length of their sides; the top which connects these is from 4 to 5 inches. In each of the sides, are two nail holes to fasten them on. The blacksmiths are of opinion that they belong to something like the shafts of a cart. (See plate 1, fig. 16.)

HOOPS.—Four large hoops of iron 3 feet 7 inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ across their bands, which are $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick. These appear to be intended for tires to large wheels, though the absence of nail holes through the bands, which are much worn on the inside, seems to contradict that supposition. They are much heavier and stouter than those used for casks, which is the only other purpose that suggests itself for them.

KEY.—A reference to the accompanying engraving (plate 2, fig. 25), will show this to be of very different form from what is usually known by that name. The shank is slight, flat, 1 inch broad, 10 inches long, and has a loop at the top. The wards are contained in a sort of frame $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches square, which projects at right angles with the end of the shank, and is pierced very much as the modern latch-keys, to fit the springs of the large locks found with it. To these it apparently belongs, and the manner in which it was used will be best understood by a comparison with the following description of them.

LOCKS OR PADLOCKS.—Two large padlocks were among the first objects taken out of the hole, and the plate of one being broken off affords a view of the construction of the interior, which is as follows:—A square shaped box or case, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad and 3 deep: into which the springs, eight in number, fixed on four square bars, are introduced perpendicularly through a small aperture

in one of the ends of the lock ; these bars are attached to a rod 8 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in girth, corresponding with the hasp of a padlock ; this rod is connected at its top, and again two inches above its junction with the springs, by means of a horizontal bar with a ring at the end, with another rod of $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which descends perpendicularly at 1 inch distance from the outside of the box to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches below it, then returns upward, forming a loop and is fastened to the lower edge. This rod serves for the other to work up and down on, by means of the horizontal bars with rings, which much must be taken off over its top in order to clear the springs of their case when they are released by the key. The loop at the bottom serves to hold anything locked upon it, which is clearly exemplified by one of the smaller locks upon which are several shackles secured in this manner. There is a narrow slit in the lower end of the spring box, close to the junction with the longest or guiding rod, through which the key, above described, is inserted ; in order to do this, it is necessary to turn the frame with the wards edgeways, and when they are introduced, there is sufficient space between the ends of the bars with the springs and the bottom of the case to allow of their being returned horizontally. It is then only necessary to push the key upwards to compress the springs by the passage of the wards along the bars containing them, sufficiently to allow them to pass through the small aperture at the top of the box. The construction of these locks is very strong, and the boxes are further secured by six rivets, with massive heads, passing through them from side to side. They are both, as nearly as possible, alike in shape and size, the only difference being, that the head above the springs is plain and single in one, while in the other, it has a double end to go into the box, with two recurved projections above. (See plate 2, figs. 24-27.)

KEYS.—Two of the same shape but much smaller than the first, belonging to the small locks next to be described. Length of their shanks, 6 inches ; breadth, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch ; the wards are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch square, and by their form, indicate the locks to which they belong to have had only two bars with four springs. The shanks have loops at the top ; in general form these keys much resemble what are usually described as “lamp-holders,” amongst objects found on Roman sites,

and I have often confounded them at Chesterford with objects of that nature.

LOCKS.—Two small locks on precisely the same principles, but slightly differing in construction from those described above. There is only one horizontal bar, which is fastened to the top of the outside longest rod, and has a hole at the opposite end; through this hole, the short rod with the springs is drawn out perpendicularly and detached when the lock is opened; when it is shut down, the two rods have the appearance of being firmly united by the horizontal bar. These two locks are exactly alike, but one of them has lost the short rod and springs; the other has them shut down, and on the loop at the end of the long rod, are locked five shackles or fetters. (Plate 2, fig. 21.) A lock of similar construction, but rather larger, was found in 1849, in the Boro' field among Roman remains by my labourers. It is now in my collection, with a mediæval one on the same principle, but of more finished workmanship, presented to me by Augustus Franks, Esq., of the British Museum.

SHACKLES.—There are eight of these; five of them are locked upon the small entire padlock, the other three were lying with the broken one. Seven of them are plain round bars, with a ring or eye at each end; in each of these is a link 2 inches in diameter to fasten them on the loop of the padlock. The eighth is of like form, with two links, but made of a flat band, 1 inch across, slightly raised at the edges and ornamented along the centre with a cord beautifully wrought to imitate the strands. This is one of those attached to the first padlock; another of the same form and ornament was found by my labourers in August, 1854, in the Boro' field, with Roman remains. (See plate 2, figs. 21, 22.) Several shackles may be found in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; and two found with Roman remains in Bedfordshire are in the British Museum.

PIVOT FOR A MILLSTONE.—This is a bar 21 inches long. There are three horizontal flat spokes, 4 inches long by 2 broad, which project near the base of the iron bar, at right angles with it, serving to rest the stone upon. The top of the bar tapers to a point. (See plate 3, fig. 28.) Millers and blacksmiths at once declared they had no doubt of the purpose for which this object was intended, and I find, on comparing it with some Roman querns in my collection,

that there is every reason to regard the supposition as probable.

PAIL HOOPS.—Two, round on the outside, flattened on the inside, for close contact with the wood. They are 11 and 9 inches in diameter, but there must have been a third still smaller, if the handle found with them belonged to the same pail, since it is only 7 inches from end to end. The missing hoop would then have been of that diameter, and the pail broader at its bottom than top. In an account of a remarkable pit discovered, near Preston in Dorsetshire, which seems to have been of the same nature with those at Chesham, a handle of a pail is mentioned among the contents. This discovery is described by Mr. Waines, by whom the examination was made (*Gent. Mag.* vol. xxi., N. S., p. 185).

PAIL HANDLE.—This is like modern objects of the same kind, and suited to a small-topped bucket, being only 7 inches between the hooks to fit the ears.

SAW.—This is only a fragment; the portion found measures 14 inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ across, through its whole length; it is part of a cross-cut saw, which has had a large handle; a long nail for fastening it on remains through the end of the blade. The teeth commence at 2 inches from it, are triangular, and not very large, there being forty-two of them in 12 inches. Two other saws were found in the Rectory grounds in the vicinity of the iron pit; both these have very small teeth, and one of them is very narrow, long, and tapers to an acute point. (See plate 2, fig. 20.)

SHEARS.—One enormous pair, with broad blades. Their total length, inclusive of these, is 4 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the handles are plain round bars, 2 inches in circumference, the blades are $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 4 broad at their ends, and 3 at the tops. They have a round rim at their backs, probably for the hands to rest on, or to give strength to the blade, but it is difficult to imagine how they could have been used in cutting, on account of the great length of their handles. (See plate 3, fig. 30.)

SCYTHES.—There are twelve of these extraordinary implements. Five of them are a little broken, but seven are perfect. The blades are 2 inches wide in the broadest part. They have a ridge along their backs, on the upper surface, a means of giving strength to the blade, still adopted in the construction of modern scythes. The blades are regularly

curved, measuring across the span (from the point to the extremity of the cutting edge), about 5 feet 4 inches ; and they are formed, as shown by the accompanying representation, with a recurved piece of about 17 inches in length, gradually decreasing in breadth towards its termination, and there is a little point or tang, turned up at right angles, where the blade was affixed to the handle. Their great length would render these scythes inconvenient, even if they were made to be fixed on the sneed in the modern fashion ; but the recurved portion at the end of the blade, makes it difficult to understand how the handles could be attached so as render them available for mowing in the ordinary method. Great excitement was caused by the appearance of these singular objects among those who came to see the contents of the pit, and the prevailing impression was, that they, at least, belonged to the celebrated war-chariots of old, an idea which at first was encouraged by the felloe bands, wheel tire, and axle-guards, also found with them. So unusual is their shape, and so incredible did it appear that they could have been employed in simple harvest-work. (See plate 3, fig. 29.) Compare a broken scythe, in some respects similar, found with Roman remains in the station at Neuwied on the Rhine, and figured amongst numerous Roman implements and mechanical tools, in the "*Römische Alterthümer in Neuwied*," by Dr. W. Dorow, Berlin, 1827.

TURF CUTTER.—This is 14 inches in length, has a triangular blade, 7 long by 4 wide at the bottom, or broadest part, and 1 across the neck which terminates in a long hollow socket for a wooden handle. There is a foot iron, 2 inches long, which projects from the flat side of the blade at right angles with the bottom of the socket. From the position of this foot-rest, the blade could not have been used for paring turf, but must have been intended for cutting borders. (See plate 1, fig. 11.)

WHEEL.—This is a fragment, and small, 6 inches in diameter, with tire 2 wide, from the outer surface of which the broken extremities of three flat spokes project, and present the appearance of cogs.

WALL PEGS (?)—These are objects of very uncertain use, the form of which has been correctly shown by Mr. Youngman. (See plate 1, fig. 10.)

These complete the list of this interesting assemblage of

ancient iron implements. I have confined myself to an accurate description of each object, without enlarging on their several uses, (which are, in the majority, self-evident, from their shape and construction,) in hopes that the account aided by the engravings which accompany it, may elicit some opinion regarding those objects which are obscure. With the objects found in the shaft, one, probably of mechanical use, found with a skeleton in an adjacent grave, is here figured, as a relique analogous in character. (See plate 2, fig. 23.) It is remarkable that in so large and varied a collection, in immediate proximity to a locality which we are accustomed to regard as a military position, no object of a warlike character should have been found. In the adjacent place of interment it will be remembered, as above described, that a spear-head of iron was discovered amongst personal ornaments and other Roman reliques. In the shaft, however, the objects so carefully protected consisted exclusively of implements used in agriculture, or for mechanical and domestic purposes, a fact which suggests the notion that this singular deposit was stored away in times comparatively of tranquil occupation, when the colonists of *Icianum* were free to prosecute the Arts of Peace, and devote themselves to the culture of the surrounding district. The discovery must be regarded as one of especial interest, since we possess few well characterised examples of such mechanical and rural appliances at the period to which these doubtless belong. Iron implements, moreover, are mostly found so decayed with rust, that their forms are very imperfectly defined. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle has supplied, in his "*Arts et Métiers des Anciens*," examples of the mechanical tools and implements of daily use amongst the Romans; and many other objects, highly curious as compared with those above described, have been figured by Dr. W. Dorow, in his "*Römische Alterthümer in Neuwied*," already cited, and are preserved in the curious museum at Neuwied on the Rhine. The greater part, however, of the reliques found at Chesterford are as peculiar in form as they are remarkable in their preservation, and the discovery may well claim the careful consideration of the archaeologist.

There are two features of this curious deposit which require notice before taking leave of the subject. These are its object and date. With regard to the first, it is evident

there must have been some special reason for burying so large a quantity of valuable metal ; nor can there be much doubt that it was done for the purpose of concealment. The layer of chalk spread so carefully over the mouth of the pit, to preserve its contents from moisture and decay, is strong evidence of the intention of using them at a future period. Very few of the articles, however, are new ; many, on the contrary, have been much worn, as the hammers and plough coulter ; the hinges and holdfasts had been attached to doors and beams, as appears by the wood still adhering to them ; but old iron has, in all ages, been of sufficient value to be preserved for some secondary uses. Assuming that concealment was the object therefore for the deposit, it is a subject for conjecture whether these things were buried on some emergency of war, or as a store by some smith, who never returned to take possession of his concealed hoard. The question must, however, occur, whether the deposit is to be considered as entirely independent of the graves so closely adjacent, and the numerous deep pits in the vicinity : it must be remembered that these latter have sometimes been regarded as depositories for grain and other stores. The graves, at all events, may furnish some clue to the date, by the small bronze box and armlets found in them, which correspond with similar objects of each description taken from the soil over the pit, as well as others from the Anglo-Saxon tombs at Wilbraham. At the last place, too, an axe was exhumed, precisely like the one described above. The chains from the Roman sites of Ickleton and Bartlow, the keys and small lock of the same construction, the ornamented fetter, and small anvil, all from the Boro' field, Chesterford, among Roman remains, must not be lost sight of, since all are of peculiar character. All these combine in testimony as to the Roman origin of the deposit ; but the presence of several objects which may also be traced to a later people, induces me to fix its date at the Transition period, about the departure of the Romans and the first coming of the Saxons, in whose cemeteries so many of the coins and implements used by their predecessors are found. This is further confirmed by the numerous coins of Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and the lowest Empire, found in the surrounding soil.

EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES AT CALYMNOS.

MADE, IN NOVEMBER, 1854, BY DIRECTION OF LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE,
H. B. M. AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY CHARLES T. NEWTON, ESQ., M.A., BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT MYTILENE.¹

THE little island of Calymnos,² lying off the coast of Caria, immediately north of Cos, is almost unnoticed by ancient writers, and but little known to modern travellers. It may be, therefore, worth while to explain why I selected so obscure and barren a spot as the field of archaeological operations. Two years ago, in the summer of 1853, I visited the Sporades with no other guide or companion than that most useful and able work, "The Travels in the Archipelago," of Dr. Ludwig Ross.

In the fourth volume of this book, p. 9, Dr. Ross gives an account of a most remarkable discovery of gold ornaments in a Greek tomb at Calymnos, which took place about twelve years ago. These ornaments, which are now probably dispersed through Europe in various collections, are said to have been of the most exquisite workmanship, rivaling the work of the Etruscan artists. I was also aware that great numbers of terra-cotta figures had been found in tombs at Calymnos. A large collection of these was brought to London about six or seven years ago, and some of the best were purchased, if I remember right, by the British Museum.

My first object in landing at Calymnos, was to visit the localities where these objects had been found. My observations and the information which I received on the spot, enabled me to trace out very distinctly two ancient Greek cemeteries extending over a considerable tract of land.

As in these two districts certain features may be recognised which are characteristic generally of Hellenic burial-places, I will give a brief description of them. The land where

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Shrewsbury Meeting, Aug., 1855.

² In antiquity, the name is always written Calymna; in this memoir I have followed the modern Greek form.

the gold ornaments, described by Ross, were found, takes its name from a small church dedicated to the Prophet Elia; but, as it is contiguous to another tract which evidently formed part of the same cemetery, and which is still called *ὁ δάμος*, I shall, for convenience, consider this ancient Hellenic name as applicable to the whole district. For the position of the cemetery of Damos, I must refer to Dr. Ross's map, which is based on our Admiralty Survey. It will be perceived, on examining this map, that Damos is situated between the modern harbour of Calymnos, now called Pothia, on the Eastern, and Linaria on the Western coast of the island, and that behind it is a range of mountains crossing the island in a direction North-West by South-East. Between these mountains and the western coast is a small and fertile valley, formed by alluvial deposit. The cemetery of Damos lies on the sloping irregular ground intervening between the mountains and the valley; and here I would call attention to the fact observed by Dr. Ross, that the Hellenic cemeteries in the Archipelago are usually situated on the declivities between the mountain and the plain,—the debateable ground, so to speak, between cultivation and barren nature.

There were reasons for the preference for such sites. Lower down, the land becomes more valuable, and would be more reluctantly given up by the cultivator; higher up, the sides of the mountains, difficult of access, and constantly denuded of soil by the torrents, are for many reasons unsuitable for the purposes of a burial-ground.

This general observation may enable the future traveller to discover many sites of ancient cemeteries as yet unnoticed, by examining the lower slopes of hills in the neighbourhood of ancient cities, and looking out for fragments of Hellenic pottery, always apparent on the surface of the soil where there are tombs. The portion of the district of Damos, which most attracted my attention, is a strip of rocky land which evidently formed an ancient stone-quarry. Here the surface of the rock is cut into steps and grooves. In one place is a monolithic base, containing a square chamber, 9 ft. 7 in. by 7 ft. 8 in., entered by a doorway, all cut out of the solid rock. Above the doorway, the rock is cut into steps. This was evidently a rock tomb, in which the type of the Mausoleum on the opposite

coast of Caria was rudely imitated. Near it is another tomb consisting of an underground chamber or vault, cut out of the rock and roofed over by two immense blocks, one of which has been removed. The chamber is 8 ft. long by 4 ft. 7 in. wide. One of the blocks which cover it measures 7 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. wide, and is 2 ft. 5 in. thick. Adjoining this stone quarry in the north, is a field where a number of graves have been opened. They lie in clusters and have been cut out of the solid rock. This field is bounded on the north by a ravine, beyond which the land bears the singular name of *Δραπέτης*.

From the stone quarry the district of Damos extends downwards towards Linaria, forming a sort of *lingula* of rock jutting out into the plain in a direction North-West by South-East: on each side is a ravine.

On this isolated tongue of land, are foundations of houses and two Hellenic cisterns, cut out of the solid rock, with steps in the sides, giving access to the water at the bottom. The ground is strewn with the fragments of pottery and painted stucco. It is evident that here stood a town or village. The neck of this little peninsula is separated from the cemetery and the quarry by an Hellenic wall, the foundations of which yet remain. The other cemetery at Calymnos lies between the modern town and the harbour Pothia, nearly opposite the mediæval castle called Pera Castro, and at the foot of the range of hills which has been already described as crossing the island in a direction from North-West to South-East. The general character of the ground in this cemetery is analogous to that of Damos. Where the rock rises above the surface, it has been quarried away for building purposes. Here, a year or two before my final visit, great quantities of gold ornaments were discovered in tombs, which lay in one line in several contiguous fields. It was observed, that the proprietor of part of this Californian territory made frequent unexplained voyages to Smyrna, and after a time suddenly emerged from extreme poverty to comparative competence. In due course, the mystery of his wealth became known. He had found tombs in his field containing gold ornaments; he kept his own counsel, and taking advantage of the season when nearly all the male population of Calymnos periodically quit the island for the sponge fishery, he explored not only his

own, but his neighbours' fields, to which he appears to have been *ninium vicinus*. I was assured that a great variety of earrings and other gold ornaments were found in these fields; the greater part were, I believe, sold at Smyrna and are now dispersed. I purchased one specimen at Calymnos. It was an earring, fashioned in the form of one of the Basilicata vases of the late epoch. Traces of a vitreous paste were observable in the interstices of the ornaments. M. le Comte De la Borde was, I believe, the first to point out the fact, that the gold ornaments of the Greeks were originally filled with vitreous pastes. Such is the case with several magnificent necklaces found at Melos, two of which have been published by M. De la Borde, the third is in the possession of Mr. John Maltass, of Smyrna. The tombs in this cemetery were differently constructed according to the nature of the soil. Some were cut out of the rock, others built of squared freestone blocks, forming stone vaults in a soil of deep sand. In one instance, a coffin made of thick clay was found, it was moulded into a form like a slipper-bath. Perhaps these were the kind of coffins called by the ancients *πέλοι*.

Many members of the Archaeological Institute will recollect the "red grave" made of clay, discovered at Aldborough, and examined on the occasion of the York Meeting.³

Just at the time of my visit to Calymnos, some interesting inscriptions had been discovered in excavations on the site of the ancient temple of Apollo, where the church of Christos now stands. They contained records of the Manumission of slaves in the time of the Roman empire. An examination of the spot led me to the conclusion, that further excavation here would be worth undertaking.

Various other sites which had yielded antiquities were pointed out to me in the island, and it appeared to me that Calymnos, in proportion to its geographical extent, presented a greater number of promising spots for excavation, than any island I had yet visited.

I took an early opportunity of submitting my views on this subject to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford De Redcliffe. In mentioning that name so long associated with our most important archaeological

³ Figured in Mr. H. Eeroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianeae*, pl. x.

discoveries in the East, it is scarcely necessary for me to add how deeply we are indebted to Lord Stratford for those inestimable acquisitions, the Lycian, Budrum, and Assyrian antiquities, by which the British Museum has been of late years enriched.

Immediately on receiving my report on Calymnos, Lord Stratford, with that promptitude and liberality with which he has ever promoted archaeological enterprise, obtained the necessary firman from the Porte to enable me to excavate, and placed ample funds at my disposal. With these means I set to work in November, 1854.

All the ground where I wished to excavate being private property, cut up into small holdings, I met with some difficulties and delays in obtaining from the proprietors the permission to dig. To avoid endless negotiations, it was necessary for me to choose my ground rather where the contract would be most readily concluded, than where the prospects of discovery were most promising. Hence it was impossible to explore the whole locality in as methodical a manner as I could have wished.

I shall now proceed to give an account of what I found. The first grave I opened was in the field containing the ancient stone quarry and rock tombs. This grave was cut in the rocky subsoil, about 4 feet 5 inches below the present surface, and was covered with a stone lid in two pieces, on removing which appeared the bones in very fair preservation. The head was placed nearly to the east. At the feet was a vase of coarse drab-coloured ware unvarnished, and a plain lamp; upon the centre of the body a glass cup or basin, of elegant form.

On sifting the earth about the head, a small silver coin was found, which had doubtless been placed in the mouth as a *ναῦλον* or *δανάκη*, to pay Charon with. It proved to be an unedited coin of Halicarnassus, with a new magistrate's name. In the next field, to the south, I found another grave, containing similar common pottery, and a cup of very thick well-preserved glass; in the next, in the same direction, another kind of interment presented itself; this was a grave lined with large square tiles with flanged edges, and covered with a stone. Outside the tiles were two rows of deep cups placed one within the other, and lying horizontally on their sides. This grave contained many vases, all broken, two

coarse terra-cotta bas-reliefs, a silver ring, two silver fibulae, of very ordinary workmanship, a large chalcedon, polished for engraving, and a copper coin as *ναῦλον*. There were layers of shingle inside.

I found in this field a whole cluster of graves, the bearings of which evidently followed no fixed rules. Thus one was E.S.E. by W.N.W., head to E. Another N. by S., head to S. A third, N. by S., head to N. I next tried the field where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments described by Ross had taken place. This locality I shall call after the name of the proprietor, the field of Janni Sconi. Here I found a number of graves with vases of rather a more interesting character, but no gold, except one small fragment. In this field the vases were found imbedded in the earth, with two or three rough slabs placed over them; but no regular coffins. There were no remains of bones. In one grave, evidently of a female, I found a small marble *pyxis*, with traces of colour on the outside; it resembles one found by Mr. Burgon in an Athenian tomb, and now in the British Museum; in another, I found a lamp on which was painted the head of Leda with the swan.

In the soil, when sifted, were found some beads of a silver necklace, a silver fibula of very ordinary workmanship, and some small beads, which I believe to be pearls. This grave also contained a large two-handled cup, of black ware, a lamp, two vases with covers, and a *lekane* with a cover. All these objects were found about two feet below the surface. I opened seven other graves in this field, several of which were very small, and apparently intended for children. One contained a terra-cotta bas-relief, representing two female figures bidding farewell to each other. The material and execution of this bas-relief were very ordinary; it was so imbedded in the earth that I could only remove it piecemeal. Such terra-cotta works are common in Greek tombs.

The contents of the tombs which I had hitherto examined presented a great sameness, containing always the same coarse pottery. In one instance I found a cup of late black ware, ornamented with Dionysian figures in relief, in the style of the Basilicata vases. In one of the graves in the same field where I had found the tile tomb I recognised a mode of interment which I have observed elsewhere. The body which, it may be presumed, had been burnt, is placed

in a large earthen jar, such as is still used in Greek houses instead of a cistern to hold water, and is called in modern Greek, *Cupa*. With the bones are placed lamps, small vases, and other sepulchral objects; the jar is laid horizontally in the ground, and its mouth closed by a flat stone. About two years ago I took part in an excavation near Renkoi in the Troad, where great numbers of these jars were found in an Hellenic cemetery, lying very near each other, at about three feet below the surface. I have also noticed the same mode of interment in Rhodes, Mytilene, and Crete, and Mr. Finlay has met with similar sepulchral crocks on his estate in Attica. These jars are often found broken, the fractured edges having been anciently riveted with lead. I have not at hand Stackelberg's "Gräber d. Griechen," nor any other work on ancient sepulture, to refer to, and therefore am not aware whether this mode of interment in jars has been described elsewhere. I do not know whether it has been already remarked that the discovery of these sepulchral jars settles a disputed reading in Pliny, who remarks in his account of pottery, Nat. Hist., xxxv. c. 46, "Quin et defunctos sese multi fictilibus *doliis* condi maluere," where Harduin reads, *soleis*. What we call the *tub* of Diogenes was not a tub at all, but an earthen jar, *pthos*, of the kind used in sepulture, but on a larger scale.

Another of the graves in the same field contained a number of broad-headed iron nail-heads, and a bronze arrow-head. The nails may have served to rivet a wooden coffin, *λάρναξ*, since decayed.


After these trials of the ground south of the stone quarry, I returned to the rocky part of Damos, and tried a field adjoining the peninsula or tongue of land, where, as I have already noticed, an ancient town must have stood.

Across the neck of the peninsula I observed the foundations of a wall running North and South between the two ravines. This wall I laid bare throughout its whole length. It is about seven feet wide, very solidly faced with squared blocks on each side, the centre being filled up with unhewn stones. The blocks were of considerable size, the largest about 4 feet long, by 2 feet 5 inches wide. The stone appears to have been cut from the adjacent quarry. This wall may be continuously traced for about 165 feet. At the distance of about fifty-three feet from its Southern extremity it throws

out a square tower, probably intended to protect a gateway. On the East side of this wall I dug down to the ancient surface of the soil, and found it strewn with fragments of red coarse pottery, for the distance of some yards. The depths at which this stratum of pottery occurred varied from three to eight feet. This ancient surface had been covered by soil brought down by the rain, to which the wall had acted as a sort of dam. Among the *débris* I found three handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with the names of magistrates, three grotesque heads in terra-cotta, which had formed handles of vases, a bronze fish-hook, part of a terra-cotta figure, and portions of stucco from the walls of Greek houses. I take this opportunity of mentioning that it is a matter of great interest to note the localities where the handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with magistrates' names are found. Mr. Stoddart has shown, in an interesting paper published by the Royal Society of Literature, how much light may be thrown on the history of ancient commerce in the Mediterranean by the collection of these handles.

Having now established the position of the city wall, I naturally looked for tombs in its immediate vicinity. About 100 yards East of the wall, in the same field, there is a kind of natural platform of rock. Examining this attentively, I found several tombs very neatly cut in the bed of the rock, and closed by large stone lids. In one instance a square aperture, like a tank, had been cut out of the rock, at the bottom of which were two graves, placed side by side. The dimensions of these graves were larger than any which I had discovered. One measured in length 6 ft. 10 in., width 1 ft. 6 in., depth 1 ft. 3 in. On each side of the grave was a ridge, or step, cut out of the rock.

The lids were monolithic, and slightly ridged, thus,

The dimensions of the two graves sunk in the square cutting, were as follows:—Depth from  surface of the rock above to bottom of the grave, 5 ft. 5 in.; depth of grave itself, 2 ft. 4 in.; width, 2 ft. 2 in.; length, 6 ft. 4 in. These graves, though very promising in appearance, from their solidity and neatness, yielded only very ordinary pottery. On the Northern side of the same rocky platform I observed a square opening, like a doorway cut through the rock, at the edge of the platform.

The sides of this opening had been lined with cement in

which were fragments of tiles. The entrance was blocked up with earth, but one of my workmen discovered a small hole through which he thrust the handle of his spade to a considerable depth. I therefore had the earth removed, behind which I discovered the entrance to a natural cavern, carefully walled up. Removing the wall, I found the cavern full of earth, the whole of which I caused to be removed and sifted. After clearing away the soil, I found three small graves cut out of the rocky bottom of the cavern, side by side. The cave itself was about 3 ft. 10 in. high, and 8 ft. by 7 ft. 4 in. in area. The graves measured in length 5 ft. 4 in., depth 1 ft. 7 in., width 1 ft. 4 in. They were filled with earth and stones, and had apparently been disturbed. They contained fragments of bones, of glass vessels, and of ordinary red pottery, a small glass bead, and two fragments of ornaments in thin beaten gold. In one grave were two copper coins, one of which proved to be an unedited coin of Cos, struck in the reign of Caracalla. Altogether, the contents of these graves showed them to be Roman, rather than Greek. Another similar cavern, noticed by Ross, was discovered in Calymnos, some years ago, about half a mile w. of the one opened by me. After exploring this field, I next examined one immediately to the East of it, and separated from the tract called Drapetes by a ravine. Here I found two tank-like square apertures, cut out of the solid rock, side by side, at the bottom of each of which were two graves. These pits were filled with earth up to the surface of the field, so as completely to conceal the tombs. In one pit the lids of the graves were monolithic, and very large. One measured, in length, 6 ft. 8 in., width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. In two graves, side by side, the heads were placed in opposite directions; in one case, towards the East; in the other, towards the West. The bones were exceedingly large. In the grave where the head lay to the East, the thigh-bones were found close to the head, a cup at the other end; in the other grave the cup was at the feet. In removing the earth out of these pits, part of a round altar, coarsely cut out of the ordinary stone of the field, was found; also a fragment of marble, apparently, the leg of a statue, but too much decayed to be intelligible. These may be the relics of an altar and a statue placed over the graves. In the second pit the graves were smaller, measuring in length, 5 ft. 7 in.,

width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. These two graves were probably of women; one of them contained fragments of a square bronze mirror, a blue glass bead, three copper coins, and a small *lekythos* of red earth.

I had now opened about forty graves, and tried the cemetery of Damos in various places. My excavations extended over a strip of land half a mile in extent. The very ordinary character of the vases and other objects which I had discovered, convinced me that I had as yet only met with the graves of the poorer classes.

It may be as well to note here some general facts, the result of my researches up to this point. 1. The pottery was all of a late period, *i. e.*, from B.C. 330 to B.C. 150. The forms of the cups and vases were deficient in elegance. The best were those covered with a black varnish, but this had not been able to resist the action of the soil and weather like the older varnishes. The other varieties were a bright-red ware, and an unpainted drab ware. In only two instances did I find any subject or ornament painted on a vase. 2. A great number of the graves contained a *ναῦλον*, nearly always a copper coin. 3. Except in three or four cases which I have already noted, there was no trace of bones in the graves. 4. The depth at which the graves were found was from 3 to 4 feet on an average. They were cut in the bed of the rock, or rocky subsoil. The labourers whom I employed distinguished this rocky subsoil by the name of *Δύρικο*. They never considered it worth while to dig through it. I was at first under the impression that the older graves might be in a lower stratum, but, though I sometimes went deeper, never succeeded in finding any. 5. Very commonly a lamp or cup would be found in the soil, a few inches distant from the side of the grave. These were doubtless left there by relations, who came to bring offerings, *χαί*, or *ἐναγίσματα*. In the pictures on vases representing Heroa, or architectural tombs, rows of these cups or vases are seen on the steps of the tomb, at which female figures are seen offering libations. The visit of Electra at the tomb of her father was a favourite subject with ancient vase-painters, because it was in harmony with the sepulchral purpose of the vase itself. To this day the Greek peasant does not forget to make periodical visits to the tombs of relations, and on Saturday evenings, at Calymnos, as I returned from

my diggings in the cemetery of the ancient Calymniotes, I never failed to meet a procession of peasant women on their way to the churchyard, bearing in their hands, not indeed the *oinochoe* and the *lekkythos*, but a small tin can of oil to replenish the lamps which they keep ever burning in the tombs, and a censer containing burning incense. Many of the funeral customs of antiquity are still extant among the Greek peasantry, and should be recorded, before they disappear. The present Archbishop of Mytilene told me that in Macedonia the peasants are in the habit of placing a *ναύλον* in the mouth of the dead. Wishing to put a stop to this relic of paganism, he explained to them that the coin they used for the purpose being a Turkish para, and containing a quotation from the Koran, was quite unfit to be employed in Christian burial. He also mentioned to me that one day he saw a poor widow place a quince in the bosom of the corpse of a young boy, as it lay on a bier in the church, awaiting interment. He asked the meaning of this, and was told that she wished to convey the quince to a son of her own who had died some months before, and had thought of this mode of transmitting it to him!

As the Damos had proved so unpromising, I determined to explore a new locality—the site and precinct of the temple of Apollo. I have already mentioned that the small church of Christos is built on the actual site of this temple, and in a great measure out of its materials.

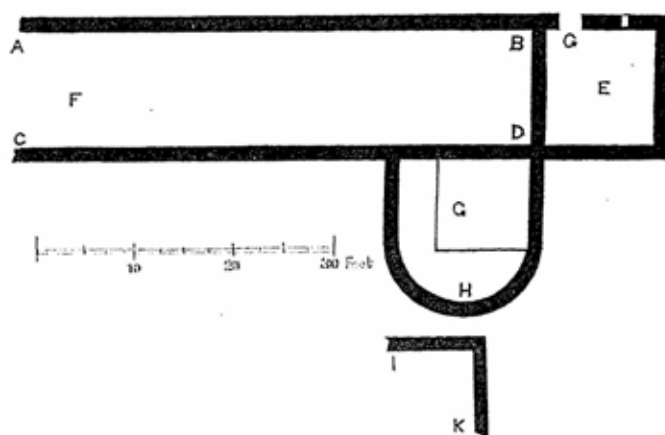
The situation of this church may be seen marked in Ross's map. It is situated about half-way between the harbour of Pothia and Linaria, on the outskirts of Damos, on the South, and about a quarter of a mile from the modern town.

At this spot the cultivated land lying between the two seas is narrowed by the hills on each side, so as to form a kind of neck connecting the valley of Linaria, on the West, with that of Pothia, on the East. In vol. ii. of Ross, p. 196, will be found a ground-plan of the church of Christos, showing the apsidal formation of its East end, which is built of Hellenic blocks with architectural ornaments, which Ross considers to be of the Macedonian period. In the space in front of the West door a Corinthian column is still standing. Ross was informed that there were persons at Calymnos who remember eight of these columns in a row, prolonging the

line of the west wall of the church. On the South side of Christos is the smaller church $\tau\eta\varsigma \Upsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$, attached to it like an aisle.

I commenced digging in a field at the back of the church. After a time I discovered the foundations of two walls of Hellenic masonry, running from North-West to South-East, and forming three chambers as shewn by the annexed plan. These foundations were from 7 to 8 feet below the surface.

The wall A B appears to be nearly on the same line with the south wall of the church of Hypakoe. It was composed of two courses of large squared blocks. The upper blocks were 3 feet 10 inches long, by 1 foot 10 inches deep and 1 foot 8 inches wide. The blocks of the lower wall were 3 feet long, by 1 foot 2 inches deep. The distance from A to B is about 44 feet ; the width from A to C, 12 feet



4 inches. The space marked by the walls A, B, C, D, was paved with rough stones as if it had formed a court. I had these stones removed, one by one, with great care. In the interstices were found many Greek coins, bronze arrow-heads, glass astragali, small glass counters of different colours, bone hair-pins and other small objects such as might naturally have been dropped there from time to time. At F I found under the pavement a Greek sword-handle of bronze in the form of a gryphon's head in a very fine style of art. The sockets for the eyes were empty. They had once pro-

bably contained precious stones or some vitreous composition. Hence Virgil's expression :—

“ *Stellatus iaspide fulvo
Ensis.*”

I do not remember ever to have seen so fine a specimen of a sword-handle as this one. The smaller chamber, *ε*, was about 11 feet 2 inches by 14 feet 10 inches. The pavement was like that of the larger chamber, but raised about 10 inches above it. At *η* was a doorway with the stone sockets for the hinge and the bolt, and a window about 6 inches wide. The third chamber, marked *γ*, branches out from the long chamber, in a south-west direction. It terminates in an apse; its length, the apse *η*, included, is 18 feet; its width from 14 feet 8 inches. The semicircular end, and one side of the chamber, were paved with large squared blocks very firmly fitted together; on removing which, I found a second pavement of similar blocks. Between the interstices of the upper pavement I found several copper coins, arrow-heads, and glass *astragali*. Beyond this chamber are foundations of other Hellenic walls stretching far to the south-west from the angle *ι*, *κ*. These I had not time to explore fully. I now tried other parts of this field, and soon came to foundations of a different character. They were evidently Byzantine, and contained fragments of Greek inscriptions. Among these foundations I came upon Byzantine coins and bronze ornaments, in which I recognised a strong family likeness to some of our Saxon antiquities. A little further examination of this field, and one adjacent to it, enabled me to account for the presence of these antiquities. Some time in the Middle Ages, perhaps about the XIVth century, two large monasteries were built on the site of the Temple of Apollo and out of its remains. Time had in turn destroyed the work of the Byzantine all but the churches of Christos and Hypakoe, themselves the remnants of a much larger church. After the buildings had been razed nearly to the ground, the soil brought down by the mountain-torrents gradually filled up the interstices of the foundations till the field assumed a level surface.

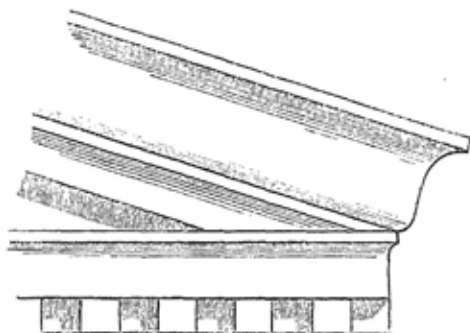
Continuing to find fragments of sculpture and inscriptions in these walls, I dug, in hope, on for many days

remembering how the precious fragments of the Temple of Victory on the Acropolis at Athens were found in the centre of a Turkish bastion. The labour of this work of demolition was very considerable. "It would require," said one of my Greek workmen, unconscious that he was employing an Homeric metaphor, "it would require a brazen man with iron hands," *ένα μπακήρινον άνθρωπον με σιδήρινα χέρια*, "to break through these walls." In this manner I got together a great number of fragments of inscriptions, and some very small pieces of statues, evidently of a very good time. After I had bestowed a certain number of days on the fields at the back of the church, I commenced digging in the front of it, where the ground slopes down towards two wells. I thought it probable that the Opisthodomos, or back chamber of the temple would be at its Western extremity, on the side where the present entrance to the church is, and that as the ground slopes towards the wells, some relics of the temple would be found in the soil of this declivity. I was not altogether disappointed in this hope.

A few feet below the surface I came upon an ancient paved road, which had led evidently from the wells to the temple. I removed each stone of the pavement very carefully, and thus found a great number of Greek copper coins, several of which were from distant places, such as Miletus, Sigeum in the Troad, Macedonia. These were probably dropped by strangers who visited the temple. I also found a netting-needle and other small objects in bronze, and such a number of bronze arrow-heads as to lead me to suppose that a shower of arrows had fallen here. The points of some of them were blunted. Along the side of the road were traces of an ancient watercourse, in the bed of which I found two or three interesting terra-cotta reliefs; and higher up the slope the tooth of a horse, or some graminivorous animal, bound with a bronze loop by which it had once been suspended; a tress of hair in bronze; a colossal thumb in marble; all these had evidently been votive objects offered in the temple. In the upper part of the field I found some interesting fragments of sculpture; a male head in the Æginetan style, but greatly defaced; part of the thigh and knee of a draped colossal male figure in a very grand style, and the body of a female statuette, perhaps a Venus tying her sandal. I also found here a stone which had formed

one corner of a pediment, doubtless from the temple—of this I subjoin a rough measurement. (See woodcut.) At the top of this field, on the south side of the temple, and in a direct line with the Hellenic foundations at the back of the church, which I have already described, I came upon the angle of another Hellenic building very solidly constructed of squared blocks. I had so much to explore elsewhere, that I was unable to ascertain the further direction of these walls. Within the angle the building was not paved; I found no antiquities except a large ball of lead, too heavy to have been used in a *sphaeristerium*.

I regret that my limited time and means did not permit me to complete the excavation of this building, which, I



have little doubt, formed the termination of a series of chambers extending along the whole south side of the temple, and beyond it to the Hellenic foundations in the upper field which I have already described. I now determined to explore the field in which the church itself stood. About half of this, immediately west of the church, had been dug over last year, when the inscriptions relating to the Manumission of slaves had been found. I commenced digging nearly opposite the South-West angle of the church where the column stands, and dug across the field northward in a direction parallel to the West wall of the church. I was enabled to carry my excavations within about 12 feet of the western wall. I found here several large squares of marble which had formed part of the original basement of the temple, and had been laid down a second time in the Byzantine church, but irregularly; the chasms where slabs were missing, being filled up by Mosaic pavement. The marble squares were beautifully polished and wrought.

Among these squares I found, built into Byzantine walls, a wrist and part of a hand, part of an arm, and fragments of two feet of a colossal male figure. These fragments all appear to me to belong to the same colossal statue as the knee in the lower field.

They are in the finest style; the portion of a hand is quite worthy of Phidias himself. Indeed, I have never seen any fragment so entirely in the style of the Elgin marbles as this. If we suppose these remains to belong to a colossal statue of Apollo himself placed in the *naós* of his temple, the position in which I found the fragments would be the natural place to find them in, supposing the statue to have been dragged from its base and broken up by the early Christians. The trunk was probably pounded into small pieces, the extremities would lie where they first fell till they were picked up by the masons and incorporated in the rubble of the walls. I dug on beyond the northern wall of the church, and found an inscribed *stèle* and some interesting fragments of inscriptions and sculptures.

I then dug on the opposite side of the field a narrow strip, lying south of the church of Hypakoe, and in a line with the long chamber which I had laid bare in the upper field. Here I was so fortunate as to find four very well preserved inscribed *stelæ* lying in the soil, two on their edges, two on their sides, like books just taken down from their shelves. The Byzantine masons must have left these slabs here, intending to break them up and build them in their foundations. By some accident they were forgotten or exempted from the common destiny. By a singular chance, I began to dig under the roots of a fig-tree exactly where the proprietor of the field had terminated his excavations the year before. He had desisted from digging, out of regard for the roots of his young fig-tree. Having no such feeling, I excavated just six inches below his mark, and so found a most interesting collection of decrees of the Calymniote people. I continued my operations along the outside of the south wall of the church, and found, a little further on, a very large *stèle* covered on both sides with a deeply-cut inscription. This marble contains the record of a trial between the people of Calymnos and the heirs of a certain Cleomedes. The sum of money at issue is very considerable, being no less than 300 talents, about 73,125*l*.

On one side of the *stèle*, the mode of procedure in the trial is set forth, with the form of the oath to be administered to the witnesses ; on the other side is the sentence, which is decided by a court of Dicasts. The number of votes for the plaintiff were 78, for the defendant, 120. In the case of some of the witnesses who resided in the neighbouring island of Cos, and could not therefore appear in court at Calymnos, it is ordered that their depositions be taken before certain magistrates, *prostatæ*, in Cos, and sent over to Calymnos, sealed with the public seal of the people of Cos. The length of time for the pleadings is measured by the klepsydra, *πρὸς χρόας* ; for the first pleading each party is allowed eighteen of the measures called *χραί*, for the second, ten. Such a trial was technically called *δικὴ πρὸς ὕδωρ*.

It is a point of some interest to state how far the excavation to the West of the church has thrown light on the question as to the extent of the temple in this direction—a point which Ross thought might be determined by digging. Unfortunately, the proprietor of the field had anticipated me as far as regards the North side of the temple, and had here destroyed every trace of foundations ; but on the South side I found some remains, which may form part of the two parallel stylobates or walls.

Immediately in front, *i. e.*, West of the single column still standing, are two enormous blocks. One of these measured 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. in width, and 1 ft. 9 in. in depth. On one face was in very large characters ΝΙΚΟΚΑΗ ; below, in smaller characters, <sup>(ΝΙΚΟΚΑΗΞ
ΑΠΑΤΟΓΕΝΟΤ</sup> Side by side with this was placed a second block, extending to the single column. These blocks may be part of the stylobate still remaining *in situ*. South of this row, at the distance of 6 ft. 10 in., is a parallel row of blocks, one a cube of 3 ft., next to it a threshold stone 3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. This appeared to be the threshold stone of a doorway in the original temple. This doorway was 14 ft. 9 in. to the West of the single column. In giving these details, I would add that I think it doubtful whether any portion of the original foundations of the temple remain *in situ*. The builders of the church of Christos appear to have dislocated and rudely re-constructed all that they found.

I was unable to carry my excavations any further round the church of Christos. Indeed, the site could not

have been thoroughly explored without pulling the church down and making a careful collation of all the architectural fragments and inscriptions. Many of these have been carried away at different periods to supply materials for the building of the other churches in the island, so that the investigation would not be complete without the demolition of many of these edifices. I have made a small collection of architectural fragments which may serve to show the character of the ornaments.

The excavations on this site, show very clearly what has been the fate of the greater part of the Greek temples in the Archipelago, once so rich in the works of the great sculptors of antiquity.

They have been sacrificed in the first onslaught of Iconoclastic zeal. Statues of matchless beauty have been broken up into small fragments, and mixed in the rubble of monastic walls. *Stelæ*, containing the archives of many an ancient city, have been remorselessly imbedded in the lowest layers of foundations, or inserted in pavements on which, through long generations of fanaticism and ignorance, the dull and listless footstep of the Byzantine monk has gradually trodden out the deeply graven record of Hellenic times.

It is recorded in the legend of Christodulos, the founder of Patmos, in the XIth century, that his first act in arriving in that island, was to crush to pieces, *συντρίβειν*, a statue of Diana, a beautiful work. Perhaps he lent a helping hand to his neighbours at Calymnos.

The fragments of sculpture found in the temple of Apollo are a contribution to the history of Ancient Art. They show that this little island could afford to employ sculptors who certainly belonged to one of the great schools of antiquity. Probably the sculptors of Cos and Halicarnassus contributed works to the neighbouring temple of Apollo at Calymnos.

It is worthy of note, that of the inscriptions belonging to this temple, two contain names of artists; one of these records a dedication to Apollo by Nicias, the son of Thrasymedes. Ross conjectures that this Thrasymedes may be the Parian sculptor of that name who made the Chryselephantine statue of Æsculapius at Epidaurus—a celebrated work, of which we have a representation on a silver coin in the collection of the British Museum. If that is the case, we may, approximately, fix the age of that artist, hitherto

undetermined. The inscription is certainly, from the form of the letters, of the same period as the majority of the inscriptions from the temple of Apollo, that is, from B.C. 350 to 200.

The other artist named in a Calymniote inscription is Antamos, the son of Theodoros, of Cnossus. I cannot find this name in Sillig's list of artists. The inscription is of the Roman time. This is all we know at present of the sculptors of Calymnos.

The fragments of inscriptions collected in the course of this excavation have occupied me for several months. I have now sufficiently arranged and deciphered them to be able to give a general account of their contents. There are eighteen decrees granting the *politeia* or citizenship to foreigners for services rendered to the Calymnian people; ten decrees granting *proxenia* to foreigners for similar reasons; thirteen decrees relating either to *politeia* or *proxenia*, but of which the precise import cannot be decided from their mutilated condition; two decrees relating to judicial proceedings; two conferring crowns; two bestowing honours on physicians; two, honours for military services, and eleven fragments of decrees, the subjects of which cannot be ascertained. The whole of these inscriptions are of the period between Alexander the Great and Augustus. If the king Antigonus mentioned in one of them is, as is most probable, Antigonus the Great, the date of most of the inscriptions would be B.C. 350 to 250.

There were also several inscriptions and a number of fragments of the Roman period. Of these the most interesting were the dedication of a statue to Caligula; a dedication to Apollo by Publius Servilius Isauricus, when consul; the date of this inscription is therefore fixed to B.C. 79. I found another dedicatory inscription, by the same Servilius, built into the Western wall of Christos.

There were also eight records of the manumission of slaves, two other dedications, and a variety of fragments, some of which appear to relate to grants of lands.

I also copied at Calymnos the following unedited inscriptions, which I was unable to bring away:—One list of citizens and *metoikoi*, contributors to some tax, one decree of *proxenia*, one of *politeia*, one honorary grant of land, seventeen records of the manumission of slaves, two dedications.

All these I know to have belonged to the Temple of

Apollo. The whole list of inscriptions discovered in this temple is as follows :

MACEDONIAN PERIOD.		2 decrees	conferring crowns.
19 decrees of <i>politeia</i> .		2	" honours to physicians.
11 decrees of <i>proxenia</i> .		2	" honours for military services.
13 decrees, either <i>proxenia</i> or <i>politeia</i> .		1	" honorary grant of land.
2 decrees of judicial proceedings.		11	" subjects unascertained.
		1	" list of citizens and <i>metoikoi</i> .

In all, sixty-four inscriptions. Of the Roman period there were twenty-five forms of Manumission ; six dedicatory inscriptions, probably of statues ; and a number of miscellaneous fragments too small to be taken into account.

This *catalogue raisonné* will enable us to form some idea of the rich collection of historical and municipal records which once existed in the Temple of Apollo. I have elsewhere observed, that "it is in the marble and the granite, in the market-places, the temples, and the sepulchres of the ancients, that we must search for their records ; these were their archives and libraries, their heralds' college, their muniment-rooms."

It may be remarked that in this list the number of grants of *politeia*, or citizenship, are far more numerous than those of *proxenia*.

The full citizenship was granted very liberally by the Asiatic cities, but we have no instance of the concession of such a right by any of the states of Greece Proper. The privileges of *proxenia* were granted very generally throughout the Hellenic world. *Proxeni* were agents appointed by Greek cities to protect their merchants and commercial interests generally in foreign states. In this respect the duties of a *proxenos* resembled those of a modern consul, with this difference, that he was a citizen, not of the state by which he was appointed, but of that in which he exercised his agency.

One of the inscriptions conferring honours for military services makes mention of a maritime war between Calymnos and the city of Hierapytna in Crete, of which I have not discovered any record elsewhere.

The inscription, containing an honorary grant of land, acquaints us with the fact that there was a Theatre at Calymnos, which, if I have rightly decyphered a very ill preserved line in the text, was actually within the precinct of the Temple of Apollo.

The land is granted by the state to Aratocritos, the son of

Aristias, to enable him to build on it, at his own expense and for the public benefit, a *proscenion* and scenes, and to surround the *temenos*, or sacred precinct, with a wall. These buildings are most probably the very foundations which, as has already been stated, I found in two fields on the South side of Christos, and which probably run in a continuous line on the south side of the church. At the end of this decree the form of the dedicatory inscription to be placed on the *proscenion* by Aratocritos is given: Ἀρατόκριτος Ἀριστία τὰν σκανῶν καὶ τὸ προσκάνιον στεφαναφορήσας Ἀπόλλωνι.

Now it is a curious coincidence that over the doorway of the church at Christos is a fragment of architrave, on which is inscribed in very large characters . . . ΝΑ . . . ΠΗΣΑΣ ΑἴΓΟΛΛ . . . Ross, although unable to restore this fragment, remarks that it was probably part of a dedication inscribed on some monument in the vestibule of the Temple of Apollo. With the aid of the other inscription the restoration is obviously στεφανα(φο)ρήσας Ἀπόλλ(ωνι) and I have little doubt that *this fragment of architecture actually formed part of the proscenion dedicated by Aratocritos.*

The fields on the south side of Christos having been, as I stated, only partially explored by me, perhaps some future excavation there may bring to light remains of the theatre.

The magistrates, whose names appear at the head of the decrees of the Macedonian period, are always the *prostatae*, a title which occurs elsewhere in inscriptions, though rarely. In the Manumissions the Eponymous magistrate of Calymnos is the *stephanaphoros*—this title was adopted in many Asiatic cities, and is frequently met with on coins and inscriptions of the Roman period.

In the Manumissions occur some curious names of Greek months, which I hope to compare with the series of Doric months published by Mr. Stoddart, and to which I have already alluded. At Calymnos one of the months was called *Kaisar*, as a compliment to some Roman emperor. In the grants of citizenship we get the names of several *Demi*, or burghs, and tribes, *Phylae*, in Calymnos, to which the new citizens were assigned by lot. Among the names of the *Demes* is that of the *Pothæi*. The principal harbour in the island is, as has been already stated, still called Pothia, and I am assured that in the island of Telindos, lying opposite the Western side of Calymnos, is a place called Potha.

Having concluded the excavations in the precinct of the Temple of Apollo, and having still a few spare days before me, I returned to the tombs. I tried two fields in the lower cemetery near the harbour, but with no success, and therefore made one more experiment in Damos.

Having already examined all the district North of the church called Prophet Elia with so little result, I determined to try a field lying between that church and the Temple of Apollo, very near the field of Janni Sconi, where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments had taken place.

Fortune favoured me at last. On the foot-path in this field were the marks of two graves, which had been opened some years ago ; one contained, it is said, a vase ornamented with silver, the other I was recommended by a by-stander to examine again. The workmen had hardly broken the ground with their pickaxes, before they found a small circular ornament in bronze, so finely wrought, that I was at once led to hope for some work of art. I very soon found three more of these circular ornaments, the handle of a large bronze vase with rich floral ornaments, and lastly, at the very bottom of the grave, but not more than eight inches below the surface, a most exquisite bronze alto-relievo representing a male figure, bearded, and with large wings, carrying off a youthful female figure who is looking back as if to a world from which she is snatched away. Her attitude at once recalls the Eurydice of the beautiful episode in the fourth Georgic :

“Invalidasque mihi tendens, heu ! non mea, palmas !”

This subject may represent Boreas carrying off Oreithyia, as the bearded male figure has wings and buskins like a Wind God.

The selection of such a subject probably commemorates allusively the untimely fate of the person in whose grave it was found ; in the same manner we find the Death of Meleager, the Rape of Proserpine, and other kindred subjects, commemorating the death of the young, frequently repeated on ancient sarcophagi, and probably chosen for those who were snatched away by an untimely fate.

There is no doubt that the tomb at Calymnos, which I am describing, was that of a female, because I found in it the relics of a gold necklace. The bronze alto-relievo is executed in the finest style. I know of nothing in ancient *repoussé* work superior to it, except perhaps the bronzes of Siris. The

general style reminds me of that of a beautiful composition not so well known as it deserves to be, the Ficoroni Cista at Rome, on which is engraved the contest of Pollux with Amycus, King of Bebryces. In that composition we have a winged bearded figure very similar to that in the Calymnos bronze, and who certainly represents Death, as he appears in Etruscan Art.

With this discovery I closed my excavations at Calymnos. On a review of the whole of the facts ascertained with respect to the cemetery of Damos, I am inclined to the belief that the rocky fields on the northern side formed a public cemetery, lying immediately outside of the walls of a small town on the rocky peninsula; that the fields on the south, in the district now called Prophet Elia, were private burial-grounds reserved for rich individuals. This side of the cemetery has not yet been sufficiently explored. I regret that circumstances compelled me to quit Calymnos just at the moment when I appeared to be on the right track. It is remarkable that all the vases found in the tombs should be invariably of the same ordinary late character; because in the precincts of the Temple of Apollo I dug up several fragments of very fine vases with red figures on a black ground, which date probably from the time of Phidias. The tombs containing these earlier vases have yet to be discovered: perhaps they lie in a lower stratum of soil, to which modern cultivation has not penetrated. Almost all the antiquities as yet found at Calymnos, whether coins, vases, or inscriptions, are either of the Macedonian or of the Roman period. The only objects that can be referred to an earlier epoch are, an unique archaic coin in the Payne Knight collection, British Museum; the archaic head in marble, which I found below the temple; perhaps some of the other fragments of sculpture, and the fragments of vases with red figures on a black ground.

There is a third cemetery in Calymnos, in a valley in the north of the island called Vathy; this I did not explore, but the vases found in the tombs there are of the same character as those of Damos. Tombs have also been found in the high ground south of Damos, called Argos. These I imagine to be of the Roman period. Near the harbour of Pothia are caves called *tholi*, hollowed out of the rock in a conical

form, with a small aperture at the top. These are filled with late Roman and Byzantine lamps and vases, and bones. Many of these lamps have Christian emblems. I have made a large collection of them. I purchased some very interesting coins and antiquities at Calymnos, among which was a large gold ear-ring found with a number of Byzantine coins of the Emperor Heraclius. I hope to give a more detailed account of these antiquities in a future communication.

C. T. NEWTON.

NOTICES OF THE MINT AT SHREWSBURY.

By EDWARD HAWKINS. Esq., F.R.S., V.P. Soc. ANT.¹

WHEN a society of professed antiquaries pay a special visit to a town of so much celebrity as Shrewsbury, it may reasonably be expected that its members would endeavour to learn or to impart all that may be known respecting the history and antiquities of this ancient and interesting town. Among other objects which invite our attention is the mint which was established here at a very early period. For its elucidation so much has been already done by Ruding in his "*Annals of the Coinage of Britain*," and so much more by Messrs. Owen and Blakey in their "*History of Shrewsbury*," which may be considered as an excellent model of a local history, that little remains to be said. Of the state of the Mint under the Heptarchy, and the earlier monarchs, there is very little information to be derived from records. Almost all we know is obtained from the coins themselves, and from them we learn that coins were struck at Shrewsbury by Ethelred, who commenced his reign A.D. 866, and we find upon his coins the names of four different moneyers. So that at this early period we may be assured that this mint was in extensive operation.

Of the fourteen monarchs who intervened between Ethelred and the conquest, we find coins of so many, that it may be reasonably concluded that the mint here continued in operation with little or no interruption during the reigns of them all, though upon the coins of some of them the name of Shrewsbury has not yet been discovered.

Although it appears, from records still existing, that in the time of the Confessor there were three moneyers established at Shrewsbury, yet in Domesday book no mention is made of a mint, and we might be led to suppose that no mint existed in this town when that document was com-

¹ Communicated at the Annual Meeting in Shrewsbury, August, 1855.

piled. It is nevertheless certain that the mint still continued to be worked here, as we find the name of the town upon coins both of the Conqueror and his son, and also of the three first Henries. After this time the name of Shrewsbury does not appear upon any of the coins of the realm, nor is there any evidence that a mint was afterwards established here again, before 1642.

In order to ascertain, or, rather to form a probable conjecture respecting the denomination or type of the pieces struck at this time, and in this town, it will be necessary to trace for a few years previous the history of the mints of King Charles I.

In the year 1637, Thomas Bushell, who was lessee of the royal mines in Cardiganshire, memorialised the king, stating that he incurred much inconvenience and expense in sending his silver, the produce of his mines, to London to be coined into money, and petitioned that he might be allowed to establish a mint in the Castle of Aberystwith, in the neighbourhood of the mines. In consequence of this petition the mint was established in that castle, and Thomas Bushell was appointed master of the said mint, and was authorised to strike half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, groats, threepences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies. It was ordered that all pieces coined at this mint should be stamped with the Prince of Wales's plume of feathers on both sides. This mint continued in operation till about the month of September 1642, when the whole establishment, the workmen and their tools, were removed to Shrewsbury, and in this town it remained till nearly the end of December that same year.

It appears from a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, dated 21st December, 1642, that orders had *then* been received to remove the mint to Oxford, and on Tuesday, January 3, carts, to the number of twelve or more, arrived in that city laden with Prince Rupert's goods, and with the mint from Shrewsbury. In this town then of Shrewsbury the mint was in operation only about three months; from some part of September to about the end of December 1642. On the 19th September, the king made his memorable speech and declaration at Wellington, in which he said, "I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed *protestant religion* established in the Church of England. I desire to govern by all the known *laws of the land*, that the

liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just rights. I promise to maintain the just rights, privileges and *freedom of parliament*." Upon coins dated 1642, and subsequent years, the reverse bears the inscription RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PARL., that is: The Protestant religion, the laws of England, the liberty of Parliament. Now Messrs. Owen and Blakeway remark that "Mr. Bushell (for the device seems to have been his own) thus not unhappily burlesquing the declaration of parliament, by stating the king to levy war against them in defence of their liberties, as they had taken up arms against him under pretence of defending his royal person." By comparing, however, the inscription upon the coins with the king's declaration at Wellington, it will be seen that the inscription is no burlesque of Bushell, but most seriously intended to convey to every place where the coin circulated, and to every person who possessed a piece of money, the three great principles upon which the king declared his firm determination to govern the kingdom. The king's declaration and the inscription on the coin are identical.

As this declaration was made on the 19th September, 1642, it may fairly be concluded that the coins asserting the same principles were struck very much about the same time, and consequently we may expect to find this inscription upon coins struck at Shrewsbury. It is quite certain that the mint was removed from this town about the last day of December this same year, and consequently no coins can have been struck here which bear any other date than 1642. Messrs. Owen and Blakeway observe, "All Charles's pieces with the Prince's feathers, the above reverse, and the date 1642, can have been struck no where but at Shrewsbury." While these gentlemen were penning this paragraph they unfortunately forgot that the year was not at that time calculated to terminate with the 31st December, but with the 25th March, and that consequently coins struck during the first three months of the year, which we call 1643, would bear the date 1642, exactly as those struck during what we call the last three months of the year 1642; and as the mint was established at Oxford, 3 January, 1642-3, the date upon the coins does not determine the claim of either place to coins dated 1642. We must look then for some other clue to guide us in appropriating to Shrewsbury its proper coins.

There is not any distinctive mint-mark, nor any letters which distinguish the Shrewsbury coins. Chester coins have the city arms, the wheatsheaf; Worcester coins have the pears; Exeter, Oxford, Bristol, York have the initials or names, but Shrewsbury nothing. Still there are peculiarities about some of the coins of this period which furnish grounds for reasonable conjecture. From Aberystwith the mint moved to Shrewsbury, and Aberystwith coins have their distinguishing mark, viz., the Prince's plume, as ordered by the indenture which established that mint, and the open book which was Bushell's private mark. Now there is in the British Museum a half-crown which bears the feathers upon the obverse, and the horse is somewhat of the Aberystwith form. The reverse of this coin has the declaration, inscription, and the date 1642; it cannot, therefore, be unreasonable to assign this coin to Shrewsbury. The same reasoning applies in a somewhat greater degree to a shilling in the same collection, the reverse of which has the date 1642, the declaration, inscription, and the feathers.

This argument, however plausible, is not absolutely irresistible, for the sixpences and groats have the Aberystwith obverse with the plume and book, with the declaration type, and with the dates 1643 and 1644, and also with the letters ox for Oxford; so that we have convincing proof that upon some coins the Aberystwith marks were continued not only immediately, but for some years, after the mint had been removed from that place.

We have, however, some further evidence to adduce respecting Shrewsbury coins which will, to a certain extent, confirm the appropriation of certain coins to Shrewsbury made by Messrs. Owen and Blakeway, but upon other grounds.

In the year 1664, Bushell, in a letter addressed to the Lord Treasurer Ashley, says, "I procured such quantities of plate from persons of quality at Shrewsbury, for the more magnificence of his Majesties present service in that expedition, as the sight of it stopt the present meeting of the souldery, when the adverse part had plotted a division for want of pay.

"And in order to their further content, I procured two daies before Edelhill Battle, of his late Majesty at Wodverhampton, a gracious gift of his affection; to each colonel the

medal of a 20s. piece in silver, all other officers, ten or five, and every private souldier half-a-crown, with this motto on the reverse cross :

Exurgat Deus dissipentur inimici
Relig. protest : Leg.
Ang : Libert. Parliament.

which pleased every regiment so much, coming from his Majesty's bounty (of blessed memory), as if they had received their whole arrears from their paymaster-general."

The battle of Edgehill was fought in October, 1642, at which time the mint was at Shrewsbury, and had been there ever since the adoption of the declaration type which appears upon these coins. It is quite certain, therefore, that some of the pound, half-pound, crown, and half-crown pieces, with the declaration type and the date 1642, were struck at Shrewsbury. We are not allowed to go so far as to state that all such pieces of this date were struck there, as we have already seen that Oxford has equal claims to that date. And there are some remarkable peculiarities on some of these pieces which prove that they must have been struck in that city.

There is a pound piece dated 1643, which could not have been struck at Shrewsbury ; it was, however, struck from the same dies as a piece dated 1642, the figure 3 having been stampd in the die over the 2, so that both figures are apparent upon the coin. This die may have been used at Shrewsbury, but it was clearly afterwards used at Oxford.

Some of the half-pound pieces dated 1643, are used with the same obverse as some of those with the date 1642.

Such is also the case with some of the crown pieces, where the same obverse occurs upon pieces with reverses of different dates.

Soon after the mint was established at Shrewsbury, a different artist from the one who had engraved the dies at Aberystwith was probably employed, for the style, character, and workmanship of the figure of the king on horseback is conspicuously unlike what had previously appeared upon any of the king's coins. This peculiar figure occurs upon coins dated 1642, 3, 4, 5, 6, and consequently increases our difficulty of identifying the coins with any particular place. The mint was removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford in 1642,

according to the calendar of those times, consequently both those places have equal claims to coins so dated. In 1643, part of the mint was removed to Bristol, and the Bristol coins have the same peculiar horse, consequently this city and Oxford have equal claims to coins dated 1643. In the latter part of this year these two cities stamp their initials on their coins, and Oxford employing a different artist, adopted a different character of horse.

All then that we have been able to ascertain is, that some of the pound, half-pound, crown, and half-crown pieces dated 1642, were struck at Shrewsbury, but which of them we have not any means of ascertaining.

I fear, then, that we have arrived at the conclusion of a chapter in which nothing is concluded.

CONTINUATION OF ARTISTIC NOTES ON THE WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

IN the drapery and style of the angels supporting shields that appear in the upper lights of all the side windows, we find indications of the XVth rather than the XVIth century.³ These angels, represented hovering in the air, are clothed in full white robes which entirely conceal the limbs and feet, and are disposed in large elaborately bent folds peculiar to German and Flemish art of the XVth century.⁴ There are no figures at all in the tracery lights of the east window.

³ Mr. Winston expresses his suspicion that the glass in the tracery lights of the side-windows is somewhat earlier than that in the lower lights. This favours the opinion of Mr. Bolton, who very justly perceived a uniformity of style and execution throughout all the headings on both sides; and from practical considerations was led to infer, that the entire uppermost range of glass was inserted before the scaffoldings for the stonework were removed. Be that as it may, they certainly accord in style and peculiarities with the windows containing the history of the Virgin Mary. The initial letters on the shields H·R, H·E, and H·K, clearly refer to Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, and Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, and must have been designed before the king's divorce was seriously entertained. The allusions to Henry VII. would not have been necessarily confined to his lifetime, as we see by the picture of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, together with full-length figures of his parents, painted by Holbein in 1536-7, on the wall of the Privy Chamber at Whitehall. A copy of it by Remée is still preserved at Hampton Court.

But the question of the validity of Henry's marriage was not made public till 1527, four years before his actual separation from the queen, and the devices might, for that consideration only, well belong to the date of the second contract, 1526.

In the upper lights of the east window among the devices of roses, trees, and

crowns, may be found the feather and label borne by the Prince of Wales. It occurs on each side of the window between roses, and next to the crown. From this circumstance an earlier date might be assigned, since upon the death of Prince Arthur in 1502, the king invested his son Henry with the principality of Wales, and by sanction of Pope Julius, married him in 1503 to Catherine, his brother's widow. That same year his mother, Elizabeth of York, died. We might thus have had an approximate date of 1503, for the execution of the devices and completion of the stonework of the windows; but unfortunately the initials H·K in the next light are surmounted with a crown.

⁴ Such an arrangement is to be seen in the famous "Last Judgment" at Danzig, in the works of Van Eyck, in the tapestry of St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, the engravings of Martin Schön, the woodcuts in the Nuremberg Chronicle, and in a curious painting, once at Strawberry Hill, now belonging to Lord Waldegrave.*

This blankety encumbrance of the legs and feet is characteristic of transalpine art, a natural association with a more severe climate; for in Italy, even where the feet are concealed, it is with drapery of a more delicate nature. In ancient classic art, the feet of flying

* Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 73; Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1798.

The central compartments, containing angels and prophets, afford a peculiarity worthy of observation. Many of the figures among them are several times repeated. The same cartoon or *vidimus* for a figure has been made to serve in some instances as many as three or four times, and frequently twice, whilst only a few of the figures have escaped repetition altogether.⁵ In every figure of course the writing upon the scroll is varied; and although the form is accurately repeated according to the cartoon, the colours of the dress are constantly changed. There is also a great difference in execution wherever the device is repeated.⁶

It is singular, considering that the chapel is dedicated to St. Nicholas, as well as to the Virgin Mary, that we find no representation of him—not even the slightest allusion to his miracles, which were always so popular in this country—throughout the building. Possibly this deficiency was originally rectified in the decoration of the altar-piece, which, as in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, may have displayed some subject more pertinent to the dedication than the awful themes of the Crucifixion or the Last Judgment.

figures are never hidden; Cavallini, Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, Giotto, and Gaddi, frequently dispensed with the legs of their angels altogether, leaving instead a vague nebulousity starting out like the tail of a comet, or the wavy lines, marking what the heralds call *erased*. Orcagna and Buffalmacco, on the contrary, covered the feet entirely, but with such delicate folds as to prepare the way for the examples we meet with in purest Gothic sculptures. Our own great Flaxman has adopted it in his Homeric designs, *Iliad*, plates 25, 27; *Odyssey*, 7; *Hesiod*, 5; *Æschylus*, 22; but it is unsupported by any known specimen of ancient art.

These peculiarities of drapery in the upper lights of the Cambridge windows, occur also in some of the lower subjects towards the west end, especially in that of "The Angel Appearing to Joachim." It appears conspicuously in all the floating angels in the central lights of the last three windows on the north side marked N.R*. K* and H. Another floating angel with curled drapery and feet exposed, appears in the ninth north window marked B*. The style and conception, however, is very different from that of the figures just noticed.

⁵ It may be interesting to some to

know the exact scale of repetition adopted, and a glance at the accompanying Plate of the "general view," where each figure has a peculiar letter, will show the distribution better than any other mode of explanation. Thus then it stands numerically. There are altogether ninety-four Messengers and Prophets, seventeen of these are used only once, the rest is made up of twenty-six figures variously repeated; thus, eight of them twice; eleven, three; and seven, four times. Forty-three figures are thus made to afford ninety-four. This poverty of material seems the more strange, as in the ninety-six historical pictures that occupy the other compartments, not a single instance of repetition can be detected. It must be observed of the messengers, that the same canopy or heading is not always repeated with the figure.

⁶ Nor does there seem to have been any desire to conceal the fact of this repetition, inasmuch as the same figures often appear in adjacent windows; nay, even two figures, precisely alike, occupy the same central compartment, one above and the other below, and the same peculiarity is repeated in the very next window; see letters L on the south windows of the ante-chapel towards the screen.

On comparing the subjects represented at Cambridge with those in the Block-Books, we are struck with several remarkable omissions which rarely occurred in earlier times.⁷

The three windows,⁸ illustrating the Acts of the Apostles, display many of the peculiarities of Holbein, and, considering that he was in England, on his first visit, at this very period, and that Erasmus, who was his friend, had been so long at Cambridge, it seems more than probable that Holbein would have at least been consulted in the matter. If he gave the compositions, many of the heads and expressions were refined by some one more conversant than himself with Raphael and the Roman school. There is in many of the faces in these paintings a tendency to show the teeth, particularly in the expiring "Ananias," but, in Raphael's cartoon at Hampton Court, no such display is perceptible.⁹

The locks of hair and flowing beards in these windows are admirably drawn, and the red flesh tint is preserved in several of the figures, although not retained in any of the other

⁷ We look in vain for the Transfiguration paralleled in the "*Biblia Pauperum*," No. 12, with Abraham and the Three Angels, and the Three children in the Fiery Furnace; no Mary Magdalene anointing the Saviour's feet, B.P. No. 13, S.H.S. ch. 14 No. 27; no Expulsion of the Money-Changers, B. P. 15; nor Visitation of the Virgin Mary. All these are subjects which artists and divines especially delighted to dwell upon. The appearance of the Saviour before His Judges is here elaborated to the extent of a Duccio or Fiesole, when professing in their series to treat of the Passion alone, and this partiality may serve in some measure to account for the rejection of subjects affording, it may be, more striking parallels than many of the rest.

The subject of "Christ appearing to His Mother," is one unknown in early Italian art. It grew, as Mrs. Jameson observes, with the feelings of the people. It is introduced in the famous Hemling at Munich, and became especially popular among the Germans. This subject may be found among the Six South windows of the choir, which I have already noted for the prevalence of Albert Dürer characteristics. Dürer died in 1528, but before 1516 he had already executed and published some of his finest engravings. A remarkable series of designs from the *Biblia Pauperum* will be found among the tapestries from the Abbaye de la Chaise Dieu, engraved by Jubinal in his mag-

nificent work, "*Anciennes Tapisseries*," &c. Fol. Paris, 1838.^a

⁸ These windows have a remarkable affinity to the beautiful painted glass in the choir of Lichfield cathedral. The breadth of arch has been already noticed, and there is a remarkable absence of petty detail; no small arabesques within the panels on the pilasters or spandrels, which we shall have occasion to remark upon in another place. A rich brown hue in the shadows harmonises all, and it is in these windows especially that large masses of bright crimson occur. A few may be noticed both to the west and the east, but comparatively in a much more moderate degree.

⁹ In his, "St. Stephen being stoned," however, the teeth were distinctly shown, and also in the "Supper at Emmaus" of the Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova.

^a M. Jubinal supposes the Chaise Dieu tapestry to have been wrought at Venice or Florence, late in the XVth or early in the XVIth centuries.

Each tapestry is a page of the *Biblia Pauperum*, with the same architecture, Prophets, scrolls, and legends as in the series from which plate v. in my first paper on this subject was copied. Plate iv. of Jubinal contains the "Temptation of Eve," "Gideon," "The Annunciation." Plate xxx. "The Coronation of the Virgin." Plate xxxiv. "The Last Judgment."

EAST END.
CONTAINING SIX SUBJECTS
RELATING TO CHRIST.

The Nailing to the Cross.	The Crucifixion.	The Deposition.
The "Ecce Homo."	Pilate washing his hands.	The Cross-bearing.

NORTH SIDE OF CHAPEL.

UPPER.	EAST END.	LOWER.	ALTAR.	ALTAR.	UPPER.
1 Solomon crowned. F* G*	Christ crowned with thorns. H* I*	1			
2 Job tormented. T B	The Flagellation. B* C*	2			
3 Noah and his Sons. A U	Christ before Herod. R S	3			
4 Jeremiah imprisoned. V W	Christ before Caiaphas. P Q	4			
5 Shimei insulting David. V W	Christ insulted. T U	5			
6 Cain killing Abel. X Y	The Betrayal. C D	6			
7 Fall of Lucifer. V W	The Agony. T U	7			
8 Fall of manna.	The Last Supper.	8			
9 Triumph of David.	The Entry into Jerusalem.	9			
10 Elisha reviving the child	The Raising of Lazarus.	10			
11 Jacob tempting Esau.	The Temptation.	11			
12 Naaman.	The Baptism.	12			
13 Joash saved from the massacre.	Massacre of the Innocents.	13			
14 The Golden Calf.	Fall of Egyptian Idols.	14			
15 Jacob's Flight from Esau.	The Flight.	15			
16 Purification of Women.	The Presentation.	16			
17 Queen of Sheba.	Adoration of Kings.	17			
18 Circumcision.	The Circumcision.	18			
19 Moses and the Burning Bush.	The Nativity.	19			
20 Temptation of Eve.	The Annunciation.	20			
21 Marriage of Tobias.	Marriage of the Virgin.	21			
22 Offering of the Golden Table.	Presentation of the Virgin.	22			
23 Joachim with the Angel.	Birth of the Virgin.	23			
24 Joachim ejected.	Meeting of Joachim and Anna.	24			

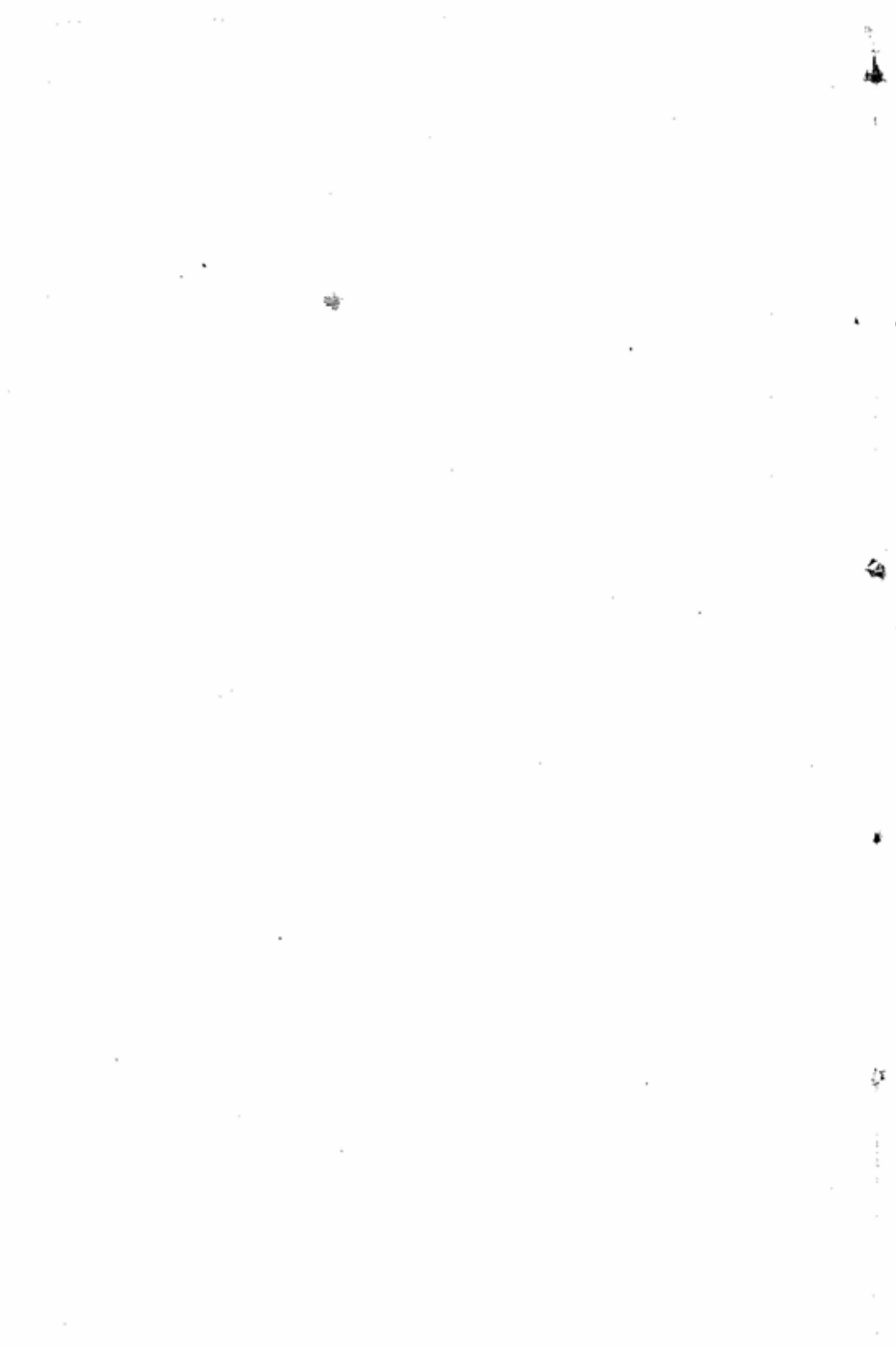
PAVEMENT OF CHOR.
CHOIR
PAVEMENT OF ANTECHAPEL.

LOWER.	EAST END.	UPPER.
1 Naomi and her Daughters. H G		1
2 Christ bewailed. Q A		2
3 The Entombment.		3
4 Delivery from Hell.		4
5 The Resurrection. F E		5
6 Christ appearing to His Mother.		6
7 The Maries at the Sepulchre. B A		7
8 Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene.		8
9 The Journey to Emmaus. D C		9
10 The Supper at Emmaus.		10
11 The Incredulity of Thomas. K I		11
12 Christ appearing to the Disciples.		12
13 The Ascension. A* Z		13
14 Descent of the Holy Ghost.		14
15 The Healed Man going to the Temple. N L		15
16 The Death of Ananias.		16
17 The Sacrifice at Lystra. M L		17
18 Paul stoned at Lystra.		18
19 Paul Preaching. D B*		19
20 Paul before the Emperor.		20
21 Death of the Virgin Mary. O N		21
22 Burial of the Virgin Mary.		22
23 Assumption of the Virgin Mary. H G		23
24 Coronation of the Virgin Mary.		24
		25

SOUTH SIDE OF CHAPEL.

NOTE.—The capital letters mark the central figures or messengers; each letter stands

for a particular figure, so that the repetition of the messengers may be perceived by their recurrence.



windows except the east one. In several instances the eyeballs have faded to a dull grey, which gives a disagreeable effect to the countenance.¹

In the seventh north window the shadows seem to have been laid on very dark and solid; in some parts, at first, covering the whole surface, after which the lights and middle tints were taken out with a fine point, or piece of wood, so as to leave the whole surface covered with delicate scratches, according to the gradations of tint. As the main design is bold and uniform with the rest, whilst the manipulation is timid, laborious, and elaborate, I fancy this window to be one of the four for which Williamson was to receive the composition or design at the hands of Hone and his colleagues. On ascending the stairs of the organ-gallery, the scratches alluded to are very perceptible, especially in the central half-figure of a prophet.

Still a department of glass has to claim our attention. It is not stated how far Bernard Flower had proceeded in his work before his decease mentioned in the second contract. Certain it is, however, from the provisions made therein, that his preparation could not have been for more than four windows. He may have made several experiments, and employed various artists, but, at all events, inferior as the glass now to be spoken of is to the rest, it surpasses the solitary figure still remaining at Westminster. In the compositions of "*The Agony*," and "*The Betrayal*," we are reminded of a foreign style, with long-drawn draperies, small delicate features, beautiful finish, and a general timidity. The costume is the same as appears in the works of Gentile da Fabriano and Hubert van Eyck; the subject of "*Christ Insulted*" also belongs to this class. The architecture in this composition is very peculiar. Spectators, in remarkable costumes, are placed in a kind of gallery. Small upright wooden panelling prevails; a feature not to be found in any other of the windows.

The extreme westerly window on the north side has been much injured, and many parts of the glass misplaced; a little care and moderate outlay would soon re-establish the

¹ Similar composition and costume appear in the north window, over the organ-gallery, which contains "*The Massacre of the Innocents*," "*The Fall of the Idols*," and "*The Golden Calf*." The

armour of the soldiers is identical with examples in the east window, "*The Conversion of St. Paul*," and "*The Stoning of St. Paul*;" but the execution is very different.

more important parts of the composition, all of which I perceive to be there. Any one knowing the conventional treatment of the subjects will detect particular portions, however extensively they may have been disturbed.

The upper tracery has been good, with much white and yellow. Rich deep tone of brown, green, and crimson. Observe the elaborate folds of upper central angel.

Meeting at the Golden Gate. Draperies excellent. Rich heading, with baluster-shaped supports. Angels appear over the portal.

Birth of the Virgin. The counterpart of execution and arrangement to the Annunciation. On the canopy of the bed is inscribed $\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Nu}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{\Lambda}$. ANNA. MATER. M $\bar{\Lambda}$. in large yellow letters on grey. Several parts of the room resemble the well-known picture of "The Death of the Virgin," at Munich, erroneously attributed to Schoreel.²

All the architectural framework of the window over the north entrance is white, shaded with a deep reddish grey; this tint indeed pervades also the figures and every compartment in dense broad masses, giving thereby a totally distinct effect from that presented by any other window. It has a slaty, but not disagreeable hue.

The same leady colour is used even in shading the faces.

Marriage of Tobias. On the yellow edge at top of drapery suspended behind the figures is the legend in small black letters, BENDICTI SIT DORUM. In "*The Marriage of the Virgin*" there is no legend either upon the dresses or tapestry band as in the subject above it. The taste of the architectural framework is especially beautiful and distinct from the rest. It contains certain ornaments peculiarly foreign, and generally designated *German gothic*. They may be recognised among the engravings of Israel Van Meckenen and Martin Schön. A very good specimen of the latter, a censer, date about 1470, has been copied in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations."

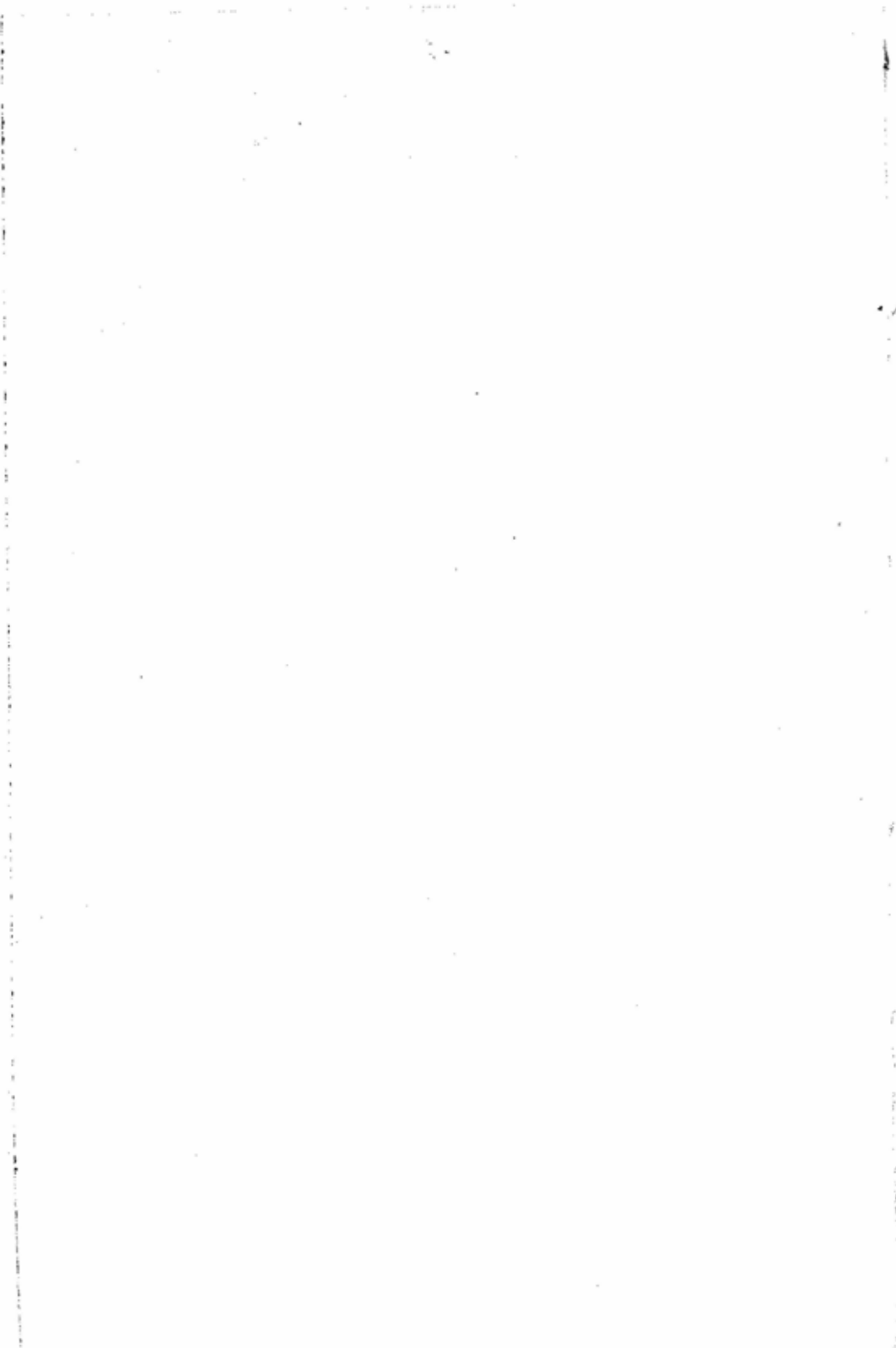
The small half-angels also have legends, the central one of which is EGO SUM ALPHA ET OMEGA. On the left hand may

² Selections from it have been published in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations." The background in this picture affords several similarities to the decorations in the windows of this part of the chapel. For instance, the circular medallions

containing helmeted heads, naked children introduced into the architecture, and long descending garlands hung in festoons. A cupboard with different vessels on it is especially serviceable to the lover of ancient domestic ornaments.



SKETCHES FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



be read PRO ANIMO, held by a figure clothed in a white cowl, with blue sleeves. May not this window prove to be a memorial window, referring to the Queen, or the King's sister, who died in 1503? The position over the north door is a marked one, and was usually adopted for representations of the Virgin Mary annunciate. "I am the door."

The figure of the priest in "*The Marriage of Tobias*" is very like Henry VII., and the bride closely resembles Elizabeth of York. The Virgin has a queenly coronet and mantle in the lower subjects. St. Joseph is clad in priestly white.

Annunciation. Here we meet with a decided example of the North Italian style, blended with the German. The Milanese began first to display the hair of the Madonna in long flowing tresses, which was soon adopted in North Italy and Germany. In some German masters, and in the Coventry Tapestry, the dishevelled locks and luxurious negligence seem more befitting the representations of Mary Magdalene. Here, however, the beautiful and yellow hair is richly flowing, and, although contrasting with the veiled figures of lower Italy, is carefully arranged. The costume is rich, but elegant. The jewellery, although elaborately ornamented, is not obtrusive.³ The archangel kneeling is attended by two lovely children, who support his mantle. Here again is an essential difference between the German and Florentine treatment of this event. The latter clothed the divine messenger in pure classic drapery, delicately feminine in character, whilst the former seem to have always invested him with pontifical insignia. The richly jewelled cope, with broad clasp, was adopted by Stephen of Cologne, Van Eyck and Hemling. The under garments are long, and fall in a profusion of folds. At Hexham, in Northumberland, in a painting on the rood-screen, the angel wears a simple deacon's habit.⁴

³ The jewelled band on her ample brow is unusual, but appears also on a figure of Venus engraved by Robetta, who flourished about 1520. (See Bartsch, vol. xiii., p. 403, No. 18.)

⁴ Another German peculiarity is in the scene where the Annunciation takes place. Invariably, as far as I remember, it is represented, by all Schools, within a building, often a handsome chamber or chapel. The Germans always introduce

a bed with handsome ornaments and curtains, and this was not adopted by the Italians till a very late period, long after the date attributable to the Cambridge glass. Again, the curtains are shortened by being folded up within themselves, and made to hang like bags from the corners of the canopy. This transalpine peculiarity is very common in German and English art.

Here, at Cambridge, a large yellow rose appears in a medallion in the background. The oak planking and pot of lilies are minutely detailed. The angel, also, has flowing and somewhat crimped hair, very German in appearance; and, as in the Cologne picture, he holds a sceptre. The folds of drapery, although angular, are arranged with remarkable elegance. An inscription appears on the cornice of the bed in white letters on grey—*ANCILLA DOMINI M̄A*.

The "*Nativity*" is combined with the "*Adoration of the Shepherds*." The cottage is strangely connected with the gorgeous architecture both of framework and background. Two large medallions are prominent above. Many of the lines of the architecture are variously curved. Blue, red, and green baluster columns are united with upright-shafted columns, and a square pilaster of the Italian Renaissance period is prominent behind the figure of the Virgin. The yellow star appears at the top of the left-hand compartment, penetrating through the rich architecture. The kneeling figure of the Virgin is especially beautiful, her drapery also is gracefully cast and carefully modelled. The adoring angels have the naïve charm so often seen in the Milanese school. A broad white cuff is remarkable on the blue sleeve of the Virgin. The angel's hair is arranged in sparkling yellow curls and braiding.

In the "*Temptation of Eve*," the treatment is peculiarly German; the sky is deep blue and the green of trees intense. A handsome German fountain occupies the centre of the composition. The Tempter, in female form, of deep red hue,⁵ ending in a serpent, is twisted round the tree, and handing the apple to our first parent standing alone. The head of the Tempter is extremely beautiful. The canopy over this subject is positive Gothic, and contrasts strangely with the taste of the one to the right, over "*Moses and the Burning Bush*."⁶ It seems as if Hone, having been entrusted with fixing the glass in their places, had indiscriminately mixed up the various styles,⁷ since all spaces were of the same dimensions.

⁵ In Fairford church the colour of the Tempter is blue.

⁶ The "*Temptation*," together with "*The Burning Bush*," "*Gideon*," and the "*Visit of the Queen to Solomon*," occupy one of the windows of Fairford church, Gloucestershire. The composi-

tion in both is very similar.

⁷ The finest Gothic canopy I would mention, is over the subject of "*Christ Insulted*;" the next will be found above and below in the sixth north window; in the eleventh north; and also, to judge from what now remains, at the top of the

The next window embraces much darker and more coarsely executed designs. The rich figure of angel in lower central light shows clearly the scratching out mode of execution. The messenger below it is in a wretched condition arising perhaps from mere dirt, but for example of difference of execution the visitor may be advantageously referred to the only other repetition of these figures in the third window on the south side.

The composition of the "*Flight into Egypt*" resembles a well-known panel picture of Angelico da Fiesole.⁸ The story of the reapers is carefully introduced in the background.

The next window is also dark. The composition of both subjects relating to "*Slaughter of the Children*" wonderfully vigorous. The front kneeling woman in orange dress perfectly Italian. The central messengers are excellent; the hands of standing angel beautifully drawn.

The standing "Madonna and Child," both without a nimbus, are majestically conceived. The figure kneeling to them has an inscription on his dress over the shoulder; it seems to be ROBOAM · AVTE · EN · SIAS OS AWLP. The figure may be Jeroboam, in reference to (1 Kings, ch. xiii. verses 2 and 5) the prophecy uttered to him, "Behold a child shall be born unto the house of David;" "The altar also was rent." The figures are richly adorned with pearls and jewels. On the dress of the front kneeling figure in the "Adoration of the Golden Calf" is written LIVEREM. Letters also appear on the pavement round the standing figure of "Madonna and Child."

The next window is dark. The Naaman contains some admirable specimens of costume belonging to the commencement of the XVIth century. The architecture of the "*Temptation of Esau*" is entirely different from any surrounding it, although the execution seems from the same hand. The broad large arch, with square pilasters, classic medallions, and large figures of Cupids in the headings, show the cartoon to have been made by the designer of the south choir windows first adverted to.⁹

twelfth south. Over the "*Temptation of Eve*" the heading is coarser, very small red pillars are introduced, with red and green spandrels; but still it is more Gothic than anything else.

⁸ In the Galleria delle Belle Arti di Firenze.

⁹ These pilasters, with arabesques in panels upon them, are to be seen also in the uppermost central light of window over the north entrance, where the angel hovers in the air over a pavement, and the space between them is filled up with the bases of two enriched pilasters. The

Dürer may have adopted the Renaissance¹ style during his visit to Italy before 1507; but I do not remember any instances of his ever giving into the fantastic taste remarked upon in the "*Nativity*" window, and which pervades so many German engravings from Dirk Van Staren, 1523, to the middle of the century.²

In the lower Messenger subject, between "*The Baptism*" and "*Temptation*," the letters s. o. k. n. appear on the square pavement.

In "*The Raising of Lazarus*" the re-animated figure is very poorly drawn, but with evident attempts to follow a good design. The female costumes in this subject are very characteristic.

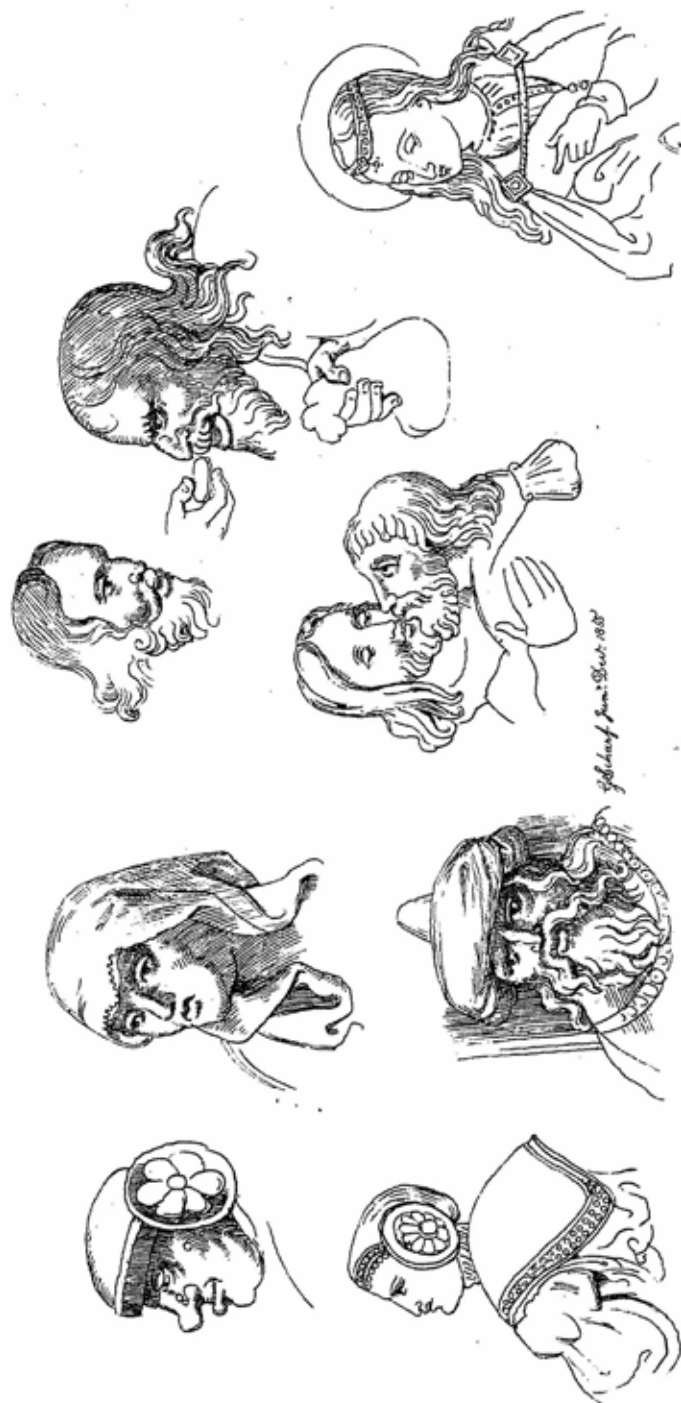
"*The Last Supper*" clearly belongs to the author of the south choir windows. It stands alone here in point of style and execution. The countenance of the Saviour, represented without a nimbus, is almost as villainous as that of Judas. A broad horizontal panelled ceiling accords with the style of the opposite windows; a chandelier also is worthy of observation. Two large Cupids fill the headings. The colouring of this window is peculiarly warm, with large masses of crimson, and more white upon architecture. In the surrounding windows there is scarcely any positive red; green, madder, brown, and blue, predominate. The square leading across the "*Entry to Jerusalem*" is particularly offensive. The messenger to the right of "*The Last Supper*" is coarse and

heading over this figure is also cinquecento; and round the lower angel also of the same window we find the circular arch and spandrels, green wreaths, and square pilaster bases, which contrast very strangely with the architecture on each side of it. These combinations, however, at the very beginning of the century, are reconcilable. One style does not immediately and entirely give way to another, and the works of Dürer and Cranach alone would suffice to show that the same artist made use of each style in turn. The canopy of the figure of Jeremiah in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster is pure Gothic in plain white, with only the prominences coloured yellow.

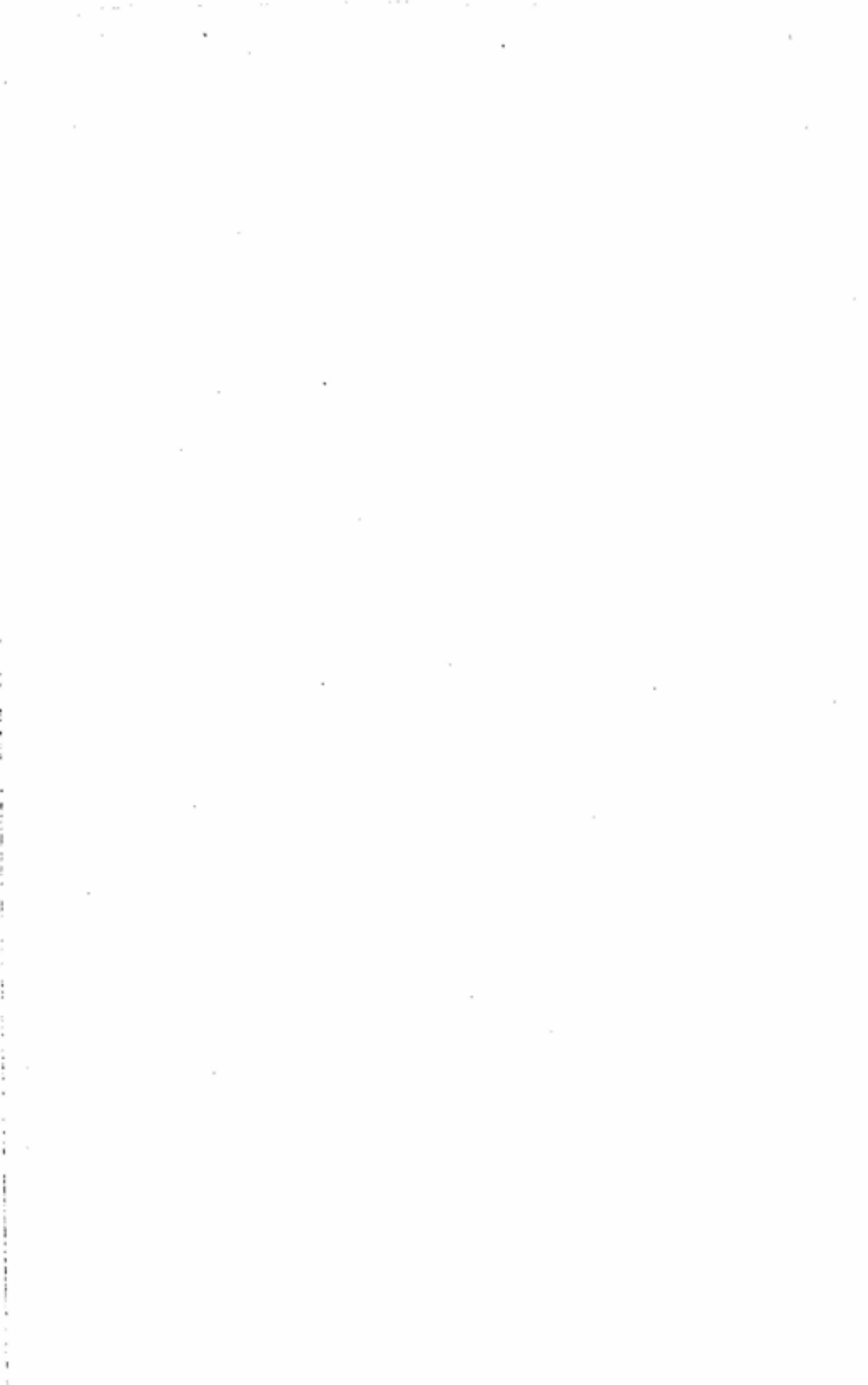
¹ The classical Renaissance architecture came from Florence. There, at least, under the fostering influence of the Medici, were introduced numerous panels containing arabesques copied from the ancient Roman buildings, niches with

fluted shell-like heads, and friezes of naked figures, or warriors attired in classic costume. The picture of "*Calumny*," by Sandro Boticelli, is an early instance; also the frescoes of Ghirlandajo in Santa Maria Novella; and, more recently, the beautifully proportioned arcade and pilasters in Albertinelli's picture of "*The Visitation*," preserved in the Uffizj. The recent discovery of an early painting by Raphael of "*The Last Supper*," shows also this style in all its richness. The elaboration of classic architecture may be seen in Bernard van Orley's picture of "*St. Norbert preaching*."

² It is observable that wherever windows are represented in the interior subjects on this side of the chapel, they are barred diagonally. There is no indication of tracery or of the roundels so much in vogue at that time in Germany.



SKETCHES OF HEADS FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS IN KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL CAMBRIDGE.



clumsy, but the hand on the breast is carefully outlined. This figure occurs only once. The half angel in armour is inferior to the one in second south window. In the "*Agony*" and "*Betrayal*" the figures are remarkably small,³ the treatment of the subject is very weak, but in several respects partakes of the models and execution of Quentin Messys.

The robes in "*The Agony*" are edged with broad gold bands, ornamented with pearls and jewels in imperial fashion; but none of the robes are patterned or embroidered. Most of the figures in "*The Betrayal*" seem to have their names written upon the border of their dresses in black letters upon yellow. The hair of the personages in these subjects is also coloured deep madder, in all other instances it is either quite white or pure yellow. Two figures of messengers, in the upper part of the north window next the altar, have close affinity to the last mentioned. They are small and of equal size, the upper one is surmounted by a genuine Gothic canopy of pure white, encircled with gold. The lower, somewhat like the Westminster "*Jeremiah*," is placed under an arch similar to the form introduced in the "*Christ Insulted*." A Gothic window, with lozenge framing, appears behind, and also at the back of each of the Messengers just described; they are marked F* and G*. Two other figures of small but equal size are somewhat similar; they are marked X and Y, and occupy the upper central part of the sixth north window from the altar. They only occur once.

The "*Fall of the Angels*" is a rich and charmingly coloured design. Here the angels belong to an earlier period, so also the armour of St. Michael; it marks the time of Edward IV., about 1480. It is almost the same as in the great Dänzig "*Last Judgment*." Both figures have only a band upon the head, surmounted with a cross. The demons are frog-like, and some with pig-snouts, as in the engravings of Martin Schön. A very similar treatment of robed angels and combating demons may be seen in Albert Dürer's "*Fall of the Angels*" among the woodcuts of the Apocalypse, which appeared in 1498. Also in the great west window of

³ The cup, of great size, placed alone at the top of a mountain, appears also in the engravings of Dürer, representing the same subject, and in No. 20 of the Biblia

Pauperum. It appears also, but still more exaggerated, in the lower series of the east window of Fairford church, Gloucestershire.

Fairford Church, which is deservedly admired for composition and colour.

The enthroned figure of the Almighty, represented bare-headed and with nimbus, is especially grand. The fighting angels are draped as in the well-known engraving of St. Michael, by Martin Schön : a group of floating angels in act of adoration is very lovely.

A coarse inscription, SIC REPÔDES POTIFICE, appears on the side of the step supporting seat in "*Christ before Caiaphas*." The high-priest here wears a bonnet over the judge's hood.⁴ In the next subject, Herod positively grins, perhaps in reference to the passage of St. Luke, ch. xxiii. v. 8, "and when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad."⁵ The architecture of this window is profusely ornamented, several of the faces are from the same models as in east window, but much inferior in execution. The head of lowest central messenger is fine ; it resembles that of Pilate enthroned at east end. These windows show strong resemblance to the designs of Pietro Koeck d'Aelst, in the British Museum.

The two next subjects of "*The Flagellation*" and "*Christ Crowned with Thorns*," are the very worst in the whole chapel. Oppressively heavy and clumsy architecture, small figures, utterly deficient in form or expression, betoken an ignorant copy from what may have been originally spirited compositions. Here, then, we find a very different method of copy from what we observed in the central north windows. The copyist here was both ignorant and self-sufficient, a combination unfortunately only too common in all times.

The great east window⁶ is too extensive a subject to be entered upon minutely in the space assigned to this communication ; of some of its merits I have already spoken, others

⁴ A dog seems to have been introduced to indicate rabble and popular tumult, one appears also where "St. Paul is attacked at Lystra." N.B. 41, p. 97, do. p. 111. In Albert Dürer's "Smaller Passion," a dog is introduced in "Christ before Caiaphas," and in "Christ before Pilate," and a crouching one lies behind the feet of the Judge in "Christ sent to Herod." In Cranach's "Christ before Pilate," two dogs are fighting at the feet of the Judge.

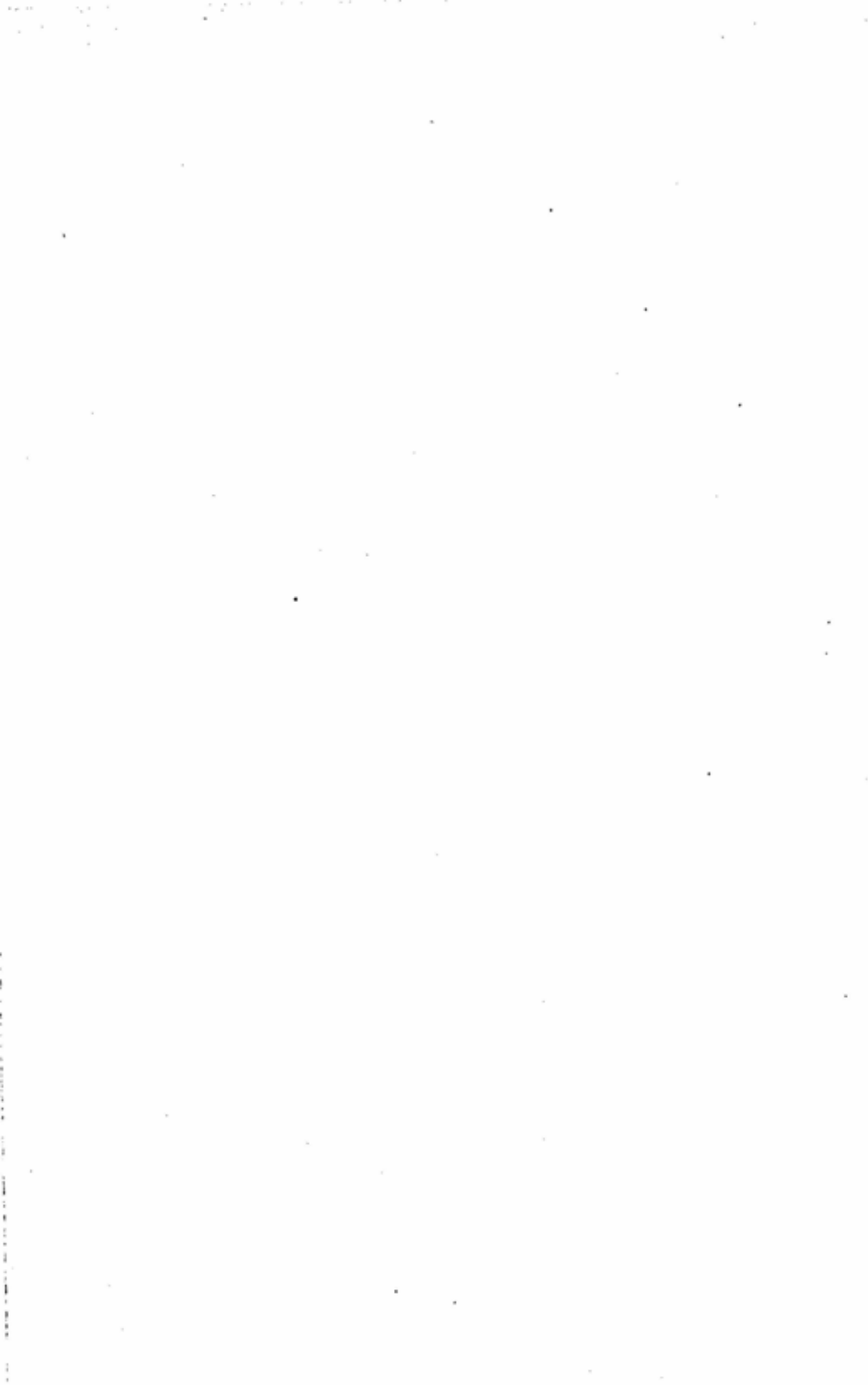
⁵ Herod and Caiaphas both wear bonnets ; Pilate, in the east window, wears a turban. The following Messengers

wear turbans twisted round lofty caps, F. Z. I. C* and G*.

⁶ In St. Margaret's at Westminster, the whole centre of the window is occupied by the "Crucifixion." In the great east window of Fairford church, Gloucestershire, the five upper lights are devoted exclusively to the same subject ; the five lower lights are filled with the following subjects, naming them from north to south. 1. "The Entry into Jerusalem ;" 2. "Agony in the Garden ;" 3. "Pilate Washing his Hands ;" 4. "The Flagellation ;" 5. "The Cross-bearing."



SKETCHES FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



I hope to make known on a future occasion. The composition and effect, with rich blue and deep shadows against bright masses of light, constantly remind me of Tintoretto; the balance of colour is admirably preserved. One singular expedient is worth mentioning. In the lower right hand subject a mass of red was required against the extensive blue and green of the landscape. To afford this, a large patch of the landscape itself was coloured bright red. At a distance it looks like a banner floating, but on closer inspection rocks and grass on it are distinctly visible.

On the south side we enter upon the most extensive and uniform series. The first compositions nearest the altar are very poor. The lowest angel holding tablet in second window is remarkably beautiful. The motive seems derived from some of Raphael's angels in the dome of the Chigi Chapel at Rome. The wings are thrown up ornamentally, as in a figure of St. Michael by Angelico da Fiesole.⁷ There seems little uniformity with regard to the introduction of the nimbus, in these windows, or of its colour when introduced; sometimes it is represented as a flat circle, at others, as a disk seen in perspective. In the "*Entombment*" and "*Descent to the gates of Hell*" it is omitted entirely. The subject of the "*Descent into Hell or Hades*,"⁸ well shows the distinctive features I have already described. Larger figures, clearer spaces, broader forms, and a studious display of waving drapery in the banner and mantle behind the Redeemer's shoulder. The latter is again apparent in the "*Resurrection*," but there serves usefully to fill a space to the left of the principal figure; but in the subjects of "*Christ appearing to His Mother*," "*Journey to Emmaus*," and in the banner in the "*Incredulity*," these curling graces may be considered ornamental rather than necessary. These accessories, so nobly treated in the genuine works of Raphael, become mere flourishes in the hands of his successors and imitators. Here may be perceived a peculiar roundness of limb and fold which was afterwards carried to extreme excess in the hands of Rubens and his scholars, and these works in many respects seem to have prepared the way for

⁷ In the Galleria delle Belle Arti at Florence.

⁸ This was the subject of one of Raphael's tapestries, which the Jews destroyed in

1798 for the sake of the gold. It had fortunately been engraved previously by Sommereau. See Passavant, vol. ii. p. 269, and Landon, pl. 389.

him. The front soldier in the "*Resurrection*" has a most hideous face, the armour of this subject is the pseudo-classic of Francis I. The colouring of the next subject to the right is very similar to that of the Lichfield Choir, containing rich brown deep shadows well massed. The composition seems derived from a woodcut by Albert Dürer of the same subject. The next window, containing the "*Maries at the Sepulchre*," and the "*Meeting in the Garden*," affords similar costumes to figures in the works of Lucas Van Leyden, Bernard van Orley (his St. Norbert), Schoreel, and Albert Dürer, dating 1510, besides a fine German picture belonging to Lord Radnor, at Longford Castle.⁹ The drawing of the large figures, especially of the kneeling Magdalen, is admirable, worthy indeed of Pontormo when fresh from Michael Angelo. There is in truth not a little of a model of the great Florentine, also, in the style of head and neck of the "*Magdalene standing at the Tomb*." I am aware that the head is a reproduction, but as it was merely copied from what had before existed there, the general character must, of course, have remained the same. The messengers in both lights are richly coloured, the lowest figure with hat and cape is the best among three repetitions. The figure of the winged deacon also is vigorously expressed, the canopy with rich gold filagree is excellent. The lower figures between the Emmaus subjects are very inferior to sixth north window. The upper figures also very weak and inferior to ninth north window.

The lions in the "*Habbacuc*" subject, as well as "*Visit of Darius*," are admirably drawn. The boldness of their attitudes merits attention. The messengers between the "*Incredulity*" and "*Appearance to the Eleven*," are remarkably fine, and only occur once; the modelling of the face of the lowest angel is marvellous; clearly painted and not stippled. The window containing the "*Ascension*," "*Pentecost*," "*Moses*" and "*Elijah*," ought, perhaps, to rank among the very finest. The vigour of conception and appropriateness of execution, place this at once on a level with the east

⁹ The curious fashion in head-ornament of a circular plate or shield at each side of the head, seems to have prevailed for a long time. It appears in a large wood engraving after Pontormo, inserted in Derschan, in a beautiful engraving of the "Samaritan Woman at the Well," by Dirk Van Staren, dated 1523, and in a

graceful figure of "St. Margaret with Margaret of Austria," an etching dated 1531, which Mr. Carpenter supposes to be by Bernard van Orley. In one of the medallions of the windows at Liège the same costume appears. These windows bear dates ranging from 1520 to 1531.

window and those devoted to the Acts of the Apostles. It is considerably darker, a decided Italian composition is perceptible, except in the figure of the Saviour ascending to Heaven, which is seen as in Albert Dürer, Angelico da Fiesole, in the *Biblia Pauperum*, and in the Enoch of the *Speculum*.¹

In "*The Law given to Moses*," cherubim appear in the air according to the Italian conception. In "*The Descent of the Holy Ghost*," the figures, and especially the Virgin Mary, are all clothed in the Italian manner. The upper messengers are the best of three repetitions; upon the sleeve of the half figure is inscribed 7 HEN. The lower figures are also good, especially the head of the one holding a tablet. The three next windows have already elicited much admiration, but the "*Ananias*" claims especial notice, on account of its well-known prototype.² The figures of "*St. Paul Preaching*," and in the "*Attack at Lystra*," partake more or less of Raphael's influence; many are very powerfully shaded; there, as in the east window, even among subjects of tumult, is a propriety and naturalness of expression which we look for in vain among the subjects of "*The Trials of our Lord*." The grimace and caricature so repugnant to us were possibly traditional, which painters adhered to more in Germany than Italy. Among these windows in the central lights occur the repetitions of a standing figure³ in doctor's gown and cap; a kneeling bull is thought by some to mark the evangelist St. Luke, as writer of the Acts of the Apostles. The face is beardless and evidently a portrait. The best among these four repetitions is decidedly the lower one in the ninth window.

The last two windows, relating to the history of the Virgin, are similar to the twelfth on the north side. They

¹ The lower part of the figure and soles of the feet are alone visible in the sky, the rest is cut off by the bright blue clouds. The "*Ascension*" and "*Pentecost*" occur side by side on the south windows of Fairford church. The lower part of the figure of the Saviour is seen in the air, with the feet so turned as to show the soles conspicuously. The mount is elongated into a column with a green top like a mushroom, upon which two foot-prints remain. The apostles kneel in a circle round the base of the column.

² In Raphael's cartoon, the steps are fewer, and the railing not so much orna-

mented. In the cartoon and Marc Antonio's engraving, Ananias has bare legs and feet, his shoulder also is uncovered. In the glass painting he wears a yellow dress with white stockings and ornamented shoes. The teeth also are shown; they are not to be seen in the cartoon. One of the profile heads behind is very Raphaelesque. The apostle raising his arm and pointing, shows distinctly the influence of Marc Antonio's engraving. The figure of St. Peter is quite in the older Florentine style of Lippi or Masaccio.

³ Indicated by the letter L.

have likewise suffered much from wanton injury. In the "*Death of Tobit*," the patriarch lies in a bed with richly ornamented valance and curtains hanging down halfway as noticed in the "*Annunciation*." Tobias and his wife kneel at the foot of the bed and the angel Raphael appears to the left. The subject beneath it, the "*Death of the Virgin*," is very similar, the colours are intense, and there is a beautiful filagree work in the canopy. "*The Burial of Jacob*" is sadly mutilated and clumsily patched together, the central messenger, and angel of upper light, are beautifully rich in colour, the draperies wonderfully modelled and preferable to the repetition in opposite tenth window. The lowest figure is the only full-length one of the series clad in armour. The angel above, a kneeling female figure with remarkable sleeves, has wings. The grass-green bracket with deep perforations, upon which the lowest figure stands, is exquisitely beautiful.⁴

"*The Assumption of the Virgin*" is graceful. The angels are clad in beautifully arranged drapery, some floating, with admirable sharp folds in early German style. One angel above plays a guitar, another a harp. The Virgin being carried up by four angels folds her hands in prayer. The hair is long and flowing, and the entire figure, firm as a statue, is exactly like that in the centre compartment of the Coventry Tapestry. The next subject, "*The Coronation of the Virgin*," is surmounted with a rich curtained canopy; below, two angels play a pipe and dulcimer, the Virgin, clad in celestial blue and white, kneels praying towards the spectator and with her back to the Saviour, who sits with the Almighty Father; the Holy Spirit, "dove-like," hovers above them.⁵ The Almighty wears an arched crown with fillets surrounded by a purple circular nimbus. The knee supporting the globe and cross. The Saviour's head is bare, with a red nimbus seen *in perspective*. The crown held over the Virgin's head is unarched but jewelled. The subject over the "*Assumption*" is unquestionably "*Enoch*." The pouch noticed by Mr. Bolton was no distinctive emblem of St. Nicholas, besides the action of the Almighty receiving the

⁴ A similar pattern will be found upon the support column of Adam Kraft's "Sakramenthäuschen" or tabernacle at Firth, near Nuremberg, executed about 1497. The taste of many of the ornaments recalls the beautiful candlesticks in

Dürer's woodcuts of the Apocalypse. They appeared in 1498.

⁵ The same composition and attitude of the Madonna may be seen in No. 30 of the Chaise Dieu Tapestries.

personage *by the hands* is only seen in connection with Enoch. It is so represented in the *Biblia Pauperum*.⁶

I cannot pretend to have afforded materials for clearly deciding the relative periods of the glass, but I hope that internal evidence derived from artistic considerations may do something towards attaining the desired point. With that view also, I recapitulate one or two particulars which seem to me most likely to indicate an approximate date.

In the fifth indenture, A.D. 1526, still preserved in the archives of the College, *eighteen* windows were ordered; *six* of which were to be completed *within a year* from the date, April 30, and the remaining *twelve* in four years, that is, by April 30th, 1530. As one-third of the windows was to be finished in one-fourth of the entire time allotted, there seems to have been some pressure, and this may have arisen from the necessity of glazing the South windows of the choir as a defence against the sunshine as soon as possible. The windows of this part of the chapel are precisely six in number, and on the south side alone do we find a uniform series of paintings in one style only. These windows, I would unhesitatingly assign to the date 1526-7 by which period, Albert Dürer—whose style and breadth is here peculiarly discernible—had executed all his finest works. Dürer died in 1528. But we know from the indenture of April 30th, 1526, just referred to, that some glass had been *already* prepared: for provision appears for its being put up at the pleasure of the Provost and his two colleagues. Concerning this glass, excepting that a certain Bernard Flower, recently dead, had been connected with it, we know nothing. As the indenture provides for twenty-two windows still to be made, they could not have exceeded four in number.

I cannot help fancying Flower's portion to have been the glass for *all* the upper lights, since they are uniform throughout the chapel. Next to these in date, judging pictorially, I would place the four westerly windows relating to the life of the Virgin. Several of the draperies have strong affinity to those of the Angels in the uppermost

⁶ In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the "*Translation of Enoch*" is represented like "*The Ascension of our Lord*." The "*Translation of Enoch*" forms No. 25 of the Chaise Dieu Tapestries, (see ante p. 46), there also the Almighty

receives him *by the hands*. Below, and somewhat behind, remains a bearded figure with a label "*Quis est iste qui venit de Edom?*" &c. Something of the same kind I fancy to have observed at Cambridge.

lights. The twelve windows to be wrought between 1526 and 1530, were entrusted to two distinct schools; one, including the East window, Flemish with an Italian basis, the other German, of the Cologne School, blended with the Saxon style of Cranach. To the latter may be assigned the windows relating to the Infancy of Christ; to the former, the windows relating to the lives of the Apostles, and ones over Organ Gallery, "*The Entry into Jerusalem*," and "*The Lazarus*." The Dürer characteristics do not extend beyond the six south choir windows and the "*Last Supper*" on the north side; except in the architecture of the "*Temptation of Esau*."

For contractors to employ artists of various countries and make use of engravings, was by no means uncommon. The system, less honestly pursued, is often adopted at the present day, when insipidity is generally preferred to originality. As Mr. Bolton, with every probability on his side, tells us that the West window had never been filled with painted glass, the contract could not have been entirely observed, and it may therefore be uncertain how far the four designs to be provided by Messrs. Hone and Co., were carried into effect. Judging from discrepancies between the design and execution of certain parts of the *north side*, some being too bold and others too timid, I fancy they may have been the copies. In the messengers, such certainly was the case, for in the repeated figures we often see a good and bad use made of the same cartoon. As the charges were so much *per foot*,⁷ the work seems to have been allotted to various artists without reference to subject or position, and their productions being placed together as pictures are arranged on the walls of a modern exhibition room, there seems little chance of the difficulty ever being solved without catalogues or names to identify them. The peculiar windows on the north side, "*The Agony*" and "*The Betrayal*," &c., are distinct from the rest. They have an almost provincial insipidity about them, and the costumes as well as architecture indicate an earlier period. The north side certainly displays a curious variety of styles and composition. The three most westerly are the most uniform.

With these rough notes I must conclude my paper: would that, as an Englishman, I could convince myself and

⁷ Sixteen-pence.

others that these glass paintings originated with Englishmen. If we had not an English school of art in the beginning of the XVIth century, we had certainly manufactures; and the constant demand for art up to the period of the Reformation, must have maintained a multitude of workmen, strong and ready at their craft. In former times, during the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VI., our more limited intercourse with foreign nations favoured the employment of native artists. Hence John of Chester, and John Thornton of Coventry, were largely employed, and seem to have fully met all that was required of them. But it is impossible to believe, that after the invention of engraving, both in wood and metal, our original artists, if we had still possessed any of importance, would not have manifested themselves. All portraits and works for publication, commemorative of state events, came from the hands of foreigners, and no reference whatever is preserved of English originals.^s That we had nationally an ardent love and taste for art is sufficiently evident, and the employment of such extensive resources as may be traced in the decoration of this chapel goes far to refute the charges of those who say we undervalued art in those days. I cannot follow Mr. Bolton's proof of *originality* in the necessarily high pitch of the "horizon line" page 169. The high horizon was adopted by all the great historical painters of that period, and nowhere is it more conspicuous than in the cartoons of both series designed by Raphael for tapestry. That these windows were designed by persons accustomed to tapestry, I have before expressed my conviction, and that the requirements of the loom and furnace should have been jointly considered was only in accordance with the spirit of the age which united the exercise of painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer in one person. It would be unbecoming on my part to omit acknowledging the value of Mr. Bolton's paper, which, without entering upon any artistic criticism, has rendered us so extensive, clear, and concise an account of these windows, their history, signification and manufacture.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

^s The Hampton Court pictures of "The Cloth of Gold," "The Embarcation at Dover," and "The Battle of Spurs," although no longer attributed to Holbein, have not been proved to have been done by an Englishman. The earliest engra-

ving, with an English name, known, is a print of the family of Henry VIII., about 1585, graven by W. Rogers. Two copies only are known: one in the British Museum, the other at Paris.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIÆVAL SEALS.

1. PERSONAL SEAL OF WILLIAM DE YSPANIA (Hispania).—It will be observed the impression is a pointed oval and dish-shaped, and the figure of the horse, on which the knight is mounted, is placed in the longer axis. The knight appears in a pointed chapel de fer, with a nasal, having a kite-shaped shield, and carrying on his right shoulder a lance with a pennon. A few letters are perceptible above the device, being probably the remains of the word Yspania. We are indebted to Mr. William Clayton for directing our attention to this curious seal: the original is attached to an early document among the muniments of the Barrington Hall estate, the property of Mr. Alan Lowndes, by whom a cast has been presented to the Institute.

But little is known of the family of De Hispania beside what is given by Morant. They held estates in Essex; and one parish, Willingham



Spain, and two manors, Spain's Hall in Finchingfield, and Spaynes Hall in Great Yeldham, are distinguished by their name. Herveus de Hispania, at the time when Domesday was compiled, held lands in that county under Alan, Earl of Britany and Richmond. This William was probably his grandson, and held the manor of Spain's Hall, Finchingfield, as a vassal of Alan the Savage, Earl of Britany and Richmond, who granted the seignory of it and other estates to Alberic de Vere, an ancestor of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, if not the first earl of that family. That was probably about the middle of the XIIth century. The family of De Hispania seems to have continued at Finchingfield and Great Yeldham till the beginning of the XIVth century; about which time an heiress, Margaret or Margery, daughter of a Richard de Hispania, married Nicholas Kemp, and so

conveyed the Finchingfield estate to that family. Their connection with Spain, or how they acquired their surname, has not been discovered.

The document to which the seal is attached is remarkable, being a deed of endowment at the church door; a species of instrument that is rarely met with. According to the common law of this country the usage was the same as, Tacitus tells us, existed among the ancient Germans: "*Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert.*" Dowry, unlike dowry, was a provision for the wife in the event of her surviving her husband, and consisted generally of one third of his lands and tenements. There were several modes of assigning it, but it eventually became a legal right irrespective of any intention on the part of the husband to confer it. Among the various kinds known after the Conquest, if not the earliest, was *Dos ad ostium Ecclesiæ*, which was a specific provision made for the wife by the husband at the door of the church in which they were married. Glanville, a distinguished lawyer and soldier, who was Justiciary under Henry II., and died at the siege of Acre in the service of Cœur de Lion, writing in the reign of the former king, and but a few years after this document was sealed, calls such dowry, "*id quod aliquis liber homo dat sponsæ suæ ad ostium ecclesiæ tempore desponsationis suæ.*" Littleton in the XVth century, at which time it should seem the practice was not extinct, explains it, according to Coke's translation, thus: "Dowment at the church door is where a man of full age seised in fee simple, who shall be married to a woman, and when he cometh to the church door to be married, there, after affiance and troth plighted between them, he endoweth the woman of his whole land, or of the half or other less part thereof, and there openly doth declare the quantity and certainty of the land which she shall have for her dowry." "This dowry," says Sir Edward Coke, "is ever after marriage solemnised, and therefore this dowry is good without deed, because a man cannot make a deed to his wife." But it may be doubted whether marriage did always precede in earlier times, for Littleton says "after affiance and troth plighted," which may mean betrothal; and with this agrees Glanville, as has been seen, and also Bracton, c. 39. It was, however, good without deed, and hence, perhaps, the rarity of such instruments. In this instance, William de Hispania calls the lady his wife, and appears to have married her in the church of Shalford, a village adjoining to Finchingfield, where he probably resided. The name of her father does not appear. Her husband gives her the town (*villam*, probably a manor only) of Willingham, and one knight's fee, viz., that of Robert, son of Menguus, and what is remarkable, one socman, viz., Eustachius of Willingham; another instance, in addition to those noticed by Sir H. Ellis in his Introduction to Domesday, of the base condition of some socmen in Essex, who were apparently attached to the manors on which they dwelt. Among the numerous witnesses, comprising most likely some of the lady's friends, we have William de Hispania's brother Richard, Robert, son of Menguus, the socman Eustace, and also the "deans" of Finchingfield and Matching (a village near Barrington Hall). The deed read *in extenso* is as follows:

"*Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Willelmus de Yspania dedi et concessi uxori mee Lucie Villam de Willigehale cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et feudum unius militis scilicet Rodberti filii mengui et unum socheman scilicet Eustachium de Willigehale ante hostium ecclesiæ sancte Marie de Scaldeford ubi eam desponsavi in dotem sine contradictione aliqua. His*

testibus Ricardo fratre meo, Willelmo filio Joichel, Fulcone dapifero, Rodberto de Vallis, Gilleberto filio Radulfi, Rodberto filio Mengui, Eustachio de Willigehale, Ernaldo decano de Finchingefeld, Willelmo filio Fulconis, Thoma de Ardena et Radulfo filio ejus, Radulfo de Cauri, Elia de Sancto Georgio, Humfrido de Bruill, Alano de Sancto Georgio, Hugone decano de Macinga, Luciano medico, Ricardo pincerna, Eudone filio Gervasii, Rodberto masculo, Nicolao coco, Thoma camerario, Arnaldo coco.

"Valeant presentes et futuri et mee donationis dotem manuteneant."

As the marriage took place at Shalford Church, and the dean of Finchingfield, the husband's parish, was present, the lady was probably of Shalford; but we have not been able to connect any of the witnesses with the latter parish, or to discover which of them were her friends. The "deans" of Finchingfield and Matching, if not rural deans, which seems very questionable, may have been the principal priests in those parishes, or even rectors, having others in some way subordinate to them. Finchingfield is so large a parish, that there were, most likely, several priests in it; and though Matching was much smaller, there appears to have been a chapel as well as a church in it. The name Menguius is very uncommon, but "Filio Mengui," we are assured, is the reading of the deed. A Richard Mascle was tenant, according to Morant, of certain lands, the seignory of which was granted by the Earl of Britany and Richmond to Alberic de Vere, at the same time as the seignory of William de Hispania's manor in Finchingfield. The witness, Robertus Masculus, may therefore very likely have been a relative. Ralph de Ardena, son of Thomas, was probably the same who was some years after Bailiff of Pont Audemer (Normandy), and had a son Thomas. They seem to have been connected with West Sussex, and therefore Humphry de Bruill may have derived his surname from the Broyle, near Chichester.¹ St. Georges was a family in the same county in the XIIth century. The Ardenas, Broyles, and St. Georges, were probably some of the wife's friends. The Joichels (Jekylls) were of Finchingfield.

It may seem a little unaccountable how this document should have got among the Barrington Hall muniments. It was probably through the De Veres, under whose ancestor we have seen William de Hispania held; a considerable number of whose muniments, we have understood, came into the hands of the owners of Barrington Hall, in consequence of the addition of some property that had belonged to them. There was no obligation to deliver up this deed to the lord, but the vassals were likely to consult their lord's steward, who was generally a lawyer; and thus the document may have been left in the steward's custody, and so got mixed with the De Vere archives, which ultimately came into the possession of Mr. Alan Lowndes.

The curious seal, now for the first time published, presents an example of the scyphate, or dished form, which is of rare occurrence. We may mention as specimens of this peculiarity, a contemporary seal with a mounted figure, and the inscription, SIGILLVM ROBERTI COMITIS DE NIORTIS (Niorts? in Poictou²); and a very interesting seal of pointed oval form, obtained by the late Mr. Doubleday at the Hôtel Soubise, in Paris, being

¹ Stapleton, Pref. Rot. Scac. Norm., ii. p. xxxiv, et seq.

² This seal is distinguished in a more remarkable degree than any other hitherto noticed. A sulphur cast has been sup-

plied by Mr. Ready. The seal of one of the earlier prelates of the church of Mayence may be cited as another instance of the scyphate form.

that of the Abbey of St. Victor, near Paris, founded by Louis le Gros, in 1113, probably the date when the matrix was engraved. This seal is figured in the "Trésor de Glyptique—Sceaux des Evêques." &c., pl. 1, but the "Procédé Collas" has failed to give a correct notion of the peculiar concavity of its surface. The intention was doubtless to protect the device in the centre of the impression from injury, a purpose admirably effected by the broad massive margin bearing the inscription of the seal of Eudes, King of France, engraved in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 261. It may possibly have been suggested by the scyphate coins of the Byzantine Emperors; the fashion is said to have commenced from the reign of Basilius II., who died A.D. 1025. The pointed-oval form of the seal communicated by Mr. Clayton deserves notice as supplying a remarkable exception to the rule by which some would strictly limit the seals of that shape to ecclesiastics, monasteries, certain corporate bodies, and to females. We may call attention to another contemporary example, namely, the pointed-oval seal of Giles de Gorram, lord of la Tannière in Maine, A.D. 1158. He is represented kneeling, a posture which rendered it very difficult to introduce the figure into a space of that form. A representation of this curious seal is given in the "Collectanea Topographica," vol. v. p. 187.

2. SEAL OF WILLIAM DE VIVONT (Vieuxpont, Veteriponte), and also his *Secretum* or privy seal, which formed the reverse or counter seal. These are personal seals from General Hutton's Collection of casts, recently presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. They are probably of



the time of King John, or soon after the accession of Henry III., judging from their design and execution. Were there not some indications of an earlier date, the heraldry would seem to require them to be assigned to the first quarter of the latter reign. It will be seen the principal seal is circular, and bears an escutcheon of a peculiar form, almost heart-shaped, charged with three lions rampant, and between them on the honor point a star, and on each side of the escutcheon is a similar star. The legend is ✠ SIGILLVM WILLELMI DE VETERIPONTE. These arms do not at all resemble what are generally known as those of Vipont, and were borne, with little variation, by the Viponts of England and Normandy; which were six or more annulets: nor are they, we believe, like those that have been attributed to any family bearing a name answering to any translation of De

Veteriponte. The name however of William de Veteriponte being upon the seal identifies the arms as his beyond question. The stars, though not an ordinary mark of cadency, may have some significance. The *Secretum* is also circular; the device two demi-lions combatant, not on an escutcheon; and the legend ✠ SIGILLVM SECRETI. The demi-lions, notwithstanding the difference of attitude, may have been derived from the charges on the principal seal.

Unfortunately we have no certain information as to the locality or custody from which these seals were obtained; and General Hutton's Collection was so comprehensive, that the fact of their having formed part of it does not alone much assist us in determining even the country to which they are to be referred, whether Normandy, England, or Scotland; for, though that collection was chiefly formed in Scotland, the Chapter-house at Westminster, and the Treasury at Canterbury, furnished many examples. The English family of Vipont, originally Vieuxpont, were from Normandy, and derived their name from the Lordship of Vieuxpont-en-Auge, near Caen.³ The Norman, or rather French branch, held the Lordship of Courville-en-Chartrain. A common ancestor seems to have had both lordships at a very early period.⁴ Among these we have found no William at the probable date of these seals. In the Anglo-Norman or English branch there was a William living in 1202, whom Dugdale has confounded with another, probably his father, who was of full age in 5 Steph. (1139), and held lands in Cumberland under William, King of Scotland. It should seem the William of 1202 did not live long after that year, and died without issue; unless, like many other English at that time, he held lands both in England and Scotland, and was the progenitor of a family in the latter kingdom. The arms of the Viponts of Scotland are, we apprehend, wholly unknown, unless they are restored to us by these seals. If, as is highly probable, these were an offset from the Anglo-Norman stock, it is less unlikely that they should have taken other arms, than that one of the Anglo-Norman Viponts should have done so, and that all trace and reminiscence of the change should have been lost. The Viponts of Scotland seem to have settled beyond the Tweed about the middle of the XIIth century, and were benefactors to some religious houses near the borders, and especially to Kelso Abbey; and General Hutton, while making his collection, lived, we are informed,⁵ some years near Kelso. Add to this, that there are some peculiarities about these seals, which seem to point to a Scotch origin, viz., an antiquated character in the style which may be attributable to Scotch art; and the legend SIGILLVM SECRETI on the countersal, which accords with Scotch usage, but is very rare on English seals: while there is nothing about either of them peculiarly English. We think, therefore, it will not be unreasonable to assume these seals to be from Scotland; and we will proceed to take a brief survey of the Viponts located there, in order to ascertain to which of them they may with most probability be referred. There were several Williams in that kingdom. The earliest that we have met with, and probably the first of the family that held lands beyond the Tweed, was a William de

³ Stapleton's Pref. to Rot. Scae. Norm. ii. p. cclxiv.

⁴ Dictionnaire Généalogique, Paris, 1757, v. Vieuxpont.

⁵ For this and some other information on the subject of these seals, we are indebted to Cosmo Innes, Esq., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh.

Veteriponte, who, in the time of David King of Scotland (1124—1153), had a dispute with the monks of Coldingham about some land in "Horuordresdene," which in the next reign he gave up to them by a deed, witnessed by Ernald, Abbot of Kelso, who became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1159.⁶ A William de Vyerpunt, most likely the same, with the consent of his wife Matildis, gave certain quarries (eschalingas) in "Lambremore" to the monks of Kelso, by a deed which was witnessed by a Fulk de Vyerpunt,⁷ a name not common in the family, but which does occur associated with a William about 1172, and again in 1198, in some Norman accounts.⁸ William de Veteriponte, son of the former, confirmed that gift, and also one of the Church of Worueldene, likewise made by his father.⁹ The deed was witnessed by Engelram, Bishop of Glasgow (1164—1174), and David, brother of King William. William, bishop of St. Andrews (Scottorum Episcopus) confirmed to the monks of Kelso the Church of "Horueresdene," which William de Veupunt (the father we presume), had given them in his presence.¹ This charter was witnessed by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, but we have not found one of that name contemporary with William, bishop of St. Andrews. We soon after find mentioned among the benefactors to Kelso, a William de Veteriponte (probably the son before noticed), that married, first, Emma de St. Hilary, and second, Matildis de St. Andrew; by the former of whom he had three sons, and by the latter one, if no more; and strange as it may seem, of his sons three were named William, and were distinguished as "primogenitus," "medius," and "junior;" while the eldest of them had a son also called William junior. In the chartulary the eldest is described as William de Veteriponte, "primogenitus" of the sons of William de Veteriponte, which he had by the Lady Emma de St. Hilary, and, for the health of his Lords (dominorum) King William, and the Queen, and their son Alexander, and their other children, and for the health of himself, and his wife, and his heirs, and for the souls of Kings David and Malcolm, and of Earl Henry, and for the souls of his own father and mother, and all his ancestors and successors—he, with the consent of his wife (who is not named), confirmed some gifts of his father, which are not before recorded in the Chartulary. One of these confirmations, No. 139, relates to the Church of Langton (said to have been their first place of settlement in Scotland), and was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore, Domina Matilde de Sancto Andrea matre ejus," and others. In another of them, No. 140, after describing certain lands, mention is made of the church of Horuerebene and some quarries in Lambremore, and there is added, "sicut eas possident et carta (sic) avi mei et patristestantur et confirmant." This was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore fratre domini, Willelmo juniore filio domini," and others. Another, No. 141, was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore

⁶ Raines's N. Durham, App. p. 36. To this deed the seal of William de Veteriponte is appended, and is engraved by Raines. It is circular, and has for a device a lion, not upon an escutcheon, nor in any heraldic attitude. The legend, when perfect, was his name. We are not disposed to regard it as heraldic. Robert and Ivo de Vipont of Engauld a few years later sealed, it is said, with a lion passant (Nicholson and Burn's Cum-

berland and Westmoreland, i., p. 270); yet there is great reason to think they at the same time bore six or more annulets for their arms.

⁷ Chartulary of Kelso, No. 319. This has been printed by the Bannatyne Club.

⁸ Stapleton's pref. to Rot. Scac. Norm., i., p. clxxii; ii., p. cclxiv.

⁹ Chartulary of Kelso, No. 321.

¹ Ibid., No. 417.

filio domini, Domina Matilde de Sancto Andrea," and others. It will be observed "*matre ejus*" does not occur, she not having been the mother of this William. In No. 142, which is a confirmation of a former confirmation, and made "*ad operationem et operis sustentationem*" of the Church of Kelso, he speaks of it as the church in which the body of Earl Henry rested, meaning Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, son of King David, and father of King Malcolm; to all of whom probably this family was indebted for substantial benefits, seeing the manner in which they are mentioned in these documents. The next instrument, No. 143, in the same Chartulary, is dated on Wednesday before Pentecost, 1203, and is an agreement for settling some disputes between William de Veteriponte (in all probability "*primogenitus*") and the abbot and monks of Kelso; and he thereby discharged them "*de ossibus patris sui de Anglia reportandis, et in cimiterio Kalchoensi tumulandis.*" To this and the last preceding document none of the family are witnesses. The reference to the bones of his father seems to imply, that he died in England, or, if abroad, as perhaps in Normandy, they were to have been brought from England to be interred at Kelso. The abbot and monks on their part promised, that his father's soul should be for ever specially named among the benefactors to the monastery in the mass for the faithful. As prince Alexander was not born till 1198, the confirmations, in which he is named, must have taken place after that event. Probably the father of the three Williams was recently dead in 1203, and those confirmations were obtained from William "*primogenitus*," as his heir, as soon as might be after his accession; a conjecture that is sanctioned by the consecutive order, in which they and the agreement of 1203 are copied into the Chartulary. In the Chartulary of Dryburgh Abbey² we find about this time, not only an Ivo who may have been a generation earlier, but also a Robert de Veteriponte, that was a son of Alan, who appears to have been feudally connected with Alan, Lord of Galloway. The Chartulary of Holyrood contains other notices of this family. Passing by a charter of King Malcolm, witnessed by William de Veteriponte, we have in No. 33, William, son and heir of William de Veteriponte and Emma de St. Hilary, for the welfare of the soul of his lord William King of Scots and of his son Alexander, and for his own soul, and the soul of his wife (not named), and his son and heir William, and the souls of his father and mother &c., confirming to Holyrood the Church of "*Boeltun*," which had been given by his father; and the deed was witnessed by "*Willelmo Medio, et Willelmo Juniore, fratribus meis.*" No. 44 is a similar confirmation witnessed by the same, and a Fulk de Veteriponte. In No. 41, the same William is called the eldest of the *three* sons of the Lady Emma de St. Hilary, and he thereby granted and confirmed certain title at "*Kareddin*" to Holyrood, and that was also witnessed by "*Willelmo Medio et Willelmo Juniore, fratribus meis.*" These confirmations, like those in the Kelso chartulary, were most likely made soon after the father's death. A William de Veteriponte, whom we may with good reason assume to have been the one known as "*primogenitus*," was a person of consideration in Scotland in the time of our King John, in the 15th year of whose reign (1213) we find recorded a writ, directed to Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, commanding him to send safely to the King his (the Earl's) son Reginald (Regin'),³ and the son of William de

² This and the Chartulary of Holyrood, presently mentioned, have been printed

by the Bannatyne Club.

³ Query, a misreading of Rogerum;

Veteriponte, hostages of the King of Scotland, who were in his custody.⁴ These hostages were probably taken, when John in 1209 led an army to the Borders, in consequence of some disquietude that the Scotch had given him. Their King William marched to meet him, and, a treaty ensuing, John complained of his reception and encouragement of fugitives from England. William came to terms promptly, and delivered to him his two daughters Margaret and Isabel, as hostages, and also nine noblemen of Scotland.⁵ Among the prelates, earl and barons, who in the 28 Hen. III. (1244) sealed with King Alexander II. his engagement to keep good faith with Henry III., and who took an oath for the Scotch king's observance of it, was a William de Veteriponte.⁶ He is the second among the few who sealed at the same time with Alexander, as if he were in personal attendance on the king; though in the body of the instrument where they are named he is last but four. In a contemporaneous letter, addressed by them and other nobles to the pope to confirm the treaty, this William is named fifth after the Scotch earls;⁷ so that it should seem he was a person of some importance, and probably the same who was a hostage in 1213. At a much later date there were two, if not three, widows of Williams de Veteriponte, living, as appears by an instrument in 24 Edw. I. (1296), by which that king commanded the lands of several widows in Scotland, who had done fealty to him, to be delivered up to them.⁸ But their husbands may be assumed to have belonged to a generation later than their namesake who concurred in the treaty of 1244.

Among these many Williams we think we shall not be wrong in ascribing these seals to one of those named in the Kelso chartulary. And then, having regard to the probable date of them as inferable from their design and execution, we are led to assign them either to William "primogenitus," whose son was a hostage here in 1213, or to that son himself, who succeeded his father, probably, about 1220, and with his seal and oath gave his support to the treaty of 1244. In judging of a seal of this kind, it is to be borne in mind, that it is more likely to have been executed shortly after a man's accession to his property or honours, than late in life; and, therefore, but for some indications of an earlier date than the heraldry would have suggested, we might refer these to William his son rather than to William "primogenitus" himself; who, at the time of his confirmations of his father's gifts to Kelso Abbey, had a son competent to be a witness to them, and was therefore, we may suppose, past the prime of life. Should it be suggested that they may have belonged to William "medius," or his brother William "junior," especially as the stars may be a mark of difference; we think had such been the case, the legend on the principal seal would have distinguished him from the head of the family: whereas William "primogenitus" himself, or his son William after his father's death, needed no such addition. However, be this as it may, the seals are remarkable for their style and character, and furnish authority of the best kind for a coat of Vipont or De Veteriponte, that had, we believe, become wholly unknown to heralds and genealogists.

For the casts in sulphur, from which the accompanying woodcuts have

for Saher de Quincy does not appear to have had a son Reginald, so far as we can learn.

⁴ Rymer, i., p. 113.

⁵ Neither M. Paris nor Fordun says

anything of these noblemen. Holinshed mentions the number but not their names.

⁶ Rymer, i., p. 257.

⁷ M. Paris, p. 569.

⁸ Rymer, i., p. 846.

been engraved, we are indebted to Mr. Henry Laing, an artist much skilled in reproducing facsimiles of ancient seals. The liberal facilities of access to public and private depositories in Scotland which he has for many years enjoyed, have enabled him to form that extensive collection of Scottish seals of which his "Descriptive Catalogue," published in Edinburgh in 1850, forms a most valuable record. It comprises 1248 examples, of which a considerable number are displayed in the plates and woodcuts which serve to illustrate the volume, the most important publication on Medieval Seals hitherto produced in this country. It may be acceptable to some of our readers to be informed that casts from any of the seals described in that volume, as also glass matrices, may be obtained from Mr. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Edinburgh. The seals of William de Vipont are amongst the numerous acquisitions made since the completion of his catalogue; they have been obtained, as already mentioned, from the collection of the late General Hutton. We may here advert with much satisfaction to the rare liberality evinced by the Rev. Henry Hutton, in regard to the valuable stores of information, chiefly relating to the Monasteries of North Britain, collected by his father, and comprising many original charters, an extensive assemblage of transcripts of deeds and of registers or chartularies, with drawings of monastic and other remains, of which many have now perished. With the generous desire that this important mass of evidence should be deposited where it might prove most extensively useful, Mr. Hutton, at the suggestion of the Rev. T. Pelham Dale and of a member of our Committee, the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, presented the MSS. and drawings to the Library of Advocates at Edinburgh, which had previously acquired several volumes of General Hutton's MSS. (See Mr. Turnbull's *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, p. 19.) The numerous casts from seals have been deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, being the place where it was considered that such collections might be most advantageously preserved.

3. SEAL OF MARGARET D'OUVEDALE, widow of Sir Peter d'Ouedale or Uvedale. This quaint example of a personal seal with heraldry is from a cast by the late Mr. Doubleday, in whose list it appears with the surname of Donnerdale, which, notwithstanding his general accuracy, we have no doubt is due to some misreading and hasty transcription of Douvedale, the *r* having been an unauthorised addition. It is not improbable that he may have found the name so written, for it has been frequently misread and miscopied in consequence of the second *u* having been taken for an *n*. It has been commonly known as De Uvedale, or in its modern form of Uvedale, the *De* being dropped. But in later times the earlier form of it has been printed almost as often wrong as right. The changes the name has undergone are curious. It has been converted into Dounedale, Downtdale, Dovedale, Unedale, Undal, Udall, and so even into Woodhall.⁹ Strange as the last may appear, it will be readily intelligible to those who are familiar with the provincial pronunciation of *wood* as *'ood*. The seal is given by Mr. Doubleday with the date of 1345: we presume that of the

⁹ This example, as well as some of the others, is mentioned in *Collectanea Topographia*, v., p. 242 — 244, in a notice of the family, which does not go far

enough back for our purpose. Compare also the arms of Uvedall, Woodall, and Woodhall in Burke's General Armory.

instrument to which the original was found attached ; but, owing to his extreme illness for some months before his decease, we have not been able to ascertain either this fact, or the explanation he would otherwise have been able to give, we doubt not, as to how the name came to be written Donnerdale in his list.

Sir Peter de Uvedale was summoned to parliament from 1332 to 1336. He did not long survive the latter year: his death occurred probably about 1340. He was the son of John de Ovedale or Uvedale, who held lands at Titsey, Surrey, under the Earl of Gloucester, and died 15 Edw. II. (1322).¹ His name, if we mistake not, appears as Johannes de Unedale among the witnesses to a grant in 2 Edw. II. by Sir John de Rivers (of Essex), printed in Madox's *Form. Angl.*, p. 281. It was the same John de Ovedale, probably, though called Dounedale in the printed Rolls of Parliament, who obtained the wardship and marriage of the heir of Sir Nicholas Cambel.² Margaret, whose seal this was, is said to have been the daughter of Sir Richard Hidon, of Clay Hidon, Devon. Sir W. Pole says she married, first, Sir Josce Dinham, and second, Sir Piers de Uvedall ; and in another place, under Luttokeshele, in the parish of Columpton, he states that if " was granted by Sir John Ralegh of Beandport unto the Lady Margaret de Uvedall and Sir John Dinham her son, which conveyed the same, anno 22 of King Edw. III. unto John Hidon the younger."³ According to Dugdale and later writers, a Margarot, daughter and heir of Richard Hidon, became the second wife of a grandson of the before mentioned Josce, viz., Oliver de Dinham, whose father, also named Oliver, second son of Josce, died in 1346, leaving him his heir, and he died in 1351, leaving an only son Oliver and three daughters. This therefore could not have been the Margaret in question, as she was a widow of Sir Peter Douvedale in 1345, and her son was named John de Dinham. It should seem, therefore, that there were two marriages between the Dinham and Hidon families, in which the lady was a Margaret, daughter of a Richard Hidon. However that may be, this seal appears to support Sir W. Pole's statements in regard to such a marriage. It is remarkable not only as a work of art, but for its heraldry. As appears by the woodcut it is circular, and on an eagle displayed is an escutcheon charged with four fusils conjoined in fess, upon each of which is an ermine spot ; a bearing which would at that time have been blazoned as a fess indented (or engrailed) ermine. The legend is MARGARETA, the letters being separated as shown in the cut, and placed between four crosses moline, or, as they were then often termed, fers de molin, or crosses recercellée. The arms of Dinham, as given in the Roll *t.* Edw. II., were "de goules, a une fesse endente de ermyne." These are there ascribed to Sir Oliver de Dynaunt (another spelling of Dinham), and they might be imagined to be the arms of the Oliver, second son of Josce ; but at the time when that roll of arms was compiled, both he and his elder brother John were under age, and



¹ A pedigree of the family is given in Mann, and Bray's *Surrey*, ii., p. 400.

² Rot. Parl. i. p. 467, a.

³ Pole's *Collections*, 203, 188.

therefore not likely to have been knighted. There are, we believe, other instances in that roll where, the heir being an infant, the name of the ancestor, though deceased, is inserted instead of that of the heir. This Sir Oliver was most likely the grandfather who died in 1300; and though his son Josce survived him, it was for little more than a year, and since he was never summoned to parliament, he was probably not so well known as his father Sir Oliver. In a Roll a few years later, viz., t. Edw. III., the arms of Monsire de Dynant are "de gules, a une fes engrele d'ermine;" and in the same Roll those of Monsire Olyver de Dynham are given as "gules, a trois pellots d'or, labell d'asure." The arms, therefore, on the escutcheon of this seal would seem to be those of the senior branch of the family, and consequently those of Josce, rather than those of his junior grandson Oliver. The cross moline, or fer de molin had reference to Margaret's second husband; for in the Roll t. Edw. II., we find "Sire Johan Douwedale, de argent, a un fer de molin de goules." In the Roll t. Edw. III., the arms of Sir Peter himself probably are given, though by an oversight, the two *u*'s having been mistaken for *n*'s, the name is printed Wonnedale.⁴ The passage stands thus: "Monsire de Wonnedale port d'argent, une crois recersele de gules." If any difference then existed between a fer de molin and a cross recercele, it was that the latter more resembled the cross moline, the ends of it being curved further round after the fashion of a volute. It may appear strange that the arms of Margaret's father, which were *Gu.* three bezants, a label of five points [*Arg.*], should not appear on the seal; but some of our readers may recollect, that this was the case with the seal of her contemporary, Margaret de Nevyle, which is given in Vol. XI. of this Journal, p. 371. The heraldic anomalies, as we are apt to consider them, of this period are very great. If, however, numerous examples could be brought together, and accompanied with genealogical comments, there might be no ground to despair of the greater part of them being found referable to usages of early heraldry, which have long become obsolete. To this class may belong the eagle displayed on which the escutcheon is placed. There are other seals resembling the present in this respect, and we cannot doubt but that the eagle on them all had some significance. To these seals, which are chiefly of the fourteenth century, we propose to advert on some future occasion, in the hope of offering a few suggestions towards an explanation of a practice now little understood.

4. SEAL OF SANDRE DE GLOUCETRE, a personal seal with a device. Amongst seals bearing devices allusive to the trade or occupation of the owner, this example appears worthy of selection, as connected with an ancient local industry of considerable note. From an early period, probably, workers in metal were established at Gloucester. The principal mart for the products of the great Roman iron-works in the adjacent forest of Dean, had doubtless been at *Glevum*, a place advantageously situated on the Severn. In Saxon and in Norman times the chief employment of the town is stated to have been smelting and forging iron; in the time of the Confessor, as recorded in Domesday, Gloucester paid to the King "xxxvi. dicras ferri, et c. virgas ferreas ductiles ad clavos navium regis,"⁵ In the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., it was noted for its iron manufactures; the ore, it is said, was obtained in abundance from Robin Hood's Hill, about two miles distant from the city. Of the reputation of its smiths an honour-

⁴ See Collectanea Topog., v., p. 241, note.

⁵ Domesday, vol. i., f. 162, a.

able memorial may probably be traced in the horse-shoes and large nails which surround the head of Edward I., on the king's seal for Statutes Merchant at Gloucester, in pursuance of the Statute of Acton Burnel, in 1283. The horse-shoes are still displayed in the heraldic insignia of the city with the sword of state presented to the city by Richard II. Amongst the twelve companies of the corporation who attend the mayor on solemn occasions, the "Metal-men" still hold their place.

It was not in iron alone that the metallurgical industry of Gloucester was famed in former times. Of the early history of manufactures in copper and brass little has been ascertained; and we are ignorant where the first foundry for bells was established in England. The name Billiter Lane, Aldgate, anciently Belzetter's,⁶ or Bellfounder's Lane, suggests the supposition that their art may have been practised in early times in the metropolis. It certainly was a noted feature of the skill of the metal-workers at Gloucester. The Rev. W. C. Lukis observes in his *Memoir on Church Bells* ("Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine," vol. ii. p. 49), "A great many Gloucester bells are to be met with in Wiltshire, and they abound also in the Western counties. That foundry is of great antiquity, and it was there that the art was brought to great perfection. In the time of Edward II., circa 1310, it is known that bells were founded there by John of Gloucester. From his days to the present time, i.e., for more than 500 years, the foundry has been in active operation, and especially so from the close of the XVIIth century, when we are introduced to the well-known name of Rudhall." In St. Michael's Church, Gloucester, there are sepulchral brasses to the memory of William Henshawe, Bell-founder, and his wives. He was sheriff of the city in 1496 and 1501, Mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509.

Sandre of Gloucester, to whom the seal here represented belonged, was no doubt one of the "Bellzetters" established in that city towards the close of the XIIIth century, as the character of the seal would indicate. The device shows that his craft was not limited to the manufacture of bells; according to the definition of the "Promptorium Parvulorum," it comprised, "Zetynge of metelle, as bellys, pannys, potys, and other lyke." Some of our readers may incline to conclude from the pointed-oval form of the seal, that Sandre was an ecclesiastic, but the rules which seem usually to have prevailed in regard to the use of that form were not, as we apprehend, so strictly limited as some suppose. The device is a tripod pot, or ewer (*aquamane*, Lat. *aiguïère*, Fr.), of which numerous examples, of brass, have been found in this country, and several have been produced at the meetings of the Institute. The tripod form rendered it well adapted for heating water, when placed amongst the embers on the hearth.⁷ The letters AVE, distinctly seen upon this vessel, may be, as it has been suggested, part of the Angelical Salutation, so frequently inscribed on objects of personal and domestic use. The inscription may, however, have had a more homely intention, since on a



⁶ "Bellezetter (in other MSS. *bel zetar* or bellyater) *Cumpanarius*," *Promptorium*. Ang. Sax. *Geotere*, *fusor*."

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⁷ The arms of the Founders' Company of London are, a laver pot between two priket candlesticks.

brass tripod ewer, exhibited by the Rev. C. R. Manning in the temporary Museum at the Norwich Meeting, the quaint invitation was inscribed, ✠ VENEZ LAVER.⁸ (See woodcut.) Above the ewer the seal of Sandre de Gloucetre displays a bell, with the crown, or loops, by which church-bells are attached to the stock. The legend is, * s' SANDRE DE GLOUCETRE (See woodcut, size of the original). The matrix, of brass, has a small loop on the reverse; it was purchased from a dealer in London, and the place where it was found has not been ascertained.

The name Sandre, a diminutive probably of Alexander, is of uncommon occurrence as a *prænomen*; it occurs, however, in the Hundred Rolls, t. Edw. 1., at Northampton, and at Shrewsbury.⁹ As a surname, Sandre is found in the Rolls of the same period, at Denton, Oxfordshire, and it may deserve notice that Saunders seems to be a common name at Gloucester.



Brass Ewer, inscribed VENEZ LAVER. Date, about 1400.

William Saunders was a benefactor to the city in 1570. Amongst the suitors to the Hundred Court the name of Saunders Saunders occurs, early in the last century.¹

5. Personal seal with a device, but no name. This example which claims notice as bearing a device regarded, possibly, as in some degree of a talismanic character—the head of St. John the Baptist—was found in

⁸ Norwich Volume, Catalogue of Antiquities, p. xxxv. Some of these tripod bronze ewers have been assigned to the Roman period, but they are probably mediæval. See Wilson's Prehistoric

Annals of Scotland, p. 278. Bruce's Roman Wall, pl. xvi, p. 434.

⁹ Rot. Hund. tom. i. pp. 5, 67.

¹ Rudder, Hist. of Gloucester, p. 41.

Norfolk. The matrix is of silver, of oval form, and it is now in the possession of Mr. Dumbleton, of Southampton. The head of St. John appears placed in a vessel resembling a basin, and several other instances occur of this mode of representing the "charger," or large deep dish (in the Vulgate, *disco*) in which the daughter of Herodias received the head of the Precursor. The device is in high relief, within a circular compartment, the words CAPVD BAPTⁱ being written above, and AMOR IOHⁱis, beneath. We are indebted to the Rev. Greville J. Chester for an impression from this seal, which may be assigned to the XIVth century.

The mediation of St. John was regarded as of especial efficacy against the dreaded disorder of epilepsy, or the falling evil, called "*Morbus sancti Johannis, le Mal de Saint Jean*," (See Paciaudi, de Cultu S. Johannis Baptiste, diss. vii. p. 302.)² Pilgrims resorted in great numbers to the Church of Creteil, near Paris, on the feast of his Nativity, seeking relief from that disease. The most remarkable place of pilgrimage, however, was Amiens, where the supposed head of the Baptist was preserved, and where it may still be seen. A representation of this remarkable relique has been given by Ducange.³ Part of the head of St. John was reputed to be preserved in the Church of St. Sylvester, in the Campo Marzio, at Rome; but some doubt having arisen regarding it, a portion of the head shown at Amiens was obtained by Pope Clement VIII. for St. Sylvester's church. There was likewise a celebrated relique in our own country, venerated as the head of St. John Baptist, in the Church of Trimmingham, Norfolk. Blomefield cites the will of Alice Cook, of Horstead, dated 1478: "*Item, I wyll have a man to go a pilgrimage to St. John hys hede of Trymmyngham.*" The church is dedicated to St. John Baptist. (Hist. Norf., vol. viii. p. 179.)

It has been observed that seals bearing the device of the head of the Baptist are not uncommon. In some instances a sword, the symbol of his martyrdom, is introduced above the head, as on the little matrix found at Winchester, and produced by Mr. Græme in the Museum formed during the meeting in that city in 1845. The legend was simply the name IOHANNES. Occasionally the favourite device of the sleeping lion accompanies the head in a charger. On the seal of John Patrik, 22 Edw. III., amongst the curious seals recently copied by Mr. Ready, at Caius College, the head appears with the symbols of St. Matthew and St. John; whilst on the curious seal of Thomas Morys, 28 Edw. III., it is seen placed under the favourite device of two hands grasping a heart. Mr. Ready has obtained other examples from the college muniments at Cambridge, amongst which

² Many curious illustrations of popular veneration in mediæval times towards the Precursor might be cited. There is much curious information in the Essay by M. Breuil, "*Du culte de Saint Jean-Baptiste*," in the *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiqu. de Picardie*, vol. viii. p. 155. See also Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. As late as 1671, the proverbial expression occurs—"Saint John to borrow, *exp.* with good speed, vel. q. d. Divo Johanne fidejubente." Skinner, *Etymologicon*.

³ Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 101. See also the "*Traité Historique de la Translation du chef de St. Jean-Baptiste*,"

by Ducange, Paris, 1655: "*Histoire de la Ville d'Amiens*," par le P. Daire. Paciaudi gives a representation of another reliquary at Malta, in the form of the head placed in a dish. (De Cultu S. Joh. diss. vii. p. 332). Mr. Roach Smith has given in his *Collectanea Antiqua* representations of several pilgrims' signs, of pewter or lead (*enseignes* or *signa*) found at Amiens and Abbeville, Vol. i. p. 87, vol. ii. p. 45. They are also noticed by Dr. Rigollot in his "*Monnaies inconnues des évêques des Innocens*," &c. Paris, 1837.

may be mentioned the seals of Richard Holle, 13 Edw. III., and Laurence Drake, 20 Edw. III.⁴

A curious seal bearing the head of St. John *in disco*, occurs amongst the "Sigilla Antiqua," selected by the Rev. G. Dashwood from the documents in the muniment room of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., of Stowe-Bardolph, Norfolk.⁵ (Plate 8, fig. 8.) It is appended to a deed dated 3 Edw. III. The legend is, *IESVS : EST : AMOR : MEVS*. The *dexter Dei* appears extended in the gesture of benediction over the head of the Baptist.

Many other indications might doubtless be noticed of the popular veneration towards St. John, and the belief in the powerful efficacy of his intercession. The "Festum Inventionis Capitis S. Johannis" (Feb. 24) occurs in Bede's Martyrology. The seals above mentioned appear to present an evidence, amongst the minor objects of personal use, how prevalent was that feeling of veneration in this country, in mediæval times. We have not hitherto found a similar device on any foreign seal. The especial *cultus*, however, shown in England towards the Precursor is illustrated in a more remarkable manner by the alabaster tablets, of which no example has at present been noticed on the Continent, and to which the attention of readers of this Journal was recently invited (See Arch. Journ., vol. xii., p. 184). In the curious symbolism, and combinations of figures of saints with subjects of sacred character, there described as displayed by those sculptures, the principal feature is almost invariably the Head of the Baptist in a charger; whilst its large proportions, as compared with the subjects by which it is accompanied, seem to indicate, as upon the seals which have been described, some especial import of which we have sought in vain for explanation in treatises on sacred Iconography.

W. S. W. and A. W.

NOTE.

On collating the proof with the original of the deed printed (pp. 63, 64) it appeared, that the church there mentioned is called "Ecclesiæ Sancte Marie de Scaldeford." The present church at Shalford in Essex is dedicated to St. Andrew. There was a free chapel there, but we have not found the name of its titular saint. If that were not St. Mary, the parish church may have been formerly dedicated to her. Supposing Shalford in Essex, which adjoins in Finchingfield, was not the place intended, the occurrence of Sussex as well as Essex names among the witnesses would lead us to think, that Shalford St. Mary near Guilford may have been the church at which the marriage was solemnised, and if so, that the bride was a lady of Surrey or West Sussex.

⁴ In Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 529, is represented a small matrix with this device and the legend—CAPVT IOH'IS IN DISCO. It was found at the Nunnery of Godstow.

⁵ Privately printed in 1847 by Mr. Dashwood, who kindly presented a copy to the Library of the Institute.

Original Documents.

THE FIRST RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MISSION OF OWSCHEIP NEPERA, AMBASSADOR FROM RUSSIA, A.D. 1556, AND HIS SHIPWRECK ON THE COASTS OF SCOTLAND.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

THE history of the First Russian Embassy to England is recorded in "A Discourse of the honourable receiving into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperour of Russia, in the yere of Christ, 1556, serving for the third voyage to Moscow: registered by John Incent, protonotarie." (Printed by Hakluyt, p. 332, edit. 1589, vol. i. p. 318, Reprint 1809.)

The ambassador was wrecked on the north-eastern promontory of Scotland, and certain documents regarding the wreck have been discovered in Her Majesty's General Register House at Edinburgh, by Mr. Joseph Robertson, Superintendent of Searches for Literary Purposes in that establishment, by whom copies (omitting clauses of style) have been communicated for publication in this Journal of the Archaeological Institute, in the hope that they may help to call the attention of English scholars to the materials for the illustration of English history and antiquities, which are preserved among the National Records of Scotland.

The first document of the series is a safe-conduct, in the usual form, by the Queen of Scots, granted "at the instance and request of our derest sistir the Quene of England," and empowering "Laurence Huse, George Gilpyn, and Robert Best, Englishmen, merchandis of the toun of London within England, with their servants, to cum within the realm of Scotland, on hors or on fute, by sey or land, and to pass and repass through the samyn." It is dated at Linlithgow, on the 28th January, 1556-7; and was presented for registration before the Lords of Council and Session at Edinburgh, on the 6th February, 1556-7, by "Laurence Huse, doctour in the lawis, George Gilpyn, and Jhone Lewis, Englishmen, merchandis in London."

On the same day, the same persons presented the following document for registration in the books of the Lords of Council and Session:—

In Dei nomine, Amen. Presentis publici instrumenti serie cunctis innotescat et palam fiet qualiter die, mense, anno et loco in calce presentis publici instrumenti specificie descriptis, Constituti personaliter preeximii viri Georgius Barnes et Andreas Judde, milites, et Anthonius Huse, armiger, Consules collegii sive societatis Mercatorum Anglie [versus] partes Russie et Moscovie, ditionis illustrissimi et potentissimi principis, Johannis Vesselevyche, Dei gratia Imperatoris totius Russie, ac Magni Ducis Valledermuskie, Muskoskie, Novigrotskie, Bazouskie, Plaskeskie, etc., negotiandi gratia traphicantium, dominorum et proprietariorum cujusdani

navis onerarie dietæ *ly* Eduerd Bonaventure, oneris sive portagii centum et sexaginta doliolum, ac rerum, mercium et bonorum in eadem nave nuper in partibus Moscovie et Russie ditionis ejusdem Augustissimi Imperatoris oneratorum, ac apparatus, munitionum, victualium, et aliorum ornamentorum et instrumentorum nauticorum quorumcunque ejusdem, in ora Scotie juxta seu prope sinum seu litus maris Scotici dictum Buchan Ness vi tempestatum jactitate quassate et rupte, tam nominibus suis propriis, quam vice, loco, et nomine omnium et singulorum aliorum ejusdem societatis sociorum, fratrum, et collegarum, dixerunt, allegarunt et proposuerunt: Quod cum dicta eorum navis, mense Novembris ultimo, sub ductu et regimine Joannis Bukeland magistri sub Deo sive exercitatoris ejusdem, existens in itinere suo versus civitatem Londonensem partium regni Anglie portum videlicet destinatum, vi tempestatum (ut premititur) ita perierit et occubuerit ut magna pars apparatus, rerum, mercium et bonorum in ea (ut preinseritur) onustorum et caricatorum, in mare natans, pars vero ad terram dejecta ad manus quorundam inhabitantium fines et oras de Buchquhan Ness predictas, et alia loca maritima adjacentia Serenissime Regine Scotie subditorum, pervenerit, et ab eisdem (ut ipsi exponentes asseruerunt) injuste occupata et detenta existit: Ideo exponentes memorati nominibus quibus supra fecerunt . . . dilectos sibi in Christo eximium virum Dominum Laurentium Huse legum doctorem, Georgium Gylpyn generosum, societatis Mercatorum Anglorum infra oppidum Antverpie residentium secretarium, Johannem Lewes, mercatorem civitatis Londonensis, Johannem Bukeland, magistrum sive exercitorem navis predictæ, Edmundum Roberts et Robertum Best suos veros, legitimos, ac indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negotiorumque suorum infrascriptorum gestores et nuncios generales et generalissimos quascunque res, merces, mercimonia, bona, mercandizas, et alia quecunque jura societatis predictæ in quorumcunque manibus, possessione, retentione aut contractatione existentia, et precipue in manibus quorumcunque subditorum Serenissime Regine Scotie, qui bona, res, merces, mercimonia et cetera jura . . . societatis predictæ nuper in dicta nave nuncupata *lie* Edwerd Bonaventure onerata, ac sic (ut premititur) natantia reperta vel ad terram dejecta receperunt et subtraxerunt, ac penes se injuste detinuerunt et detinent in presenti. . . coram Serenissima Domina Regina Scotie, ejusque a consiliis dominis illustribus, ac coram quibuscunque admirallis regni Scotie, officialibusque, consulibus, magistratibus, et jus dicentibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus quibuscunque, comparandum . . . ac bonorum, rerum, et mercium, ac ceterorum jurium . . . societatis predictæ detentores et occupatores ad debitam satisfactionem et solutionem ac restitutionem eorundem, juxta juris exigenciam, cogendum et compellendum . . . Unde . . . factum est presens procurationis instrumentum per me Thomam Atkinson notarium publicum, signoque, nomine, cognomine, et subscriptione meis solitis et consuetis, unacum appensione sigilli communis societatis predictæ, roboratum. Actum Londini, in edibus solite residentie Galfridi Walkeden, sitis infra parochiam Sancti Pancrasii, civitatis Londonensis, decimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, et annis regnorum Serenissimorum in Christo principum Philippi et Marie, Dei gratia Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, utriusque Cielie, Jerusalem, et Hibernie Regis et Regine, fide, defensorum, Archiducum Austrie, Burgundie, Mediolane et Brabanciei Comitum Haspurgi, Flandrie et Tirolis, tertio et quarto: Presentibus tunc

ibidem eximio viro Rogero Martine, aldermanno civitatis Londonensis, Joanne Marshe, armigero, Leonello Duckette, Joanne Ryvers, Thoma Bannestar, Francisco Robensoune, mercatoribus civitatis Londonensis predictae, necnon Thoma Nicoles et Richardo Whellar testibus . . . vocatis et specialiter requisitis.

Sequitur subscriptio notarii.

Et quia ego, Thomas Atkynsoun civis civitatis Londonensis, publicus Sacra Regia auctoritate notarius [*etc. in forma communi.*]

Simultaneously with the registration of this deed, the following document was presented for registration by "Jhone Lewis, Inglishman, merchand of Londoun :"—

Universis pateat per presentes, me Owscheip Gregorybeche Nepera, oratorem Illustrissimi et potentissimi principis Johannis Desselebeche, Dei gratia Imperatoris Totius Russie, ac Magni Ducis Valledarmuskie, Muskoskie, Novigrotskie, Bazouskie, Plaskeskie, etc., fecisse . . . Johannem Lewesche, Edmundum Roberts, et Johannem Bukland, Anglos, mihi dilectos . . . meos legitimos procuratores generales et speciales : Concedendo et committendo eisdem . . . meam plenam . . . potestatem illas meas fortunas, res, merces, corporis ornamenta, et reliqua que amisi bona quecunque prope Bucquhanness maritimum Scotie, sexto mensis Novembris ultimo elapsi (tempore scilicet quo navis illa Anglicana dicta Edward Bonaventure qua ego, mee fortune, merces, et bona vehebamur, naufragium passa est) perscrutandi, recuperandi et recipiendi . . . In quorum . . . testimonium has presentes meas mandati et procuracionis literas manu mea propria signatas, per notarium et tabellionem publicum ad majorem facti certitudinem subscribi curavi : Apud Edinburgum, quinto Februarii, anno a nato Christo millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto : Coram Willelmo Maitland de Lethingtoun, secreti consilii scriba, Laurentio Huseo, doctore legum, Georgeo Gylpyn, Henrico Ray, Berwik nuncio, Anglis, Joanne Gibsoun, aurifabro Scoto, Hectore Troop, Joanne Brown, et Jacobo Nicholsoun, Scotis, notariis et tabellionibus publicis, cum multis aliis.

Sic subscribitur.

Et ego, Jacobus Nicholsoun, notarius et tabellio publicus, dictum Owscheip has presentes literas vidi scribere, et ultra audiivi eum pronunciantem nonnulla verba sua lingua vernacula, que Robertus Best in hunc modum Anglice vertebat, Ego Owscheip constituo prefatos meos procuratores ad formam harum literarum superscriptarum. Acta in hospicio Richardi Troop, hora nona ante meridiem, anno, die, et mense prescriptis, et coram testibus prenotatis.

Notices of the chief persons referred to in these deeds will be found in Hakluyt. The following account of the shipwreck is preserved in the contemporary "Historie of Scotland," by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, pp. 257-8. Edinb. 1830 :—

"About this tyme [the end of the year 1556], thair come ane gret ship, and with her a pink, furth of Muscovia, bowin toward Ingland with ane ambassadour frome the Emperor of Muscovia, quhilk ship and pink was

drevin be gret stormes and windis apoun the northeast of Scotlande, at Kynardis heid, within the countrey of Buchane, quhair a gret nombre of thair cumpanie was dronit and both the shippes, the moist part of his guidis losed be the wrake of the sey; bot the ambassadour him selfe was saved, with a gret part of his cumpanie, and was weill enteritenit be the cuntreyemen, and convoyit thairfre to Edinburgh to the Quene Regent, quha efter guid intertenement caused the Lord Hwme accompanie him to Berwik in the moneth of Februar thaireftir."

The documents, for which we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robertson, are interesting, more especially at the present moment, as connected with the earliest relations of friendly intercourse and commercial enterprise between this country and Russia. Those who desire information on this subject, may consult Dr. Hamel's "England and Russia," (translated by J. S. Leigh, London, 1854). Notices will there be found of the embassy of Owscheip, named in the narrative given by Hakluyt, "Oscp Gregorywich Napea;" also of the early voyages of John Tradescant, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and other adventurous travellers. Some account of this first embassy is given by Stow and Holinshed, under the year 1557. Ivan IV., Vassiliewitch, or son of Vassili, to whom he succeeded in 1533, first assumed the title of Tsar or Czar. Amidst the horrors of continual warfare, he appears to have sought every means of elevating the condition of Russia, by introducing the arts and manufactures of more civilised nations, by encouraging commerce, and by conciliatory reception of foreigners and foreign missions to his Court. To Ivan was due the introduction of the art of printing into Russia. A remarkable illustration of his policy is presented in the embassy to the Court of Philip and Mary, "with certaine letters tenderly conceived," and presents, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued between their Majestys and subjects, respectively, for the commodity and benefit of both the realms. It is to be regretted that these credentials are not now to be found; they may indeed have perished in the disastrous wreck on the inhospitable shores of Aberdeenshire. The presents sent by the Czar, "spoyled by the Scots after the shipwracke" at Kinnaird's Head or Buchan Ness, consisted of the richest sables' skins, some of them entire, exceeding beautiful, with teeth, ears, and claws; four living sables, with chains and collars; lusarnes, and furs "worn onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse." Also a "large and faire white jer-fawcon for the wilde swanne, crane, goose, and other great fowles, together with a drumme of silver, the hoopes gilt, used for a lure to call the sayd Hawke." (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 323, ed. 1809.) After a stay of some weeks in London the envoy took his leave with all honours, charged with gifts considered most acceptable to the Czar,—rich cloth of tissue, scarlet, violet in grain and fine azure cloth; "a notable pair of Brigandines with a Murrian, covered with crimson yelvet and gilt nailes; *Item*, a male and female lions."

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

NOVEMBER 2, 1855.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice President, in the Chair.

IN opening the Proceedings of another Session, Mr. NEVILLE took occasion to congratulate the Society on the friendly welcome with which they had been received in Shropshire, a district of the greatest archaeological interest, and hitherto insufficiently investigated. The cordial feelings shown towards the Institute might well encourage the hope that the recent meeting in Shrewsbury would tend to stimulate some more energetic movement for the preservation of local antiquities, and the prosecution of historical and archaeological inquiries. The Museum formed in that town during the visit of the society had amply realised the anticipation, that in a county so rich in British and Roman remains, as well as those of later periods, numerous valuable objects, preserved in private hands, would be drawn forth from oblivion. The temporary collections thus brought together each successive year by the Institute must be recognised as of essential advantage to archaeological science, more especially whilst no National Collection on an extended scale existed for purposes of scientific comparison and instruction.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE delivered a Discourse on "Burial and Cremation." (Printed in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 309.) He exhibited drawings of sepulchral urns, found in the previous year at Stade on the Elbe, in excavations made under his direction, and closely resembling those discovered in Cambridgeshire by Mr. Neville, and the remarkable group of urns found at Kingston, Nottinghamshire, some of which are figured in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 159; Journal Arch. Assoc. vol. ii. p. 60.

Professor J. BUCKMAN communicated the following notes on various Roman reliques formed of bone, found with Roman remains at Cirencester, comprising pins, counters, handles of knives or other implements, cross guards of daggers, part of an armlet, a *cochlear* with a round shallow bowl and pointed handle, &c., the whole being of bone.

"The articles in bone, which I have the pleasure of submitting to the attention of the Institute, may be deemed interesting, not only from their offering examples of so many different bone implements and ornaments, but as being so little changed in colour and chemical relations after a lapse of so many centuries. The extreme freshness in appearance of some of the articles, particularly the pins and the little spoon here presented, have doubtless often caused things of this kind to have been overlooked, or not to be considered as ancient; indeed when I first saw the pins and the spoon, I at once concluded, especially in regard to the latter, that they were things of yesterday. However, although it is true that the spoon is exactly like some of the like material used in present times, yet upon

examining the bones of animals that have been used as food by the Romans, it will frequently be found that they have lost little either of their gelatine or fatty matter; nay more, bone even of fossil animals, such as fossil ivory, frequently retains much of its brilliancy: here then these facts may serve to show that the antiquary must not conclude against the antiquity of any articles in bone, because the same forms are employed in domestic appliances at the present day. Nor should the general observer refuse his assent to the antiquity of articles of this description on account of the aspect of freshness an object of bone may present. The whole of the articles of this little collection were obtained from Roman chambers on the site of *Corinium*, as the excavators proceeded with their work under my direction, and were found intermixed with coins, armillæ, fibulæ, pottery, and the general admixture of reliques usually occurring amongst Roman ruins. The ornament on some of the specimens, of a point within a circle, the latter varying considerably in size, is so common on Roman antiquities of bronze as to be almost indicative of Roman date, where it occurs; its appearance on bone is a matter of interest, and may assist in solving the question as to its intention. I have not seen this mark on bone articles before.

"Another question suggested for our consideration by some of these specimens, is not only the antiquity of turning with a lathe, but the varied materials to which the action of the lathe was applied. Metals and pottery we know to have been turned, the former on the lathe, the latter both on the lathe and the potter's wheel, and these examples show specimens of turning in bone. Again, we may remark, that although in our own country ivory-handled knives have only come into general use within comparatively recent times—horn and antlers of deer being formerly used for the purpose—yet knife-handles of bone and very varied in form, were, as it appears, not uncommon in the Roman-British period."

The remarkable freshness of the bone in all manufactured objects found on ancient sites has been repeatedly noticed. Bones found in immediate juxtaposition, being remains of dogs or other animals, or of such as had probably been used for food, are found deprived of their gelatine, light, and approaching to a fossilised condition. This was especially noticed by Mr. Trollope, during his excavations at the Roman rubbish-pits on the north side of Lincoln. Even the splinters of bone, in the first stage of their being formed into pins, had preserved the freshness and weight of ordinary bone. The simple *cochlear*, of the form noticed by Professor Buckman, is not uncommon in bronze, amongst Roman remains, but bone objects of the same kind have repeatedly occurred. Amongst the reliques produced were small cylinders, with a perforation on one side, like the joints of a flute: (length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Their use has not been ascertained; similar objects have been found at Pompeii and at Lyons, amongst Roman remains.

Mr. NESBITT gave the following description of two sepulchral brasses, one in the church of St. Andrew at Verden, the other in that of St. Peter at Brunswick. Rubbings of these memorials were exhibited.

"The first of these commemorates Yso Von Welppe, Bishop of Verden, who died in the year 1231, and as there is no reason to doubt that the brass is of this period, it is of much interest, as being much earlier in date than any other example yet noticed, either in England or on the continent. It is a plate measuring 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., on which is engraved a

standing effigy of the Bishop, habited in mitre, pallium,¹ chasuble, dalmatic and alb. The mitre is low, as is usual at the period, the pallium very long, reaching to within 8 inches of the ground, and is ornamented with six crosses; the chasuble is unornamented on the outside, but the inside is covered with lines curved to about three-fourths of a circle, evidently intended to indicate a lining of some kind of ornamented stuff.

"Both the Bishop's hands are raised with the palms uppermost; on the right hand he carries a model of the church of St. Andrew, represented with considerable accuracy as it still exists, and on the left a model of a tower with two windows in its upper part, surmounted by a cross, and enclosed within a battlemented wall. It will be seen by the inscription, that Bishop Yso founded the Convent of St. Andrew and fortified Verden, to this latter act allusion is no doubt made by the battlemented wall, the tower which it encloses may have reference to the western tower of the cathedral, a work of the same period, and possibly also erected by him. His crosier, with a crook of simple form, rests against the right arm.

"The drawing of the whole is faulty, and the execution poor, scratchy, and uncertain, the whole has suffered much from wear.

"A narrow fillet surrounding the whole contains the inscription given below; the places where a * is placed are those of the clamps by which it is now affixed to the wall. As however no letters seem to be wanting at these points, it would appear that the modern clamps fill the places of some like fastenings for which provision was made when the inscription was engraved. That the plate has at one time been in a horizontal position is evident from its worn state, but it is possible that at first it may have been, as now, placed perpendicularly against a wall.

"The inscription is in small Lombardic capitals, and runs as follows:—

"ANNO. IC * ARNA. DNI. M. CC. XXXI. NONAS. A * VGTI. FELICIT. O. YSOWILPE. NAT'. VE * RD. N. XXXI'. ANNIS. XXVI I. PF * VIT. EPC. HC. S. ANDR * EE. 'VENT. ISTITVIT. VDA. PM'. MVNIVIT. ADVOCAT * A. CIVITATIS. E * SVP. BONA. FRM. LIBA * IT. PATMONIV. WESTENE. QNGENT. IS. MRCIS. ET. AMPLI'. EMP * T. S. MARIE. OBTVLIT.

"The brass in the church of St. Peter at Brunswick commemorates John de Rintelen, rector of that church, who died in 1376. It is one of the earliest instances of that peculiarly German manner of forming these memorials, in which very low relief instead of engraving is the method employed. Small ornamental details however, such as borders of draperies, &c., are usually engraved, and such is the case in this instance.

"This memorial consists of two parts, a plate measuring 6 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 11 in., and a fillet 4½ inches wide surrounding, but at the distance of a few inches from the plate.

"Upon the plate is the effigy of the Rector under a bold and well designed canopy, he is clothed in the usual eucharistic vestments; the amice however is represented merely by a very narrow collar, and a tight sleeve is seen within the loose sleeve of the alb. The effigy is only 4 ft. 9 in. in height, but the size of the head, hands and feet, and the breadth of the

¹ It is remarkable to find a suffragan bishop assuming the pallium, usually the distinctive mark of an archbishop (see on this point vol. ix, of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 191). In the time of Bishop Yso, and for some previous centuries,

the see of Verden was suffragan to that of Mentz. Mr. Kemble remarked that the pallium might have been assumed by the bishop of Verden in consequence of the fact that his see was of earlier foundation than that of Mentz.

body, are quite those of nature, the features are peculiar and individual, evidently an attempt, and probab y a not very unsuccessful one, at a portrait. The right hand has the fore and middle fingers extended as in the usual gesture of benediction, but the hand is placed obliquely on the breast with the palm inwards, instead of being held upright with the palm outwards, as is usually the case when bishops or saints are represented in the act of bestowing a benediction. In the left hand is held a chalice with the host above it. A border surrounds the plate, in which are engraved grotesque animals and foliage, executed with much spirit.

"On the fillet is engraved the following inscription, in large and very fine Lombardic capitals.

"ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO TRICENTESIMO SEPTVAGESIMO SEXTO IN OCTAVA PASCHE OBIT IOHANNES DE RINTELEN RECTOR HVIVS ECCE CVIVS AIA REQUIESCAT IN PACE AMEN."

Mr. LE KEUX, in submitting to the Society proofs of several plates of the Seals of the Percy family, engraved through the liberality of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, amongst numerous illustrations destined to accompany the "Transactions of the Institute at the Newcastle Meeting," offered a few remarks on the character of Art shown in mediæval seals. The series of the Percy seals, he observed, displays in a very marked manner the advance of Art from an early period; and also that after having reached the highest point of mediæval excellence, at the commencement of the XIVth century, they show the gradual decline of all taste and skill in design, until the ornamentation becomes a confused complication of heraldic and conventional details, in which the hand of the painstaking workman only is visible, instead of the master mind of the artist. This series will be very useful (Mr. Le Keux remarked) for comparison with other seals, in order to determine doubtful dates; it will be found by careful examination, that each period has its characteristic type. It might be supposed that in the minor branches of Art, as well as in Architecture, there existed associations or guilds of artificers, trained to carry out the beautiful designs of their time. Mr. Le Keux produced casts of the seals and counter-seals of Henry de Percy, from the Barons' Letter to the Pope, A.D. 1301, and of the seal of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312, (engraved in the Lincoln volume, p. 274.) He noticed the close similarity in design and execution in these remarkable examples, and compared them with the design of the mounted figure which fills the trefoiled compartment on the pediment of the canopy over the tomb of Aymer de Valence, in Westminster Abbey.

Communications having been received from several correspondents of the Institute at Dover, stating that the Roman Pharos at the Castle, an object of great interest as an example of construction, and the only relique of its class existing in this country, (erected as it is supposed about A.D. 43, at the same time as that built by Caligula at Boulogne, long since destroyed), had recently been appropriated to most unworthy purposes, since the soldiers of the Foreign Legion had been quartered in Dover Castle. A strong feeling had been aroused through this wanton desecration of a remarkable monument of Roman times, for the preservation of which the late Duke of Wellington had taken careful precautions. It was proposed by Mr. Morgan, and unanimously resolved, that a memorial should be addressed to Lord Panmure, requesting his consideration of the evil, and that means might be taken for its abatement.

Mr. W. CLAYTON at the same time invited the attention of the Institute to the actual condition of the site of the Round Church of the Templars on the Western Heights. The entire ground-plan had been laid open in the autumn of 1854, and considerable interest excited. It was promised by the officers of the Engineers, that a strong fence should be placed around the foundations, to which such protection is indispensable; and to carry this into effect, a subscription had been raised, but hitherto nothing had been done, and the vestiges of the building in which, as there are considerable grounds to believe, the memorable interview between King John and Pandulph took place, will speedily disappear for want of a little timely precaution.

At a previous meeting (see vol. xii. p. 187) Mr. Westwood had called attention to the supposed loss of an ivory crosier-head formerly in the Allan Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne. We are gratified in being enabled by Dr. Charlton to state that this curious relique, for which search was made in vain during the meeting of the Institute in that town, has recently been brought to light, with some other antiquities, in the Museum of the Philosophical Society there.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. R. HALL WARREN, of Bristol.—A bronze palstave, with a side loop, stated to have been found in Devonshire.

By the Rev. HUGH JONES, D.D.—A small bronze palstave, found at Rhos-y-Gad, Anglesea (the meadow of the Battle), a field near the Llanfair station. It has no side-loop, the stop-ridge is very prominent, and the general fashion bears much resemblance to that of palstaves found in Ireland. Another palstave, of larger size, found at the same place, was formerly presented to the Institute by Dr. Jones.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Drawing of a small specimen of pottery, resembling the class of objects described by Sir R. Colt Hoare as "thuribles." It was stated to have been found by Mr. J. Tissiman, of Scarborough, in a barrow called "Swathy Howe," on Silpho Moor, near that town, and to have been deposited in a large urn, (now placed in the Scarborough Museum,) full of burnt bones, amongst which lay this little vessel, which is pierced with large square apertures at the sides, and a few rude arrowheads of flint.—Also drawings of several arrowheads of flint of very unusual forms, and found, as asserted, in a tumulus on the moors near Scarborough. They appeared of questionable authenticity, and it is believed that some designing person, near the western coast of Yorkshire, practises with considerable skill the fabrication, not only of fictitious antiquities of flint, but even of British urns.

By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—Eight bronze armillæ, found July 9, in the present year, at Lincoln, in digging a drain in the parish of St. John, Newport. They were found on the arm bones of a skeleton, about four feet deep under the present road in Rasen Lane, outside the Roman wall and Northern Vallum of the station. The spot is to the west of the "Fryery," in Stukeley's map of Lindum, given in the Volume of Transactions of the Institute at the Lincoln meeting. On sifting the mould, Mr. Trollope found about fifty small beads of blue glass of a beautiful deep colour, about the size of a small pea; also four thin pieces of bone,

apparently portions of armlets, of sufficiently large size to be placed on the upper part of the arm, or over the dress: they are tipped at the extremities with bronze, which is pierced for a rivet or some mode of attachment. The bronze armlets are very similar to those found at Cadbury, and described by Mr. C. Tucker in this Journal (vol. v. p. 193). A portion of a thin bone armilla, found by the late Dr. Mantell in a cinerary urn, near Lewes, is figured in Horsfield's "*History of Lewes*," pl. v. p. 48. Also a drawing of a small urn of unusual form and decoration, found during the present year, about a mile from Horncastle, Lincolnshire, in the course of railway excavation. It is in the possession of the Rev. A. Newbold, Vicar of Thornton. (See woodcut.) The height of the original is 9 inches.



Sepulchral urn, found near Horncastle.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A bronze Roman fibula lately brought to light amongst the burnt bones, &c., in an urn found in the Roman cemetery at Chesterford, excavated in 1846. It is an example of the "tasseled" type, of which another is figured by Lindenschmidt, "*Gräber bei Selzen*" p. 19.² A bronze relique, resembling a large spur-rowel of six points, it appears to have been cast, and to be too heavy for that purpose; it was found recently at Chesterford. Two fragments of Samian ware, found at Chesterford during the previous month, and bearing the potters' marks—TITVRONIS and CYNOPICI FEC.—Also a bead of agate, and a spoon and fork of crystal, mounted in gold, elaborately cut, and of very quaint design. They had belonged to George Gordon, sixth earl of Huntley, created

² Compare a variety of the tasseled-shaped fibula, figured in this Journal, vol. vii. p. 399; also one figured by Emele, pl. 15.

marquis by James VI. in 1599, and were presented to Mr. Neville in 1852, by the Duchess of Gordon. The crystal portions are probably Indian.

We are indebted to Mr. Neville for enabling us to place before our readers a representation of the bronze coin found in April, 1853, during his excavations near the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, described in this *Journal*, vol. ix. p. 226. It was discovered with numerous Roman coins amongst the foundations of a circular building at the base of the tumulus known as Mutilow Hill. This coin is of a type of which no other example is known, and unfortunately it is in very imperfect condition. It has been considered to belong to the coins of Cunobeline, but the imperfect legend, within a tablet, on the reverse, remains to be explained. The horse usually appears galloping to the *right*, but occasionally, as in this instance, to the left. Compare a silver coin of Cunobeline, Ruding, *British Coins*, pl. iv. fig. 16. The obverse of Mr. Neville's coin is slightly convex, and the reverse concave.



By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—A collection of iron axe-heads, comprising examples, possibly of Saxon date; fourteen iron-heads of arrows, quarrels, &c., of various forms, also an iron knife of peculiar form, described as found near Banbury, an iron spear, and a spiral bronze wire, said to have been found near Ambleside.

By Professor J. BUCKMAN.—A small collection of very interesting Saxon reliques from the cemetery at Fairford, Gloucestershire. They comprised two scyphate fibulæ of gilt bronze, with a central star-shaped ornament (compare Mr. Wylie's "*Fairford Graves*," pl. v. fig. 1), a pair of small oblong fibulæ, a square chased plate (compare one found at Ringwould, Kent, *Arch. Journal*, vol. ix. p. 304, of different design), all of bronze, thickly gilt. Bronze forceps, fibulæ, &c., of the forms usually found in Saxon burials. A pair of very remarkable round fibulæ; the ornamented surface consists of a thin plate of bronze, hammered up, and representing apparently a series of faces of animals, as often seen on Saxon ornaments. The fibula is in the form of a shallow box, filled with some compact paste, which serves as the groundwork upon which the thin plate was laid. A pair of fibulæ, of similar construction, were found by Mr. Neville in Cambridgeshire. Also, several mediæval brass buckles, of unusual forms, a leaden finger-ring, &c., found at Stratton, Gloucestershire.



By Mr. FRANKS.—A gold ring which had been discovered near Peterborough, in the river Nene. It is represented in the accompanying engraving, and is peculiar for having two facets. The ornaments are engraved and inlaid with niello, part of which is broken out. The ring was considered to be of a late Saxon origin. Mr. Franks observed that the ring of Ethelwulf, in the British Museum (engraved in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 163), is not inlaid with enamel, as is generally stated, but with niello. The former being a vitreous matter coloured by metallic oxides, the latter, a kind of amalgam of silver, copper, and sulphur. The same may be



said of the ring of Alhstan, found in Caernarvonshire (*Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 47), which Mr. Franks has recently seen, and the ring bearing the name of Athred, in the British Museum. The dull, leaden colour of the matter filling the incisions, sufficiently shows it to be niello. The same material may be found on the silver brooches of the Merovingian period found in France, as well as on several Irish remains. In regard to examples of niello, Mr. Franks observed, that the gold ornament found at Matlask, Norfolk, and in the collection of Mr. Robert Fitch (*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 97), is enameled and not inlaid with niello, the fractures being vitreous and jet black. The same may be said of the black portions of the enameled reliquary found near Devizes (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. v. p. 157), and in the collection of Mr. Maskell. In this specimen moreover, the use of niello is rendered improbable, by the difficulty which exists of applying both enamel and niello to the same object, owing to the much lower temperature at which the latter is fusible.

Mr. Franks exhibited also, through the kindness of the Dean of Llandaff, a remarkable sculpture in ivory, which appears to be of German art, Xth century. It is a block, measuring 8 inches in height, possibly intended as the base of a cross; around it are sculptured six scenes of Our Lord's Passion, and figures of the four evangelists. The soldiers guarding the Sepulchre are armed with round bucklers, and the peculiar transverse bar appears on the spear-heads, as seen in Carovingian MSS. Spears of this type have been found in the Thames, and are in Mr. Roach Smith's Museum (figured in his Catalogue, p. 103). There is an inscription, of which unfortunately only the letters—*ME FIERI IVSS*—are visible, without the context. This sculpture has subsequently been presented by the Dean of Llandaff to the British Museum; it had been obtained in Paris some years since by his brother, Professor Conybeare.

By Mr. SAMUEL DODD.—A small MS. volume, containing the assessment of certain hundreds of Wiltshire, for the two Subsidies granted by Parliament, Nov. 16, Charles I., 1640, on the invasion of the northern counties by the Scots. It is thus entitled—"Wilts. The Subsidie Booke containing the Two entire Subsidies granted to his majestie by the Laytye in this present parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Third Day of November in the 16th yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, &c. in and by an Act intituled An Act for the Further releife of his Majesties Army and the Northerne parts of the Kingdome. Together with the names, Sirnames, and Dwelling places, and also the true value, Rate, and just Summe that every person is charged with all, inhabiting within the Hundreds of Chippenham and Calne in the said County of Wilts, taken at Chippenham the 8th Day of October in the 17th yeare of his said Majesties raigne, Before Sir John Ernle and Sir Theobald Georges, Knights,"—with other persons commissioners for the said hundreds. The amount of the two subsidies was, upon lands 8s. in the pound, rated value; and 5s. 8d. in the pound upon goods, which are most frequently valued at £3. The volume comprises with the hundreds above mentioned those of Malmesbury and Damerham North; the sum total is £579, 6s. This enumeration of the inhabitants of each parish in 1641, and return of their rateable possessions, supply evidence of considerable local interest as regards the social condition of these parts of Wiltshire in the reign of Charles I. At the commencement of the volume the following coat of arms has been affixed to a fly-leaf,—*Arg.* three bulls' faces, *sa.*, horned *or*

(Gore). We are indebted to the Rev. J. E. Jackson, of Leigh Delamere, for the information that the volume is in the hand-writing of Thomas Gore, Esq., of Alderton, the Wiltshire Herald and antiquary who died in 1684. His MS. collections were dispersed about 50 years since. A more full account of the contents of this Subsidy list will be given, it is hoped, by Mr. Jackson, in the publications of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society.

By the Rev. G. MASTER.—Three packs of playing cards, of the latter part of the seventeenth century, when an endeavour was made to adapt them as a means of imparting useful and entertaining knowledge. The use of such "Scientiall," or scientific, cards, probably originated in France, and was introduced into England as early as 1651, as we learn from Mr. Chatto's curious treatise.³ They were much in vogue in the time of Charles II., and as late as the reign of Anne, and embraced a wide range of subjects. The packs now produced consisted of,—1. Geographical cards, the English counties; not, however, identical with those described by Mr. Chatto, and assigned to the time of Charles II., of which a set were exhibited by Mr. Caton at a former meeting (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. vii., p. 306). This pack is probably of later date; the map of Staffordshire (deuce of spades) bears a red stamp, a crown surrounded by foliage, the amount of duty is marked as sixpence. On each card is a little map, and on the map the suit is shown; a short account is given of county boundaries, general productions, number of parishes, &c. Thus of Cumberland it is stated, amongst other particulars,—“It hath 58 P'ish Churches, plenty of Fowle and many Rivers. Heere the Gaping Fish receives a dew w^{ch} produceth pearles,⁴ heere are many mountains, rich mines of Brass, som Gold and Silver, heere is found y^e Minerall shining earth, called black lead. In it is y^e well (*sic* for wall) of Picts, 122 miles long, once 8 foot broad, and twelve foot high, its in a right line from Est. to Wst. som ruins wth out battlements are yet to be seen.”—2. A pack thus entitled.—“The Use.—Grammaticall Cards, comprizing the Generall Rules of Lilley's Grammer, in y^e 4 Principall parts thereof, Viz^t. Orthographia, Etymologia, Syntaxis, Prosodia, very usefull to all persons who understand Latin, not only for recollecting their memories, but for the farther improvement of Such, as have made some progress in y^t Language.” The rules inscribed on the cards are in Latin.—3. A pack of Arithmetical cards, each inscribed with a sum or question in the various rules; for instance, ace of spades, “Reduction of Money, Quest. 3d. In 7538 Guineas at 21s. 6d. apeice, How many Nobles,” &c. The date of this pack is therefore later than 1663, when guineas were first coined; but it appears to be of the time of Queen Anne. The ace of diamonds (the Numeration Table) is stamped in red, with a crown and escutcheon bearing the duty-mark of one shilling, imposed in that reign. The cards exhibited measure about 3½ in. by 2½.

By Mr. G. BISH WEBB, with permission of Col. the Hon. M. E. Onslow. A brass figure of cinquecento workmanship, found about twenty years since in the chalk and rubbish close to the exterior face of the north wall of

³ Facts and Speculations on the origin and history of Playing Cards. By W. A. Chatto, 1848, pp. 139, 141, 156.

⁴ Pearls were formerly found in mussels

in the Irk and other rivers in Cumberland, and a patent was granted for the fishery. Gough's *Camd. Brit.* vol. iii. p. 433. Burn, vol. ii. p. 24.

Guilford Castle. It is supposed to represent Mars. Height, 6½ in. It is in the possession of Col. Onslow, at Woodbridge, Surrey.

By Mr. WAR.—A portion of a parchment roll of swan-marks, lately presented to him by Mr. Bloxam, of Shrewsbury. Amongst the names occur Nicholas Bullocke, Babham, M. Ric. Bewcham, Thomas Drewe, Robert Colyngborne, Umfre Forster, John Koke, John Baskett, William Pomroy, &c., and a memorandum in a later hand states that—"These are the Marks put on the Swans by their owners, that were kept on the River Thames." Also a note on the name of Forster,—"Sir Humphrey Forster, Knt.," possibly the knight of that name, of Aldermaston, Berks, about 1600. A family of the name of Bullock were settled in the same county, at Arborfield, Sunning; and the ancient family of Babham, at Babham-end, Cookham. In regard to rolls of swan-marks, and the usages connected with swans, see *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 153; and Mr. Bromhead's *Memoir in Proceedings of the Institute at Lincoln*, p. 296.

By the Hon. R. G. NEVILLE.—A gold signet-ring, bearing the device of the pelican in piety: it was purchased at the sale of the collection of the late Mr. Windus, F.S.A.; and was described as having been found in digging one of the coffer-dams for the construction of New London Bridge. Mr. Neville purchased at the same sale a silver ring, with two figures of saints on the facets, noticed in volume xii. of this *Journal* (p. 194), and there inadvertently described as found at London Bridge. The place of its discovery has not been ascertained.

By Mr. BETHEL JACOBS, of Hull.—A silver signet-ring, date XVIth cent., stated to have been found near Thornton College, Lincolnshire. The hoop had been highly chased, but it is now too much worn to distinguish the character of workmanship. The impress is a true-love-knot uniting the initials, I—S. The ring may have belonged to some person of the Skinner family, who held property at Thornton from about 1602 to 1720.

MATRICES and IMPRESSIONS from Seals. By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Impression from a round seal of XIVth century, found in Somersetshire; the device is a fleur-de-lys, *S'ADE: DE: STODDONE. The name of William de Stoddone occurs repeatedly in the Hundred Rolls in the County of Devon. Sir W. Pole, in his "Collections," states that Hugh Stoddon held Stoddon, in that county, t. Hen. II., and that the name continued till the latter part of the reign of Edward III. Mr. Strangways produced also a half-noble of Edward III., lately found on the Chesil Bank, Dorset. It is clipped, but the impress very distinct. (Figured in *Ruding*, gold coins, pl. 1, fig. 8.)

By Mr. R. FROE.—A small brass matrix, of the XIVth century, obtained at Happisburgh, Norfolk, being found attached to a countryman's watch chain. The device is a lion couchant, with the legend—ICI DORT LA LION.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Impression from the silver matrix of the seal of the Vicars Choral, of Wells. It is of pointed-oval form (2½ in. by 2 in.), and bears an escutcheon of the following arms, a saltire per saltire quarterly, surmounting a crosier, between two keys endorsed in pale, on the dexter side, and a sword erect, on the sinister side. The inscription, commencing with a fleur-de-lis, is as follows,—S' NOVI CLAVSI VICARIOR'. ECCL'IE CATHEDRALIS. WELLEN'. 1592. The Vicars' College or Close, at Wells, dates its origin from Walter de Hull, Canon of Wells, about 1100; in 1384 collegiate buildings were erected by Bishop Ralph de Salopia, the vicars and choristers of the cathedral were incorporated,

statutes made for their regulation, and their endowment augmented. The college was much improved by Bishop Beckington, and refounded by Charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated Nov. 5, 1591.⁵

By Mr. READY.—Facsimiles, in gutta-percha, from the seal of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 12 Hen. VI., of which a well preserved impression has recently been found by Mr. Ready amongst the muniments of Queen's College, Cambridge; also an unpublished seal of Richard II., as Prince of Chester; and a very interesting seal of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, appended to a document, dated 21 Edw. I., in the muniment chamber of Winchester College, where, by the kindness of the Warden and of the Rev. W. H. Gunner, Mr. Ready has lately copied a large number of seals of much historical value.

DECEMBER 7, 1855.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P. Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. MORGAN described the result of recent explorations made by him, in co-operation with the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, at Caerwent. He placed before the Meeting a model of the hypocausts and baths there discovered, with numerous reliques of bone, bronze, iron, glass, and pottery, found amongst the remains. The excavations had been directed by Mr. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, and Mr. Morgan took occasion to express his high sense of the services rendered by that gentleman, and of the intelligence and assiduity with which he had guided the operations. At a previous meeting, Mr. Morgan had intimated his intention of examining the vestiges of *Venta Silurum* (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. xii, p. 276), and he commenced operations in September last. The walls, of which considerable remains exist, enclose an area of about forty acres. The spot selected for excavation was that where a tessellated floor of remarkably rich design had been brought to light in 1774, near the S. W. angle of the station, and here the remains of an extensive structure were exposed to view, presenting one of the most complete and instructive examples of the baths, and the arrangements for artificial heating, in use amongst the Romans. The model which Mr. Morgan brought for examination admirably illustrated their ingenious combination. He pointed out the *frigidarium*, which was not provided with an hypocaust, and had at one end the *piscina*, or cold bath, in very perfect state, lined with red stucco, and paved with large stones. The access from this chamber to the *apodyterium*, or dressing-room, was distinctly shown; the side opposite the entrance is nearly semicircular, forming an alcove; the floor has been of tessellated work, and was supported on square stone pillars. The next chamber, of which the floor and *suspensura* had been destroyed by the growth of a large apple tree, was the *tepidarium*, of warmer temperature than the last, leading to the *caldarium*, the most curious part of the whole structure.

⁵ Tanner, *Notitia*; Dugd. Mon. vol. vi. p. 1466; Collinson, *Hist. Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 403; Phelps' *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 70, where some account of the building is given, and of the painting in the 'Vicars' hall commemorative of their benefactors. The arms of the see of Wells, as usually

given, are the saltire, which occurs also impaled with the arms of the Priory of Bath, two keys enfiled with a sword. Bishop Montague, 1608—18, bore the keys and sword as they appear on the Vicars' seal above described.

Here the warm bath was found in a perfect state ; the entire chamber was heated by a hypocaust, and three sides of the bath were formed with upright flue-tiles for the diffusion of the heated air. From this chamber a narrow doorway leads to a small apartment which Mr. Morgan supposes to have been the *sudatorium*, where a dry heat of very high temperature might be obtained in close proximity to the furnace, or *præfurnium*, serving to heat the hypocausts of all these apartments. Here it is probable that there may have been some arrangement for heating water, but this essential part of the appliances for the Roman baths is not to be traced, and it is remarkable that it is deficient in other examples discovered in England. Mr. Morgan pointed out the curious adjustment of the flues and the course of the heated air diffused under the *suspensuræ*, directed by certain dwarf cross-walls usually found in such buildings of the Roman age, and which served the essential purpose of a support to the floors. In these walls openings are found ingeniously arranged for the distribution of the heated air. The pillars supporting the *suspensuræ* are formed of roughly squared pieces of sandstone, and the floors themselves consist of large tiles or slabs of stone, on which was laid a bed of concrete, 14 in. in thickness ; it must therefore have required a long time, and a large consumption of fuel, to heat these floors through such a thickness of compact material. The bottom and sides of the bath, being only five inches in thickness, must have become more speedily heated, and Mr. Morgan considered it probable that the water had actually been heated in the bath itself. The provision for emptying both the baths is clearly seen, but there is no indication of the mode by which they were filled. Mr. Morgan entered into a detailed description of many curious features of construction in these remarkable vestiges of Roman luxury, surpassing probably any hitherto brought to light in this country. The remains have not been destroyed ; Mr. Morgan stated that a model, plans, and sections, having been taken, the site had been carefully filled in, so as to preserve this curious building from decay by exposure to the air or the wanton injuries through which such objects are usually permitted to perish. This remarkable building occupies an area of about 30 feet by 32. In one wing of the villa at Whitcombe, Gloucestershire, of which an account is given the *Archæologia*, vol. xix., a set of baths was found very similar to those here noticed, in the general arrangement, and especially in the *Apodyterium* formed with an alcove.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE read a dissertation on the Mortuary Customs of the Scandinavians, and their analogy with the usages of the Germans. One essential difference, he observed, consists in the fact that the former ceased to burn their dead long before they adopted Christianity. This may have been owing to scarcity of wood, as also to the wandering habits of the Scandinavian rovers. Mr. Kemble pointed out the importance of investigating Scandinavian funeral rites as explanatory of those prevalent in our own country in remote times, and forming an integral feature of our national antiquities. Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, inhabited our land, and preserved all their heathen customs and superstitions long after the Saxon and the German had adopted the Christian creed. The general idea of the Northman is thus recorded in the *Heimskringla* ; the earliest age was that of cremation, and the dead were commemorated by gravestones : to this succeeded barrows raised as memorials. The custom having been introduced in Denmark of placing the corpse in the barrow, with the arms, horse, and ornaments of the deceased, that mode of burial became general

in Denmark, whilst in Norway and Sweden cremation was practised much later. The Norse tradition knew nothing of burial older than burning, and even of Odin and other gods we are told that after death they were placed upon the funeral pile. Mr. Kemble cited a remarkable passage from the Edda, in which the wife of a deceased hero is described ascending the pile with her slaves and richest treasure. She rode in her car covered with tapestry, and slew herself with the sword. In other Norse traditions the curious feature occurs of the interment of chariot and horse, the saddle and trappings, with the mighty dead, for their use in the other world. Facts indicating similar usages have been noticed in the northern parts of England, where Norse influence must have prevailed.¹ The evidence is, however, insufficient to decide that the interments were in fact Scandinavian. The practice of throwing rings and ornaments into the barrow appears by the *Heimskringla* to have originated in the notion that a man was considered in Valhalla in proportion to the amount placed with him on the pile, or the valuables which he had buried during life, and devoted to the gods. To this superstition may be attributed many of the hoards found in the earth or under stones, without an interment. Mr. Kemble gave some illustrations of this very curious Scandinavian superstition. Sometimes the ship of the deceased was burnt with him, or it was set afloat and abandoned: the corpse was also in some cases placed in it, and committed to the waves, or buried in the ship within a barrow. An interment of this nature had been found in Norway not many years since. At one end of the ship were the skeletons of horses and dogs, with ornaments and weapons. The practice of some Northern tribes may be connected with this; they placed over the corpse stones arranged so as to represent a ship, or set up a slab on which was engraved the figure of a ship. A vestige of this usage may even be traced in the hollow tree used as a coffin, as in the remarkable interment found at Gristhorpe, near Scarborough. This curious boat-sepulchre is preserved in the Museum at that town. Prayer for the dead, Mr. Kemble observed, was used, consistently with the belief that the departed lived another life in the barrow, whence, if any cause hindered their resting in peace in the grave, they sometimes issued forth, to the injury and annoyance of the survivors. In this country disturbed spirits are said to *walk*, and the Northern phrase was to *go*. The Sagas supply numerous instances of this superstition, of which several were cited by Mr. Kemble, affording an insight into the wild confusion into which declining heathenism had fallen. It is remarkable that cremation, abandoned in later times as the ordinary funeral rite, was employed in order to subdue such restless spirits. The corpse was taken out of the barrow and burnt. In regard to the barrow, as a feature of Norse interment, it seems, even after Christianity was introduced, to have been the prevalent usage. Its size was proportioned to the rank or renown of the deceased; there were family mounds, and in some cases the man and wife were deposited clasped in each other's arms. The barrow was often raised in the life of the person for whom it was intended, being made hollow, either by a cist of stones, or, as the tomb of a Danish queen recently opened, formed with a chamber of stout oak.

¹ See especially the account, by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, of an interment found on the Yorkshire Wolds; Trans-

actions of the Arch. Inst. York Meeting, p. 26. See also p. 100, *infra*, and references in foot-note, *ibid*.

Mr. Kemble noticed various other curious details in pursuing this highly interesting inquiry, such as the usage in removing the corpse, which was not conveyed through the door of the house, but the wall was broken down. When deposited, the head was placed to the north, a peculiarity often found in early interments in England; the personal ornaments, tools, and weapons, were invariably interred with the body, a certain religious respect towards the dead requiring that they should be provided with all that might be of advantage to them in a future state. At a later period this feeling wholly ceased; in the tenth century mention is made of persons of note who were but poorly provided with valuables in their interment; and, not long after, the plundering of graves was commonly practised, the buried wealth of previous generations presenting to the predatory Northman an irresistible temptation. Mr. Kemble strongly impressed upon his hearers the essential importance of the mortuary ceremonies of the Northman as an elucidation of those of the Anglo-Saxons; and still more that all the labour so largely bestowed on the investigation of barrows, will be in vain, unless commenced with a clear historical view of those ancient races, whose remains should never be irreverently or uselessly disturbed.

Mr. FRANKS observed, that very recently a remarkable interment had been found in the Isle of Purbeck; as in the Scandinavian burials to which Mr. Kemble had alluded, there also two skeletons, male and female, had been found. The wife's head had rested on the breast of her husband, and her arms embraced the corpse. A detailed account of the discovery has been prepared by the Rev. J. H. Austen for the Transactions of the Purbeck Archæological Society.

Mr. W. BURGESS read an account of a mitre of rich tissue, preserved in the Museum at Beauvais, in France, and of which he produced a representation, with highly finished drawings of other examples of ancient tissues existing in France. The mitre had probably belonged to Philippe de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais, in 1175.

Mr. W. B. DICKENSON communicated a detailed account of a collection of contracts for the supply of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army with clothing and munitions of war, in 1645. The original documents were sent for examination. They are addressed to the officers of the ordnance at the Tower, to authorise the admission into store of the articles contracted for, and are signed on the part of the Committee of the Army of the Parliament by various parties. The name of Robert Scawen occurs very frequently, also John Venn, the regicide, Sir Walter Erle, Lieut. Gen. Hammond, &c. The contracts comprise uniforms, red coats, called also cassocks, of Suffolk, Coventry, or Gloucestershire cloth, breeches of grey or other colours, of Reading cloth, and stockings of Welsh cotton. Some of the latter are called Irish. The coats were ordered to be furnished with tapestrings, white, blue, green, and yellow, possibly as distinctions of regiments. In one of the contracts there is a notice of orange ribbon facings, and underwritten again by Scawen for special care. By reference to Clarendon it appears that orange-tawney was more particularly the colour of the Parliamentarians, for when Colonel Gage went to relieve the garrison of Basing House, he dressed his men in "orange-tawney scarfs and ribbons," that they might pass for Parliamentary soldiers, but the artifice failed, through the men forgetting their orange-tawney, and falling upon a small detachment of the enemy. The contracts for shirts described them as of good lockram; those for shoes, of which 32,000 pair were contracted for,

are singularly minute in detail; each pair was to be marked on the soles to distinguish the makers, whose punches or marks, usually bearing the initials of their names, are actually impressed on the margins of the contract, to obviate all possibility of dispute. The armour consisted of "Pots" with three bars, of English make; and head-pieces, backs and breasts; the price of a suit being 20*s*. There are contracts for drums, ensigns of blue Florence saracenet, with distinctions of gold laurels; in the proportion as it seems of eight ensigns for a regiment, tents of lockram, waggons, hair-cloth tilts, canvas, sheepskins, &c. also for sea-coal, at 23*s*. 6*d*. per chaldron, tools, ordnance, comprising the cannon, demi-cannon, culverin, demi-culverin and saker, and a mortar-piece for saker shot. The muskets are said to be matchlocks and snaphaunce, the latter measuring 4 ft. in length; of the pistols some are described as snaphaunce. Holsters, carbine belts, "snapsacks" of leather, bandoleers of wood painted, cartridge-boxes of plate covered with leather, cartridge-girdles, ash pikes 16 ft. in length, and Spanish pikes 15 ft., swords with Dutch blades, saddles, harness, horse-shoes and other articles are minutely described in these contracts. The ammunition consisted of the best English corn powder, match, hand-granadoes and granadoe-shells for a mortar piece, round shot, bullets, &c. The precautions taken to ensure the due fulfilment of the contracts are worthy of notice, and Mr. Dickenson pointed out the care with which the Parliamentary leaders provided to "keep their powder dry," in the minute specifications for the bandoleers, as also for the "good holdsters of calve-skine, inside and outside well sowed and liquored." This volume of contracts formed part, probably, as Mr. Dickenson observed, of the mass of public documents sold by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1838, to Mr. Jay, a fishmonger, to the extent of eight tons in weight, at 8*l*. per ton. Many have since been repurchased at large prices by the Government and by the British Museum.²

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—A representation of a diminutive urn found in August, 1850, in a small barrow, in the parish of Fylingdales, about 100 yards from Kirkmoor Gate, on the right hand side of the road from Whitby to Scarborough. The barrow measured 27 ft. in diam., 2 ft. in height, and the deposit of burnt bones was discovered nearly in the centre, 2 ft. from the surface, in a cavity cut in the natural soil, 15 in. deep. On examining the bones the small cup was found, in fragments, which were reunited, and its form accurately ascertained (see woodcut). It measured $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height; diam. at top 5 in., at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The surface is ornamented with an impressed corded pattern, which appears also within the rim. The inside of the cup is rounded at the bottom and has a neatly finished appearance. In general form this curious little vessel resembles that found in Holyhead Island, and described by the Hon. W. Owen Stanley in this *Journal* (Vol. vi., p. 230). The ornament in that example is rather more



Urn found at Fylingdales.

² Quarterly Review, March, 1855.

elaborate. The proximity of the interment to the coast in both instances may deserve notice.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An iron boss of a shield, of the Anglo-Saxon period, found at Fairford, Gloucestershire. Compare the examples figured in Mr. Wylie's "Fairford Graves," Pl. X., and that found in the cemetery on Linton Heath by Mr. Neville, figured in this Journal, Vol. xi., p. 106, Fig. 7.

By Mr. WAY.—A silver Family coin, of the *Gens Cornelia*, found near Prinstead, Sussex, near the shores of the estuary forming Chichester harbour. Obv.—CN. BLASIO. CN. P. the galeated head of Mars, with a star at the nape of the neck. Rev.—Jupiter standing, with a lance supported by his right hand, and the rays of a *fulmen* with a girdle in his left. He is being crowned by a galeated female on the right, and on the other side stands a draped female with the *hasta pura*, perhaps Minerva and Juno. The coin was probably struck about B.C. 40, but of Blasius nothing is known. Family coins are far less frequently found in England than imperial *denarii*, and the discovery of this coin in a locality where few vestiges of the Romans have been noticed, is deserving of record.

By Mr. M. AISLABIE DENHAM, of Piersebridge.—A sketch of a ring of bronze wire, of uniform thickness, well coated with patina, and found in September last around the neck-bones of a skeleton, at Carlebury, co. Durham, east of the Roman station on the river Tees, of which a plan by Mr. MacLauchlan was given in this Journal, Vol. vi., p. 217. This ring measures nearly 5 in. in diameter; and the ends are fastened together with spiral twists, so adjusted as to allow a certain degree of play or enlargement of the ring. The mode of fastening shows that it was intended to be worn permanently, probably as a token of servitude. Compare a bronze neck-ring with similar fastening, found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, Eceyrd Smith's Reliqu. Isurianæ, pl. xxv. a.



By the Rev. E. WILTON.—A fibula of tinned bronze, of Roman workmanship, found on West Lavington Down, in Wiltshire, and the iron spring-bolt of a fetter-lock, probably of Roman date. Numerous small reliques of metal are found by flint-diggers on Charlton Down, where the latter was disinterred, and where traces of ancient habitations are strikingly apparent. About two miles distant is Ell Barrow, and within half a mile only of the spot where these objects occur, from time to time, is another tumulus known by the name of Slay Barrow.

By Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT.—A collection of casts from the sculptures in ivory in the possession of Colonel Meyrick, at Goodrich Court. They had originally belonged to the late Mr. Douce, and comprise examples of early date and remarkable character. Some account of the "Doucean Museum" was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1836, by the late Sir S. Meyrick, in which a notice of the ivory caskets, diptychs, a remarkable set of sculptured paternosters, and other objects, may be found. Mr. Nesbitt produced also a facsimile, in "fictile ivory," of the curious head of a crosier, placed in the chapel at Goodrich Court; it is sculptured in

the style of the early Irish artists, in the XIIth century. It may be an example of the *Opus Dunolmense*. He brought also casts from one of the finest and earliest examples of sculpture in ivory, of Christian character, a work attributed to the IVth century, and actually at Berlin; also some admirable productions of the VIth century, from Mr. Maskell's collection, and part of a consular diptych, from that of the Vicomte de Genzi. Amongst the ivories at Goodrich Court there is a singular subject of spirited execution, although of very recent date, representing Orator Henley delivering a funeral sermon on Colonel Charteris.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Six casts from chess-men sculptured in ivory, or tooth of the walrus, preserved in the Kunst Kammer at the Royal Museum at Berlin. They are of the XIth and XIIth centuries.

Sir ARTHUR DE CAPELL BROKE, Bart., presented a collection of documents, comprising copies of Grants, Claims, and other ancient evidences relating to the Forest of Rockingham, co. Northampton, made by the late Sir Richard de Capell Broke, Bart., of Oakley Hall, a verderer of the forest. These documents had been collected from the public records preserved at the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, and from other sources.

By the Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE.—The Book of Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Woodbury, Devon, from 1537 to 1792; comprising an uninterrupted record during that long succession of years, curiously illustrative of the progress of the Reformation, the alternations and changes of public feeling in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, with numerous details of historical as well as statistical information. A selection from this unique series of parochial accounts will be published by the Camden Society.

By Mr. FARRER.—Several specimens of mediæval art,—a sculptured tablet of ivory, XIIth cent., representing Our Lord meeting the widow of Nain at the city-gate, following the body of her son to the grave. The back-ground is pierced with small cruciform apertures.—A reliquary, obtained in Germany, containing the jaw-bone of St. Mark (according to the inscription—*Mandibula S. Marci Evangeliste*) accompanied by a tooth of St. Sebastian. The former is supported by two small figures of angels, and the tooth is held by a third; the whole forming a curious example of the quaint metal-work of the fifteenth century.—Two priket candlesticks, ornamented with heraldic bearings, and described as being of Italian workmanship.—A nuptial casket of carved wood, inscribed,—*einig. din wil ich sin*.—Alone to thee I will be. Date, late XVth cent.—Another casket or forcer, covered with cuir-bouilli; and bearing the date 1512, with two armorial escutcheons *accollés*.—A corporas case, covered with embroidery and gold lace, probably Venetian.—Also a round miniature portrait, attributed to Holbein. The person represented is not known, it depicts probably a courtier of the time of Henry VIII., his age about forty, in a furred robe, with a small flat cap on his head, the left hand resting on his sword. The character of the design seems to indicate that it portrays some personage of note in England at the period.

In reference to the *Mandibula* of St. Mark, Mr. Kemble took occasion to observe that the entire body of the Evangelist is reputed to be preserved at Venice; the thumb was, however, alleged to be at Hanover, and no less a sum than 30,000 *scudi d'oro* had been offered, it is said, for its restoration.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Three clocks, of remarkable design.

and construction. One of them is in a form of an hexagonal temple, and bears the date 1545. Another is in the form of a griffin, bearing an escutcheon on which is the dial. The animal constantly rolls his eyes whilst the mechanism is in movement, and he opens his mouth when the quarters strike, and flaps his wings at the striking of the hour. The third is in the form of a crucifix; the hours are shown on a globe which revolves on the top of the cross. The date of the two last is the earlier part of the XVIIth century.—Also a model of Sawston Hall, Cambridge-shire, the ancient mansion of the Huddleston family; erected, as is stated, in 1557, by Sir John Huddleston, who entertained the Princess Mary on the death of Edward VI. This model belonged to the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, for whom it had been made, in 1838, by the Rev. Patrick O'Moore.

By the Rev. J. HOPKINSON.—A collection of Crimean reliques from the battle-field of the Tchernaya, the Redan, and the Malakoff, consisting of Russian military decorations, and the small metal diptychs and medallions of a sacred kind worn by the Russian soldiers. The more ancient types of Eastern art are frequently to be traced in these objects of daily use amongst the Christians of the Greek Church.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A silver Greek or Greco-Russian seal, of curiously perforated work, with a facet or central compartment turning on a swivel within the inscribed margin, so as to present two faces. On one of these appears the head of a figure in sacred vestments, apparently representing St. Nicholas, with the inscription—Ο Άγιος Νικολαος, on the other side a figure with a cross, possibly St. Helena, or Constantine. Around the verge is an inscription, which has been thus deciphered,—✠ ΣΙΛΒΕΣΤΡΕ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΙ · 1736, probably indicating that it was the seal of Silvester, the holy monk (? of the Monastery of Mount Athos). This seal was found, as stated, at Maldon, Essex. Several seals of similar workmanship, but varied in form, have been noticed; one, in the possession of Mr. M. F. Tupper, is figured in the *Journal Arch. Assoc.*, vol. i., p. 64; of another, described as found in the Isle of Paros, impressions are to be seen in the collection of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

By Mr. C. DESBOROUGH BEDFORD.—A massive gold ring, lately found at a great depth in sinking a shaft for the construction of a tunnel in Wapping. The impress is the initial—**W**, over which is the letter—**f**. Date, XVth cent.

January 4, 1856.

JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq., V.P. Soc. Ant., in the Chair.

A Communication was received from the War Department, in reference to the Roman pharos at Dover and the ancient Church at the Castle. An appeal in behalf of their preservation had been addressed to Lord Panmure on the part of the Institute, in pursuance of the resolution at a previous meeting. Lord Panmure courteously acknowledged the receipt of that expression of interest felt by archaeologists in the conservation of these ancient remains, and the complaint which had arisen that the Pharos had recently been appropriated to unworthy purposes. Lord Panmure in reply directed that the following gratifying assurance should be conveyed to the Institute.—“His Lordship regrets the emergency which it is found on inquiry induced the engineers so to misuse the Pharos in Dover Castle,

as you have represented ; but the wrong has been already repaired, and directions given that the ruins of the old church be cleared of coals, and that they be respected and kept more decently in future."

A communication was also read, addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France, to Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., in reference to his recent explorations at Caerwent, of which a detailed account had been given at the previous meeting of the Institute. The Minister had perceived, by the reports of the proceedings at that meeting given in the English journals, that Mr. Morgan had brought under public notice certain particulars of essential interest, illustrative of the vestiges of the Roman period, to which detailed attention has been recently directed by the French Government. He requested a more full account of the researches at Caerwent, as desirable for insertion in the "*Revue des Sociétés Savantes*," produced under the Minister's direction. M. Fortoul signified also, in a very gratifying manner, his wish to establish friendly relations in England with a Society such as the Archaeological Institute, devoted to literature and science, and he proposed an exchange of publications of the Institute for those produced under the auspices of the "*Ministère de l'Instruction*," at Paris.

The Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE communicated a notice of a remarkable collection of specimens of Roman glass, and produced admirable coloured drawings in illustration of their rich variety of decoration and hue. "These fragments of Roman coloured glass, with two exceptions, were collected some years ago from the site of the ancient Tartessus of the Greeks, the Calpe¹ Carteia of the Romans, situated near Gibraltar. They have lately been kindly submitted to my inspection by Mr. Kent of Padstow, who brought them over to this country after a long residence in Spain. They are highly interesting, not only from the beauty and agreeable combination of their colours, but from the fact that through these alone it might have been proved how completely the Romans had overcome almost every difficulty in the art of glass making;² for here are some specimens of highly translucent white glass, as well as of the purest milk white—some forming a combination of opaque and transparent portions,—some of clear glass having opaque rims,—some opaque, with pieces of transparent glass inserted in them; whilst others form a sort of glass conglomerate of variegated fragments, so well fitted to each other as to be perfectly smooth throughout their whole surfaces, although formed of many portions widely differing not only as to colour, but in quality. One fragment supplies an example of moulded or pillar glass: it formed part of a vase of the deepest green, partly transparent, having yellow streaks inserted in it, and two of scarlet. There is a very pleasing imitation of some fine marble, the ground puce-coloured, transparent, with veins of opaque white; another specimen, of opaque turquoise-blue and yellow, presents insertions of clear glass, exactly resembling agate; as does also a third, a wonderfully minute

¹ The full Roman name for Tartessus was undoubtedly *Calpe-Carteia*, some coins found on the site bearing this appellation, as well as a die for striking them, lately forwarded to Mr. Trollope. The spot it once occupied is now termed "*Rocadillo*," and has yielded many small intaglios and pastes, besides a few small

fragments of marble with traces of Roman inscriptions on them, and portions of a marble statue.

² M. de Caylus, in his "*Recueil d'Antiquités*," gives some similar specimens of Roman glass, and enters into the particulars of their production very minutely.

admixture of small white opaque particles in a blue-grey transparent body. The colours are exceedingly varied ;—transparent puce ground, with yellow and green opaque spiral, and white centre and ring, resembling an onyx ;—milk-white opaque ground, with insertions of scarlet and deep transparent blue ;—amber and deep blue conglomerate, with opaque white insertions, and a spiral of yellow blending into green. In another specimen are seen opaque yellow stars with white pipe-like centres floating as it were in the transparent green of the foundation, but yet thick enough to touch both the inner, as well as the outer surface ; but perhaps the most curious fragments are two formed apparently of a series of transparent strips, or rods, encircled with a worm or spiral of milk-white glass, and laid upon the top of each other until the required form and height of the vases were attained, when the whole, having been finished with a coloured rod, also encircled by a spiral thread, was consolidated, and the surface smoothed, by subjection to renewed heat, an operation which although perfectly effectual as to their complete fusion, has in no instance blended the colours of the various portions at their points of contact. All these specimens formed parts of small cups, plates, or flat Tazzas, portions of the circular rim from which they sprang being observable on some of them, whilst the curve and lip of others indicate the purpose for which they were intended when entire.

“Two examples of ancient glass remain to be noticed, which have been found at Lincoln. Of these, one is of a bright transparent green, the other deep blue with white spots. It must be observed that, with the exception of its having been a portion of a moulded vase, in the pattern and colour this last precisely resembles one of those from Carteia ; before seeing that specimen I was in some doubt as to the Roman origin of the two Lincoln specimens which were found together within the walls of that colony, a doubt which has now been entirely removed by a view of the Spanish fragments.”

It is much to be regretted that it has proved impracticable to reproduce Mr. Trollope's exquisite drawings, for the gratification of the readers of the Journal. The minute descriptions by which they were accompanied can present but a very imperfect idea of the character of the glass. A considerable number of examples may be seen at the British Museum. Amongst these, Mr. Franks observed, there is only one supposed to have been found in England, and the fact had not been established. The discovery therefore of two specimens at Lincoln is of considerable interest. Although constantly found with Roman remains in foreign parts, it has been generally supposed that this curious glass was not actually of Roman manufacture ; and the facts connected with its occurrence in various localities, more especially at *Calpe*, regarded by some antiquaries as the Tarshish of Holy Writ, are well deserving of attention.

Mr J. M. KEMBLE resumed the comparison of the sepulchral usages of Scandinavia with the ancient vestiges noticed in the British Islands. His observations on this occasion related to the remarkable custom, both in heathen and early Christian times, of including certain animals, stones, and trees in the funeral rites. Such a practice prevailed long after the introduction of Christianity. The horse, especially, was burnt, and in a later age, buried, with the dead. Of this Mr. Kemble cited numerous examples, commencing with the usage of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus, and that of other Eastern nations, as likewise of the Germans,

the Franks, and various races whose remote origin must probably be traced to Asia. He cited evidence of this usage as traced in England. Mr. Kemble described a remarkable interment, at a very recent period, in which the ancient pagan rite had been renewed as part of a solemn Christian burial. On the decease of Frederic Kasimir, commander of the cavalry in the Palatinate, his obsequies were solemnised at Treves, in 1781; his charger was led after the corpse, and, at the moment when the coffin was lowered into the grave, a skilful blow laid the noble horse dead upon its margin, when it was deposited in the tomb and the earth forthwith filled in. Mr. Kemble pursued this curious subject, adverting to usages of the like nature in regard to the dog, man's faithful companion, often associated with him in the funeral rites of earlier times; as also the ox or cow, with which a remarkable superstition was connected; the hog, the hare, and the stag.

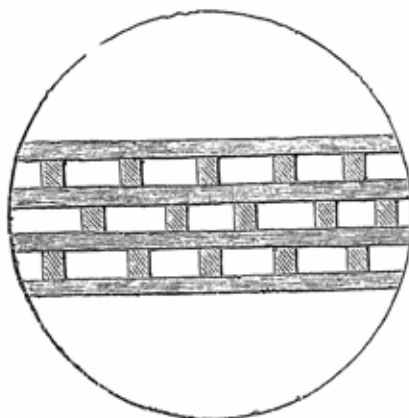
Mr. M. AISLABIE DENHAM, of Piersobridge, co. Durham, communicated the following particulars regarding recent discoveries of interments near the Roman station at that place. During the railway operations in the townships of Piersobridge and Carlebury several skeletons have been exhumed; the most remarkable discovery of this kind occurred in May, 1855, when the bones of a horse and those of a young bullock were found mixed with the human remains. In another grave at the same spot two small urns, formed on the lathe, were found on the breast of the skeleton, as described by the workmen. In September six skeletons were found to the E. of the station; at the side of one of these (buried N. and S.) were the bones of a horse; and around the neck of another was a bronze ring (see p. 96, *ante*). At a later time an interment was found at Piersobridge, with which were brought to light a spear-head, several iron nails which had been used in the construction of a wooden coffin, and broken vessels placed by the side of the body. These were of fine red clay, coloured black externally and internally; fragments of similar ware are often found at Piersobridge. This body lay E. and W., at no great distance from the spot where a leaden coffin, encased by roughly wrought ponderous blocks of sandstone was exposed to view, in 1771, by an unusual flood. Mr. Denham observed that Hutchinson (*Hist. of Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 281) mentions a tumulus at Ellenborough, in which the bones of a heifer and of a colt were found. Several instances of the occurrence of remains of the horse have been noticed in early interments; in some cases doubtless they may be remains of the funeral feast.³

Mr. W. P. ELSTED, of Dover, communicated an account of the discovery of a frame-work of timber, near St. James'-street, in that town, supposed to have been a pier or causeway connected with the landing-place, at a period long anterior to the building of the medieval town. He sent a drawing to show its construction. A communication was likewise received from Mr. Joseph Beldam, in reference to the same subject. This ancient work was found in the autumn of 1855, in constructing a gasometer. The accompanying woodcut represents the circular excavation made for that purpose, and the framed timbers found at a depth of about

³ Sir H. Dryden, Bart., found an entire skeleton of a horse in the Saxon cemetery at Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire. See, in regard to remains of the horse in early graves,

Proceedings of the Somerset Arch. Soc., 1854, p. 60; Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 455, 552; *Memoires, Soc. des Antiqu. de Picardie*, vol. v. p. 145.

24 feet below the present surface. This frame-work was formed of beams of oak, squared, 10 to 12 inches thick, and transverse pieces between the beams, at intervals of about two feet apart, the whole being dovetailed



Frame-work of oak found at Dover.

together, and not a trace of iron was to be found. This frame, now unfortunately destroyed, was in perfect preservation, resting on an irregular bed of black peat, from three to five feet deep, beneath which was chalk, broken flints, and fresh-water shells. Four beams of the size above-mentioned were fixed one upon another, forming solid fences or walls of about 4 feet 6 inches in height, enclosing a space 10 feet 9 inches in width, filled in with shingle and hard ballast, apparently to form a pier or causeway. Immediately over the timbers lay a thin stratum of

chalk and flints rounded by action of water; and upon these a layer of pure sea-sand, 4 to 5 feet deep, with a few shells at the bottom. Over the sand lay black vegetable mould, 17 or 18 feet in depth, mixed with roots and branches of trees; the whole showing a gradual accretion from materials brought down by the river, and thrown up by the sea. A portion only of the timbers was exposed to view by the excavation; the framed-work lay in the direction of north-east by south-west, and it extended on each side into neighbouring property where its course could not be traced. No tradition of any such pier exists. The spot where the discovery occurred is nearly in the centre of the mouth of the valley in which Dover is built, and through which the river Dour flows towards the sea. The course of the stream and the position of the haven at its mouth have obviously been subjected to great changes, and it appears probable that the timbers above described may be vestiges of the landing-place and haven at a very early period. Lyon, in his "History of Dover," states, that in the time of Henry VII., the mouth of the harbour was at the foot of the Castle Cliff, but this wood-work is considerably to the south-west of that spot.⁴

Mr. BELDAM's observations were in confirmation of the opinion that this discovery had exposed to view vestiges of an ancient pier or causeway, possibly the original landing-place of the haven in Saxon, or even in Roman, times. He described the spot as about 140 feet within the old Norman wall, and about 250 feet to the east of the present course of the river. The more probable opinion seems to be, that the sea once extended for some distance into the valley of the Dour; the Roman town was built, not in the vale, but on the western slope of the hill along the present market-place and Biggin-street; the Watling-street being supposed to have entered at Biggin-gate, demolished in 1762.

⁴ St. James's Street, Town-wall Street, Liverpool Terrace, and the Marine Parade, in all five rows of houses with

intervening thoroughfares, now separate the spot where the supposed pier was found from the present verge of the sea.

Mr. WELD TAYLOR, of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, communicated the following notice of some mural paintings lately brought to light in the church of that place :—

"The frequent appearance of portions of pictures, and of remains of scroll-work in colours, on the walls of the chancel and chancel aisle of Wimborne Minster, had attracted my attention. The opportunity being afforded for searching for other remains during the progress of a complete restoration of that part of the church, at the beginning of August last, I carefully examined the walls in many places, and at length brought to view, by carefully removing numerous coats of whitewash, a curious picture on the side of the east window. The entire walls of the Minster bear evidence that at an early period the whole had been decorated with fresco-painting ; but mural monuments, repairs, and destruction, through various causes, had left nothing visible but fragments. The painting discovered had happily escaped, and was almost entire. The subject commenced from the point of the arch of the east window, by patterns painted in oil, and taking the form of the usual exterior label. They consisted of broad ribands, with curved lines ending with balls at intervals. At the spring of the arch a horizontal pattern of black and red came close above the upper picture ; this represents six figures in red, yellow, and white, garments, apparently carrying a sort of cage or bier on their shoulders ; another figure, which was nearly destroyed by two holdfasts having been driven into the wall, appeared to have been a personage towards whom the procession advanced. The subject of this picture I am unable to explain, but it may represent the punishment of some martyr.

"Below this picture was another pattern in red and black, and below that four figures in red and yellow draperies, apparently representing the four evangelists ; each figure has the nimbus around the head.

"These pictures appeared, on examination, to have been executed in fresco. The outline caused by the indentations of the *stylus* on the wet plaster was very distinct, and on uncovering the outer plaster the white in most places filled up the groove formed by its indentation. The drawing is bold and the lines flowing ; the whole depending more upon the outline, painted with a mixture of red and black, than upon the colours. There is a solemnity in the effect of the whole very suitable to mural decoration in such a position ; and, had the opposite picture on the right of the window been in existence, the effect would have been very rich and pleasing.

"The only remains of other pictures in Wimborne church are two figures in the crypt, which were never painted over ; this subject has been supposed to represent King Edward receiving a model of the church from the architect ; this design, I believe, is well known, and has been published. These paintings will be lost on account of the repairs ; they might have been taken off from the walls and preserved as examples of the early state of the Arts in our country. Vestiges of similar decoration occurred throughout the church, but no other subjects of note were to be found."

The Rev. J. H. AUSTEN sent coloured tracings of the paintings above mentioned ; the figures measured about 3 feet in height ; the design was executed with greater freedom and spirit than is usually seen in works of this description. The date of the paintings in the S. chancel aisle may be assigned to the XIVth century. The subjects, as far as can be traced in their imperfect condition, appear to have been, the last scenes of the life of the Virgin, and her interment. The four figures in the lower band of

painting, may have been some of the apostles, in deep sorrow around her death-bed, the gesture indicates some severe emotion of grief; whilst the subject above is evidently the funeral procession. The bier is carried by several persons, preceded by two apostles, one of whom possibly represented St. Peter; upon the pall covering it appear the head and upraised arm of the impious Israelite, who according to the legend attempted to overthrow the bier. His hands were miraculously affixed to the bier, so that he was unable to remove them, until he was released by the intercession of St. Peter.⁵

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A bronze double-edged hook, a cutting implement, recently obtained from Ireland, where objects of this description have not unfrequently occurred. Mr. Fairholt, in submitting this object to the meeting, at Lord Londesborough's request, observed "that the form is known to archaeologists, but its uses are not clearly defined. The older writers have considered that it might be a sacred implement for severing the mistletoe, an opinion that wants confirmation. Modern antiquaries have thought it merely a *falx* or pruning-hook. Mr. Lukis discovered one in excavations made by him in Alderney, in 1833. It would serve an useful purpose if opinions could be elicited on this subject." The blade of this example measures about $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, the breadth, at the widest part being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. In form and the socket for its adjustment to a haft, fixed by a rivet, it closely resembles the example figured in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 186, and found in co. Tyrone. Lord Londesborough also sent a skilfully fabricated lance-head of black flint for inspection, and stated that it is a modern forgery recently purchased in Yorkshire: and he desired to call attention to it, in order that archaeologists might be on their guard against such rogueries, now too prevalent in that part of England.⁶

By the Rev. J. G. CUMMING, of Lichfield.—A cast from an object supposed to be an ancient lamp formed of granite, found at Maryvoar, in the Isle of Man. It is in the form of a small bowl with one handle, rudely shaped; diameter of the bowl, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of the cavity, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Similar reliques have repeatedly been found in Scotland, and several are preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh. (Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 148. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqu. of Scot., vol. i. p. 115.) These stone vessels have usually been described as "Druidical pateræ." Stone reliques, however, precisely similar in fashion, are used as lamps at the present time in the Feroe Islands; and it may deserve remark that the same kind of rude lamp or cresset is in use in Ceylon.—Also a cast from a stone axe-head of unusual form in this country; it was found on the Curragh, in the Isle of Man, and is formed of white whin-stone. The original is in the Museum at King William's College. It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., by 6 in., width of the

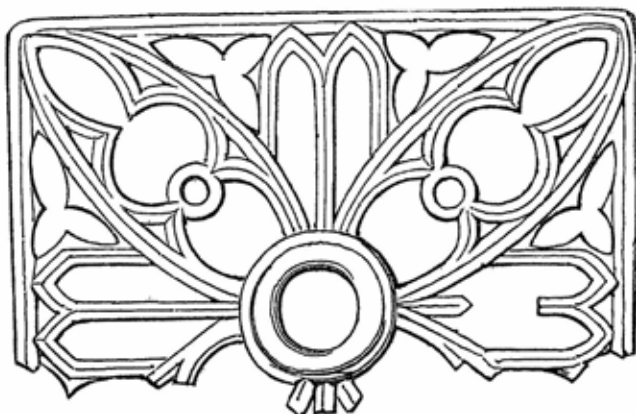
⁵ See Mrs. Jamieson's Legends of the Madonna, p. 332.

⁶ See another form of the Irish bronze *falx*, Dublin Penny Journal, vol i. p. 108. See also another type found in Cambridgeshire, Arch. Journ. vol. vii. p. 302.

Another, found in Norfolk, is described, Arch. Journ. vol. viii. p. 191; and one found at Rennes, in France, is figured, in the "Histoire Archéologique" of that place, p. 113, pl. iii.

cutting edge. In form it bears some resemblance to one brought from Alexandria, figured in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 421, but it is perfectly plain, without any grooved or other ornament. Mr. Cumming has presented the fac-similes of these ancient reliques from Mona to the Institute.

By the Rev. E. TROLLOPE.—A representation of a small ventilating quarry of lead, lately found with fragments of painted glass, in the course of excavations on the site of the Gilbertine Priory of Haverholme, near Sleaford, Lincolnshire. The glass appeared to be of the XVth century, and the quarry, according to the character of the tracery forming the open-work, may be assigned to the same period. Original mediæval examples of such quarries are of uncommon occurrence: some obtained at Ely were exhibited by Mr. Morgan at a previous meeting. This quarry, now imperfect, measured nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. It was doubtless cast in a mould, and the two sides are alike. (See woodcut.)



Portion of a pierced quarry of lead, from Haverholme Priory.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—A sketch of a small sepulchral brass, lately brought to light in Upminster church, Essex, by removing the floor of the pews in the Gaines Chapel. It had been supposed to portray Ralph Latham, Common Sergeant of the City of London, about 1641, but the costume is obviously that of the previous century. The discovery of this effigy is due to the researches of Mr. Johnson, of Gaines, who is preparing a topographical notice of the parish for publication.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Casts from several sculptures in ivory preserved in the Kunst-Kammer, in the Royal Museum at Berlin, comprising a *pax*, a mirror-case, writing tablets, and examples of various periods.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—Three leaden *signacula*, or pilgrims' signs, XVth century, found in the bed of the Thames. One represents the Virgin with the infant Saviour; another bears the figure of a bishop, with a crosier in his left hand, his right raised upwards, with a chain, or fetters, hanging from it (St. Leonard?); the third is a roundel, with a mitred head between two erect swords. (St. Thomas of Canterbury?)

By the Rev. G. M. NELSON.—A little perfume-bottle of cornelian, in the form of the flagon of the XVIth century, elegantly mounted and harnessed with silver, and a small perforated globe on the cover to receive a pastille.—Also a gold ring, found at Lamborne, Berks, and inscribed with this posy inside the hoop, "God's providence is our inheritance."

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

TYPES AND FIGURES OF THE BIBLE; Illustrated by the Art of the Early and Middle Ages. By LOUISA TWINING. London, Longman & Co. 1855. 4to. 54 plates.

HAVING recently (vol. xi. p. 201) taken occasion to notice Miss Twining's interesting "Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art," we have now before us another work by the same indefatigable artist, in which the remarkable development of another phase of the Christian spirit of the middle ages is brought before the view of the student of sacred art. We allude to the typical and figurative manner in which the subjects of the Old Testament Scriptures were supposed to represent those of the new dispensation. Of course, many of these typical analogies, which are not only self-evident, but are expressly referred to in the Bible itself, such as the Brazen Serpent and the Crucifixion, or Jonah in the whale, and Our Lord in the Sepulchre, will suggest themselves to the mind of every reader, but many others are of a far more recondite and, it must be admitted, often of a scarcely appreciable kind.

"The general belief," says Miss Twining, "which has existed more or less in all periods, and was expressed by St. Augustine, when he declared that 'the Old Testament is one great prophecy of the New,' is the source from which all the modifications of opinions and their representation in art have taken their rise. It is now generally believed that the principle of application was too widely extended by the writers of the early and middle ages, some of whom, without laying down any regular plan of interpretation, believed that they saw in every event and character of the Old Testament, a type, or at least a similitude of some person or event in the New. The ideas of the early Christians were carried on and even extended by those of the middle ages, and it was chiefly towards the end of the XIIIth century that this system of interpretation was generally adopted."

That the earliest Christians were compelled, almost in self-defence, to hide the objects of their devotion under the form of symbolical representations, is well known, and hence it is that we find the earliest pictorial illustrations of the Christian subjects concealed under the form of types, which, although well understood by the little band of believers themselves, were unappreciated by their enemies. Hence we find even pagan or pastoral subjects employed symbolically, Orpheus being represented not only as the type of David, but also as a symbol of the time when the nations of the earth should be attracted to Christ by the sound of the gospel, the Good Shepherd carrying the lost sheep as typical of Christ the "Good Shepherd, who carries the lambs in his bosom," &c., whilst, to come more directly to the subject before us, various well-known Old Testament subjects which would bear a figurative sense, were represented, such as Noah in the Ark, Moses striking the Rock, David in the Lion's Den, &c. But it is a remark-

able circumstance that, with the exception of some few of these now self-evident types, the artists of the subsequent centuries—that is from the IVth to the XIIIth—do not appear to have illustrated this branch of the subject; at least no such representations have come down to our own times, although many illuminated manuscripts and even sculptures of that period have survived. The immense development of symbolical views which arose in the XIIIth century on the one hand, and the desire to instruct an ignorant people by the aid of pictures on the other, led to an extended system of typical representations at this period, of which various manuscripts are remarkable examples. In these great folio books, whole pages are occupied with miniatures, often richly coloured and gilt, in which every circumstance in the Bible was interpreted either by some other event in the Holy Scriptures, or in the history of the church and the world. These volumes were the precursors of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanæ Salvationis* which appeared in the XVth century, and which were distributed to an extraordinary extent by the assistance of wood-blocks.

It is consequently from the paintings of the Catacombs,¹ and from these illuminated Bibles of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, together with the early block-books, that Miss Twining has derived her materials, and when we state that no fewer than 200 subjects are represented in these plates, we shall have no further occasion to insist upon either the activity of the authoress or the value of her work, each plate of which is accompanied by descriptive text, containing not only a short notice of the figures themselves, but also extracts from the works of the most eminent writers on the typology of Scripture, such as McEwen, Fairbairne, Jeremy Taylor, Chevallier, Jones, Hook, &c., in which the nature of the typical relationship of the subjects contained in the plates is described. We must add that the plates are etched in lithography by Miss Twining herself, and with the exception of some few subjects copied from certain Horæ and other later exquisitely illuminated missals, give a very good idea of the original rude designs which she has selected. We must, in conclusion, be permitted to express our regret that the work before us has not been brought out in a size to match with her former publication upon the Symbols of the Christian Art.

ANCIENT ARMOUR AND WEAPONS IN EUROPE: from the Iron Period of the Northern nations to the end of the thirteenth century: with Illustrations from cotemporary Monuments. By JOHN HEWITT. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker. 1855. 8vo.

In the present advanced state of archaeological investigation, when the value of minute details has gradually become fully recognised, it seems needless to point out to our readers the advantages to be derived from a correct knowledge of mediæval costume. On former occasions,² when inviting attention to the admirable "Dresses and Decorations," produced by Mr. Henry Shaw, the "Costume du Moyen Age Chretien," by Hefner, and other instructive publications of the same class, we have sought to show

¹ It is unfortunate that Miss Twining's work was undertaken before the publication of M. Perret's splendid work on the Catacombs. The latter, for which, as for many other noble publications of a similar character, we are indebted to the French Government, will, of course, supersede

the works of Bottari, Bosio, &c., the coarse engravings of which have supplied Miss Twining with her representations of the earlier subjects in her work.

² See Arch. Journ., vol. i. p. 284; vol. ii. p. 212.

that costume, correctly understood, supplies the key to the Chronology of Art. There is indeed scarcely any subject of research, connected with Mediæval history or antiquities, upon which the knowledge of costume does not throw light. It were only necessary to glance at the pages of the valuable manual for which we are indebted to Mr. Hewitt, to perceive how vain were the attempt, without such knowledge, to comprehend the chronicle or the romance, the historical documents or the poetry of the Middle Ages.

It is a far easier task to amass materials, than to combine them in scientific classification. To appreciate the value of the volume under consideration, for the practical purposes of the student of military costume, we must look back to the earlier productions of those who first approached a subject, at that time condemned as trivial pastime,—to the praiseworthy endeavours of Grose and of Carrè, of the laborious Strutt, and of other *emeriti* in the ranks of antiquarianism. To these succeeded the indefatigable researches of the late Sir S. Meyrick, of which the value, even if their results appear occasionally deficient in accuracy, or the conclusions insufficiently matured, can scarcely be too highly esteemed. An increasing interest in the subject

has rapidly been developed ; a mass of accurate evidence has been collected in all directions ; effigies, sepulchral brasses, illuminations, painted glass, seals, all sources of authentic information have been diligently searched ; the means of testing the truthfulness of conventional representations has been supplied by the comparison of mediæval reliques or works of art in foreign countries. Archaeological societies and publications in all quarters have gathered in a harvest of scattered facts, where till of late so much valuable matter had perished, for want of the encouragement to observe, and the ready opportunity to record.

It remained for some author well versed in all these vestiges of the mediæval period, long conversant with the best original examples of armour and arms preserved to our times, possessing also the critical skill and the perseverance requisite for the laborious enterprise of comparing and combining this testimony, to present the whole in a well-digested form, available for general information and ready reference. Scarcely less to be desired was it, that the hand which should reproduce, as in a magic mirror, the glowing picture of the days of Chivalry in all their picturesque detail, should possess the skill to wield the pencil with no less conscientious accuracy than the pen.

Mr. Hewitt has commenced his labours, as the title of his work enounces, with the so-called "Iron Period" of the Northern Antiquaries. It were to be desired that some master-hand might dispel the obscurity which still prevails in regard to the Periods prior to that of "Iron," and arrange in a



scientific order the weapons and warlike defences, the chief vestiges of that great crisis in the destinies of Western Europe. Archaeologists look hopefully towards one, whose intelligence and profound research has achieved so much for a later, and deeply interesting period of National History. Who, like a Kemble, could wield the hammer of Thor or the brand of bronze, dispersing as by a wizard's spell the dense mists which enwrap the Thule of our Primeval Period? In the first Part of the work before us Mr. Hewitt treats of the military equipment and usages of the Teutonic conquerors of Europe, from the dismemberment of the Roman empire to the triumphs achieved by the Normans in the XIth century; he has derived the chief evidences from contemporary writers, from illuminated MSS., and from sepulchral vestiges, of which the spirited exertions of such earnest enquirers



Great Seal of William the Conqueror.

as Mr. Akerman, Mr. Neville, Mr. Roach Smith, and Mr. Wylie, have recently exhumed so copious a series. We may refer to the plates in which Mr. Hewitt displays the varied forms of the spear, the sword, and the axe, the characteristic weapon of the Northern nations, as some of the most instructive exemplifications in the volume. Even at this early period valuable information is supplied by the drawings in MSS., as may be seen by the annexed subject from a copy of *Prudentius*, written in the XIth century, (see woodcut p. 108) which displays the peculiar spear with its cross-guard, like a *venabulum*, the round shield, the banded head-piece and the singular leggings of the Anglo-Saxons. Mr. Hewitt's critical remarks on the "war-byrnie," and the use of interlinked chain-mail at a very early period, deserve careful attention, as compared with the vague speculations hitherto advanced on the subject.

In the second Part, from the Norman Conquest to the end of the XIIth century, a more copious provision of contemporary evidence becomes available. Amongst these may be mentioned the Bayeux tapestry, royal and baronial seals. We are greatly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce for bringing within our reach accurate reproductions of the former, recently published in a form very convenient for reference and study.³ Of the latter, we are permitted to place a very remarkable example before our readers, the Great Seal of William the Conqueror, now for the first time, as we believe, represented with scrupulous accuracy from an impression at Paris. (See woodcut, p. 109.) The representation of chain-mail deserves



Great Seal of Richard the First.

notice: in connexion with the question arising from the various conventional modes of portraying defences of mail, we may refer to the very instructive examples shown by Mr. Hewitt in this portion of his work; (see p. 124). We may here commend to especial notice the admirable representations of the earlier Royal Seals, drawn by Mr. Hewitt's skilful pencil, and after careful comparison of several impressions. The Great Seals of William Rufus, of Alexander I., king of Scotland, of Henry I., Stephen, Henry II.,

³ "The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated." By the Rev. J. C. Bruce, LL.D. J. Russell Smith, 1856. 4to. Many of our readers will recall with pleasure the

interesting discourse delivered by Dr Bruce at the Meeting of the Institute in Chichester, in 1853, now published in this attractive form.

Richard I., King John, Henry III., and Edward I., form a series of great value. It is to be regretted that the obverses only are given, but these alone were immediately available for Mr. Hewitt's purpose.

Of the second seal of Cœur de Lion, we are enabled to give the accompanying faithful representation (see woodcut). This example is specially interesting on account of the curious cylindrical helmet, with its crest charged with a lion passant, a feature of very rare occurrence; and the shield charged with three lions, the first example of that familiar bearing. On Richard's earlier seal a single lion rampant is to be seen. The loss of that seal, and the substitution of the one here figured, present a question of some interest, to which our author has not adverted, as indeed not directly relevant to his subject. A learned antiquary of Normandy, M. Deville, has published a Dissertation on these seals, with engravings, deficient in scrupulous accuracy, as compared with those given by Mr. Hewitt. Hoveden states that Richard caused a new seal to be made in 1194, declaring all grants bearing his earlier seal to be invalid; and he assigns as the cause, either that the chancellor had made improper use of the seal, or that it had been lost, when Roger, the vice-chancellor, was drowned off the coast of Cyprus. Vinesauf, however, distinctly asserts that after that disaster, which occurred on the Vigil of St. Mark, 1191, the body was found by a peasant, and the seal recovered (Gale, tom. ii., p. 320). On the other hand, impressions of the earlier seal occur in 1195 and 1197, and M. Deville points out that the new sealing of grants throughout the realm occurred, according to the Annals of Waverly, in 1198. Matthew Paris fixes the time more precisely, as having been about Michaelmas in that year. We owe, however, to M. Deville, the fact that the new seal had been in use some months previously, since he has found it appended to a grant to the Abbey of St. Georges de Bocherville, dated 18 May, 1198. The precise cause of the change of seals still remains obscure. In the formula which accompanied the second sealing of a grant



Knightly Effigy, Hasoley, Oxfordshire.
Date, about 1250.

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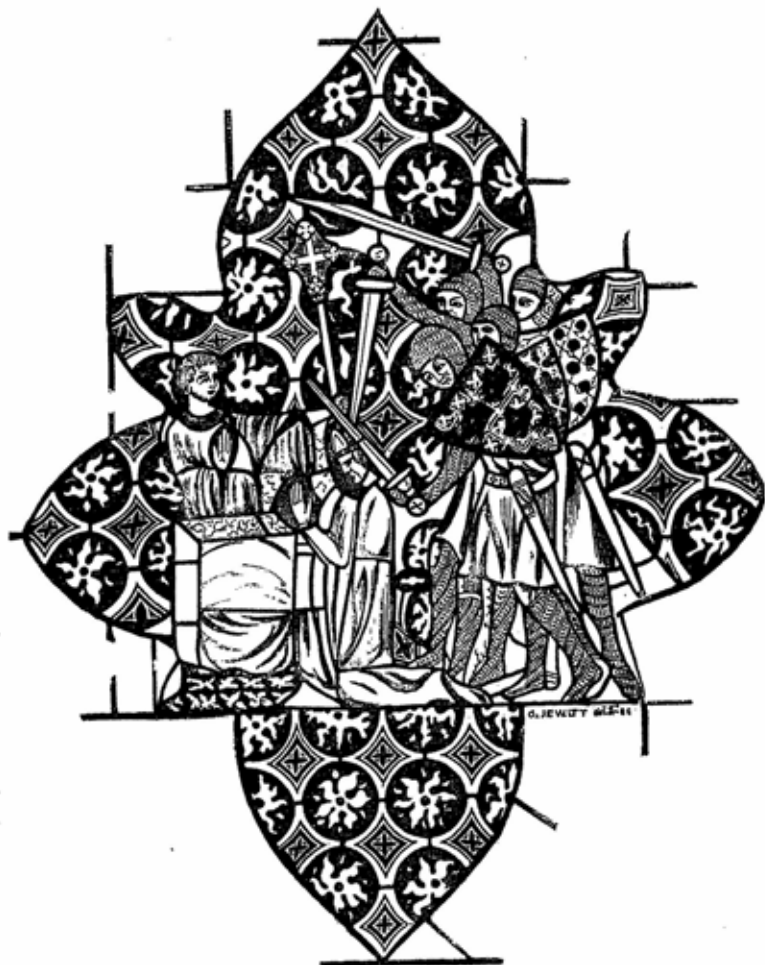
to the church of Durham (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, app. p. lxi. edit. Surtees Soc.), after reciting the terms of the earlier grant, mention is thus made of the second sealing;—"Is erat tenor chartæ nostræ in primo nostro quod quia aliquando perditum fuit, et dum in Almanna capti essemus sub aliena potestate constitutum mutatum est." The date of the re-sealing in this instance was 7 Dec. 1198. Compare another charter dated 15 June 1198; Selden's *Tit. of Honor*, Part II., c. v., s. 13. We have thought the precise age of so remarkable an example of military costume and heraldry not undeserving of investigation.

The third Part of Mr. Hewitt's volume is devoted to the XIIIth century; and here the most authentic information is supplied from the numerous knightly effigies preserved in England, so rich in sculptured works of this class, as also at a later period in the instructive and carefully elaborated sepulchral portraitures on brass plates. From these valuable sources Mr. Hewitt has drawn largely and with great judgment. The preceding woodcut enables us to present an excellent type of the military costume of the period. The shield in this example is placed under the knight's head, an arrangement, as far as we are aware, unique. Mr. Hewitt has carefully compared the sculptured and engraved memorials with the invaluable testimony supplied by illuminated MSS., painted glass, and other productions of mediæval art, in which may always be traced so remarkable a conformity with the peculiar and capricious fashions of each successive age. Illuminations more especially present to us innumerable details, to be sought in vain elsewhere. For example, one of the richest MSS. for the illustration



of armour and military usages of every kind (*Roy. MS. 20, D. 1.*) has supplied the very curious illustration (see woodcut) which displays a mounted

archer. Of that class of light-horse troops representations are rare ; of still less familiar occurrence is the mounted soldier armed with the cross-bow, a weapon which it must have been extremely difficult to render available for cavalry. Amongst the remarkable subjects obtained from the decorative tiles lately discovered at Chertsey Abbey, and produced at one of our meetings in London by Mr. Westwood, a striking example occurred of the Arblaster on horseback, steadily adjusting his aim, by aid of the enormous *arcons* of his saddle, which must have rendered him almost immoveable in



his seat. We hope that Mr. H. Shaw will include this curious subject amongst his beautiful illustrations of the Chertsey pavements.⁴ Mr. Hewitt has occasionally availed himself of another valuable source of information,

⁴ "Specimens of Tile Pavements," drawn by H. Shaw, F.S.A. No. vii. of this interesting work comprises some of VOL. XIII.

the best examples from Chertsey. This portion of the work may be purchased separately.

namely Painted Glass, and our acknowledgment is due to Mr. Parker, the publisher of this volume, for the obliging permission to give amongst the examples of its beautiful illustrations, one obtained from that class of mediæval art. It is a representation of the murder of Becket, from a window in Oxford Cathedral (See woodcut, p. 113). This subject is full of curious detail as regards the military equipment of the period, and it presents one of the best examples of the defences of "banded mail," the nature of which still remains without any conclusive explanation. Mr. Hewitt's valuable remarks given in this Journal (vol. vii. p. 362) supply the fullest information on that difficult question.

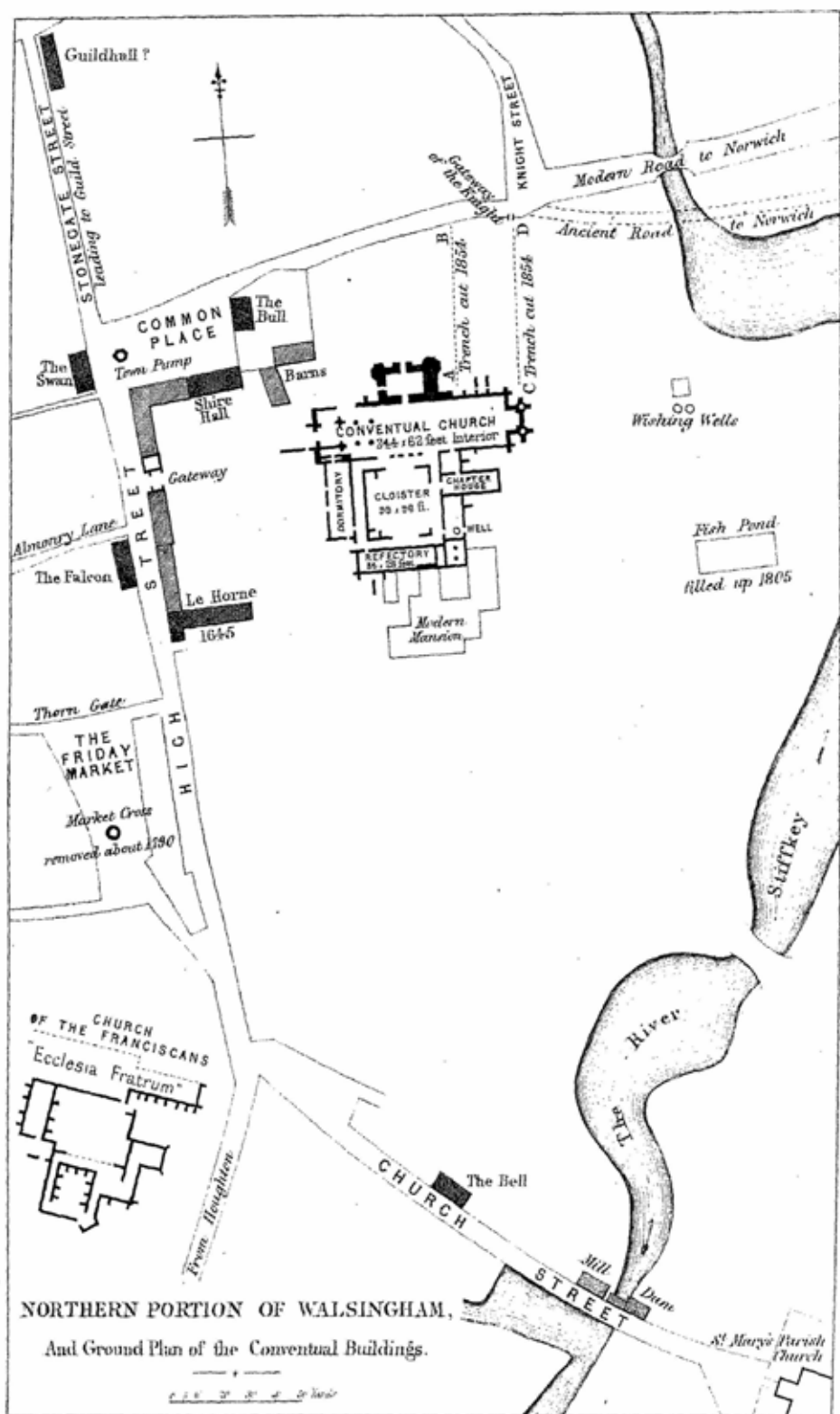
We are unable here to advert to the numerous matters of curious investigation, connected with the warlike times of Henry III. and Edward I., which are skilfully elucidated in Mr. Hewitt's attractive volume. Besides armour and weapons, his enquiries have been addressed to various interesting questions relating to tournaments and hastiludes, the wager of battle or judicial duel, the engines of war, the Greek fire and other subtle inventions, precursors of the introduction of artillery to which was due the great crisis in the history of mediæval warfare.

We hope at no distant period Mr. Hewitt may be encouraged to resume the theme of his treatise, so successfully commenced. The XIVth and XVth centuries present a field of investigation replete with interest, not less in connexion with stirring historical events, than with the progress of civilisation and the arts. We already owe to the taste and spirit of Mr. Parker many volumes not less deservedly esteemed for the beauty and accuracy of their illustration, than for the stimulus they have given to the pursuits of archaeological science. None probably will be more generally appreciated than the handbook under consideration. In none, perhaps, has the scientific and instructive arrangement of facts been more advantageously combined with an equal measure of artistic conscientiousness and perfection in the illustration.

We announce with pleasure the completion of Mr. C. ROACH SMITH'S undertaking, in the publication of the *Original Journal of Excavations in Kent*, by the Rev. Bryan Faussett, which brought to light the remarkable assemblage of Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, rejected by the Trustees of the British Museum, and actually in the possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. This volume, entitled "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*," is copiously illustrated by Mr. Fairholt; an Introduction and Notes by Mr. Roach Smith accompany the minute record of Mr. Faussett's explorations. We hope to notice more fully this invaluable accession to Archaeological Literature. Mr. Roach Smith has also in forwardness his "*Roman London*;" (published for subscribers only). Subscribers' names may be sent to the Author, 5, Liverpool Street, City.

The first Decade of the "*Crania Britannica*," by Mr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Thurnam, illustrating not only the physical peculiarities of the earlier occupants of the British Islands, but also their sepulchral usages, weapons, pottery, &c., has been recently produced. Subscribers to this important work should send their names to Mr. Davis, Shelton, Staffordshire.





NORTHERN PORTION OF WALSINGHAM,

And Ground Plan of the Conventual Buildings.

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1856.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY, A MEMOIR READ AT THE MEETING
OF THE INSTITUTE IN CAMBRIDGE, JUNE, 1854: WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES.

BY THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER.

THE connexion of the Priory of Walsingham with the University of Cambridge is at first sight far from obvious; yet the tide of pilgrims who visited the far-famed shrine, would, doubtless, going or returning, halt at the seat of learning which graced the banks of Cam. That this was the case with some of them, we have sufficient evidence. The sceptical doctor, Erasmus, the eccentric chronicler, William of Worcester—and perhaps we may add also, the author of the anonymous legend, preserved amidst the quaint archives of the “Bibliotheca Pepysiana,”—these are within our reach, and have all contributed their share in illustration of the great monastery of our eastern counties, which they had in turn visited. And, as on a former visit to our Lady of Walsingham, the shades of her Augustine Canons seemed to rise before us, and impart a tone of freshness to the scene of their former glories, so let us now in imagination spend a half-hour in company with our three pilgrims, and hear what they can tell us in illustration of our monastery, whose records must be gleaned slowly, and recovered (if it may be) from obscurity, to be placed in the light of day.

The anonymous ballad of the Pepysian library, surviving in an unique copy from the press of Richard Pynson, bears internal evidence of having been composed about A.D. 1460. Its title runs thus:—

“ Of thys Chappel see here the foundatyon,
Builled the yere of Christ's incarnatyon

A thousande complete sixty and one,
The tyme of Saint Edwarde, Kinge of this region."

It relates how "the noble Wedowe," sometime Ladye of the town of Walsingham, named Rychold de Faverches, was favoured by the Virgin Mother with a view of the Santa Casa at Nazareth, and commissioned to build its counterpart at Walsingham, upon a site thereafter to be indicated. It relates very circumstantially the widow's perplexity :—¹

"When it was all formed then had she great doute
Where it should be sette and in what manner place,
Inasmuch as tweyne places were fowne out
Tokened with meracles of our Laydie's grace."

"The Wedowe thought it moste lykely of congruence
This house on the first soyle to build and arrere :
Of thys who lyste to have experience ;
A Chappel of Saynt Lawrence standyth now there.
Faste by tweyne wellys, experience do thus lere :
There she thought to have sette this Chappel,
Whych was begone by our Ladie's counsel."

We shall not quote specially the progress of the work according to the monkish chronicler, because it is nothing more than the oft repeated story of a building removed by miracle and set up in another place. We are only concerned here with the site, which the building, in after ages destined to be of such celebrity, actually occupied. And the legend thus proceeds :—

"All night the Wedowe permayneing in this prayer,
Our blessed Laydie with blessed minystrys,
Herself being here chief Artificer,
Arrered thys sayde house with Angells handys,
And not only rered it but sette it there it is,
That is tweyne hundrede foot and more in distaunce
From the first place fokes make remembraunce."

And much interest attaches to the site thus occupied ; for however great the magnificence of the chief conven-

¹ The date of the erection of the Chapel of the Annunciation of Our Lady at Walsingham, by Richold de Faverches, has usually been assigned to the year 1061. Her son, "Sir Geffray Faverches, knyth, lord of Walsingham, foundyth the Chyrch of the seyd Priory ; and he gaffe therto the Chapel of our Lady with the grownd with inne the syte of the seyd place, wyth the Chyrch off the seyd ton."

Account of the Foundation of the Priory, Cott. MS. Nero, E. vii. New edit. of Dugdale's Monast., vol. vi., p. 70. Blomefield has erroneously described the foundress as "the widow lady of Ricoldie de Faverches" (Hist. Norf., vol. ix., p. 274), but the charter of Roger, Earl of Clare, in the Cott. MS. expressly mentions, "Capellam quam Richeldis mater Galfr' de Favarches fundavit in Walsingham."

tual buildings about to be described, it was to the Lady Chapel that they owed all their splendour. That in fact was the shrine which kings visited barefooted—the wonder-working spot, which rivalled Compostella or Loretto—the “counterfeit Ephesian Diana” of the 14th Homily; the Parathalassian temple, which the travelled Erasmus saw, and declared that its costly magnificence, its gems, and its relics, surpassed all that he had ever seen in his most distant wanderings. “Divorum sedes! adeo gemmis, auro, argentoque nitent omnia!” Where was it? Archæology enquires, and hitherto no solution has been given or attempted. And although our legend informs us that 200 feet from the wells will bring us to the spot where it stood, still, so changed is the surface of the soil, and so occupied at the same time by the gravel walks and shrubberies of an ornamental pleasure-ground (to say nothing of a large yew tree, which has probably grown and luxuriated for at least two centuries) that excavation with a hope of success is well nigh impracticable. Yet within recent times something has been accomplished,² and the result has been the formation of a ground-plan, in which the *disjecta membra* are for the first time put together, so as to show their connexion and arrangement, as far as hitherto discovered.

The great feature of interest in these venerable ruins, in addition to the two wells already mentioned, is the great eastern window of the conventual church, despoiled of all its tracery, but flanked by staircase turrets, and surmounted by the peak of the gable, which rises, thus supported, about 70 feet. The buttresses are perfect specimens of the early Perpendicular period,³ divided into three stages of ogee-headed niches with pedestals, crockets, and canopies. Some arches of the Refectory, and the principal western gateway complete the picture; and to these may perhaps be added the town pump, a construction used originally as a domed covering to a well, and roofed with ashlar, whose slope is broken at intervals by three mouldings (See woodcut, p. 121). This well is situated in the area called the ‘Common

² The first excavations, of which the results are here described, were carried out in the year 1853.

³ In his forthcoming work, on “The Castles and Convents of Norfolk,” Mr.

Harrod, the Secretary of the Norfolk Archaeological Society, has assigned the erection of this Eastern end to John Snoring, Prior, who died A.D. 1425. It is engraved in Britton's Arch. Ant., vol. iv.

Place,' a designation which has come down to us from remote antiquity. Thus we read in a document, *temp.* Henry VI., reciting various donations, *int. al.* as follows:— "Aftyr him come Gylbertus de Clar, Erle of Glowceter & of Hertford, and he gaff thereto the ground withouth the west zate of the yerd of our Ladys Chapell which is now callyd the common place." And more remotely we have on a fly leaf inserted at p. 26 of the Registr. Wals. among the Cotton MSS.,⁴ the copy of an admission in the 10th of Richard II., which mentions "quendam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell in communi villatura de Walsingham parva."⁵ In testing our ground-plan by the admeasurements of William of Worcester, which may be seen in the library of Corpus Christi College,⁶ it is satisfactory to be able to trace a sufficient coincidence. Some confusion may have arisen from his mentioning two churches: "Longitudo ecclesiæ Fratrum Walsyngham 54 gressus;" and again, "Longitudo totius ecclesiæ de Walsingham 136 gressus." The smaller church doubtless was that of the Franciscans, or "Fratrum Minorum," and taking the *gressus* to be somewhat under two feet, the length corresponds with traces existing of that edifice. That William of Worcester's *gressus* averaged about two feet appears from his measurement of the cloister, which being 99 × 96 feet he puts at 54 *gressus*: or the chapter-house, which being 16 feet wide he puts at 10 *gressus*. This evidence to the chapter-house is conclusive and circumstantial, as coinciding with the large foundations now covered with the greensward. "Longitudo propria de le Chapter-hous continet 20 gressus. Latitudo ejus continet 10 gressus. Sed longitudo introitus de le Chapiter-hous a claustro continet 10 gressus. Sic in toto continet 30 gressus."⁷

The chief point of interest in the recent excavations has been the discovery of portions of the two western piers with the corresponding abutments of the western wall, the jambs of the western doorway, and the exterior buttresses. (See

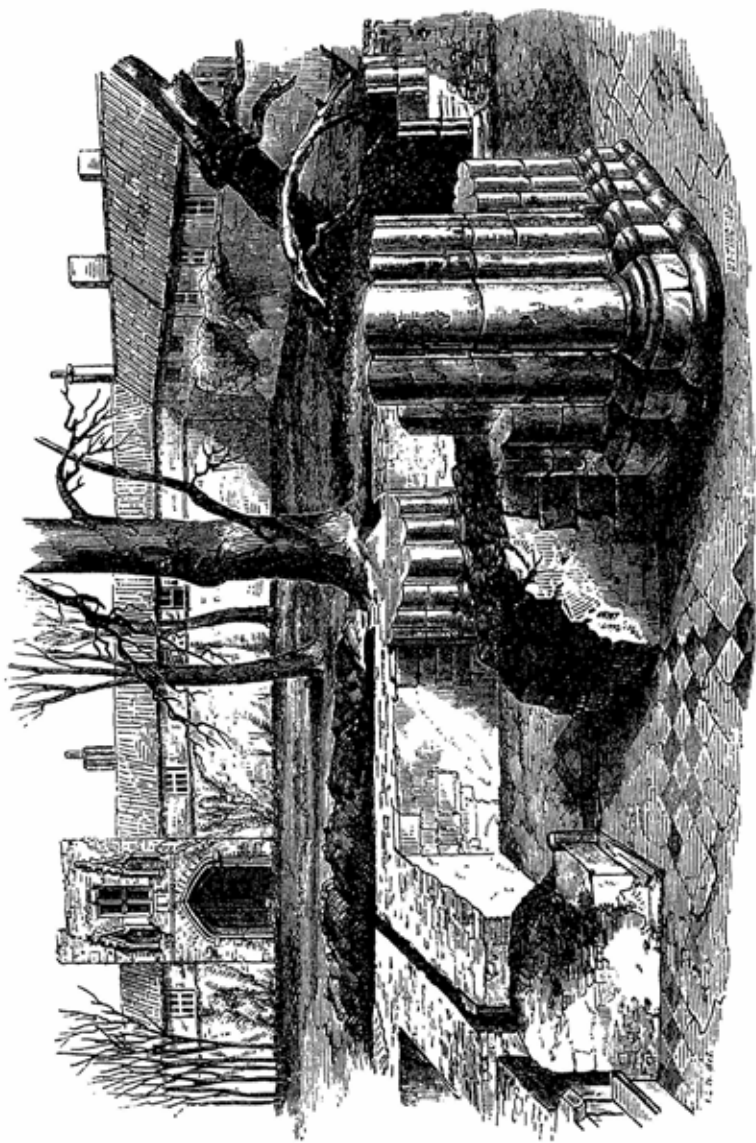
⁴ Cott. MS. Nero, E. vii.

⁵ See the entire document in the Appendix.

⁶ Edited in 1778 by Nasmyth in the volume entitled, "Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Will. de Worcestre." See p. 335.

⁷ It must be observed that a consider-

able discrepancy appears in William of Worcester's own estimate of his *gressus*. In one part of his Itinerary we find the statement, "Mem. quod 24 steppys sive gressus meas faciunt 12 virgas;" whilst in a later part he wrote, "item, 50 virgæ faciunt 85 gradus sive steppys meos." Itin. ed. Nasmyth.



View of the pier and remains at the West End, excavated in 1833-54, looking West towards the Gatehouse, the principal access to the Priory Close.



woodcut.) The bases of these piers are of early decorated character.⁸ The pair nearest to the doorway are massive clustered columns; each being a combination of fifteen circular shafts separated by hollows, and disposed in three groups, from whence sprang originally the architraves of the nave and side arches; and each connected by a cross wall 5 feet thick with the north and south walls of the building respectively. These grand proportions indicate most distinctly the existence in the original construction of a western tower; but it is probable that this tower had been removed before William of Worcester's visit, as he speaks only of the "*campanile in medio ecclesiæ*." This had been the case beyond all doubt with the smaller piers of the nave generally, which had been taken down nearly to the level of the pavement, and upon them may now be seen Perpendicular bases of inferior design and execution. Another peculiarity must also here be noticed, viz., that the south wall of the church, and the north wall of the adjacent dormitories, each several feet in thickness, run parallel for nine yards, separated only from each other by an interval of nine inches. A doorway through the walls, pierced at the same point, established a communication with a vestry, separated from the bay of the nave, by an ancient intrusive wall joining the large pier and its respond. This curious arrangement is exhibited at one view in the subjoined illustration, except that the interpolated wall between the pier and its respond has been removed since the discovery. The state of the smaller piers (from one of which the view here given is supposed to be taken) proves that, at some time during the Perpendicular Period, the nave was re-roofed, the piers taken down, and the pavement raised about six inches. If at that period the cloister and dormitory were added, and if in the prosecution of these extensive works a few feet additional were desired for the breadth of the aisle, no other method would so readily present itself, as to make the whole wall continuous for the church and dormitories, thus leaving untouched the western end of the church, which probably owed its preservation to the great western towers superimposed upon it.

⁸ The Institute is indebted to the courteous liberality of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, the present possessor of the site, for the woodcut representing these re-

mains of the fabric, which have been brought to light through the exertions of his nephew, the author of this memoir.—Ed.

Before dismissing the Itinerary of William of Worcester, we will simply quote his reference to two smaller buildings:—"Longitudo novi operis de Walsyngham continet in toto 16 virgas; latitudo continet infra aream 10 virgas; longitudo capelle Beatæ Mariæ continet 7 virgas 30 pollices; latitudo continet 4 virgas 10 pollices." As to the precise locality of the buildings thus indicated, we must hope that the day will come when it may be no longer conjectural; for there can be no question but that one or other of them was the Chapel of the Annunciation, the house "arrered with angells handys," which has been already mentioned, and which formed the glory of Walsingham in its most palmy days. The writer of this memoir, having had the subject much forced on his attention, by living amidst the ruins for a series of years, may be permitted to avow his opinion, that of these two buildings one was a covering to the other, that of the interior being a wooden shrine, the "*sacellum angustum*" of Erasmus, that of the exterior being "*novum opus*" of William of Worcester, corresponding with the "*opus inabsolutum*" of Erasmus.

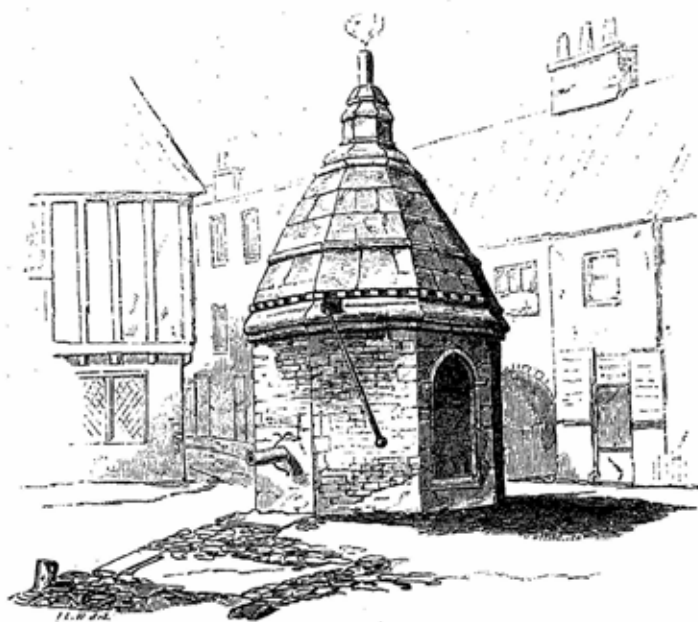
But in making this reference to the Colloquies of the great Erasmus, I feel that I am not (as previously) dealing with a legendary rhyme, or an obscure itinerary. In the case of a learned audience, I must presume a general acquaintance with the writings of the accomplished traveller; especially that the "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*" is well known to those who hear me. Yet the world-wide reputation of that great man, contended for by so many universities (as the great bard of antiquity by the cities and islands of Greece) may well justify a regret in the hearing of his own Queen's, that the Cambridge of the XVIth century could not boast its Frobenius, as well as Canterbury its Warham.

The first connexion of Erasmus with the University of Cambridge was in 1509, a connexion but slightly interrupted for ten years subsequently. During this period he twice visited Walsingham. His first visit was productive of his elegant votive offering, so curiously mystified by the sub-Prior at his visit three years later (*Peregr. relig. ergo*), "*Erasmi*

⁹ In Browne Willis' "*Mitred Abbeyes*," *Addenda*, vol. ii., p. 330, this passage in W. of Worcester's MS. is thus given, "*Latitudo continet infra aream 10 virgas*," supposed, probably, to signify the breadth

under the vaulting. By careful examination of the original MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the word is certainly *aream*, as correctly printed by Nasmith, "*Itineraria*," p. 335.

Roterodami carmen Iambicum ex voto dicatum virgini Vualsinghamicæ." In his letter to Ammonius, afterwards Latin Secretary to Henry VIII., dated from Cambridge, 9 May, 1511, Erasmus mentions his visit to Walsingham, and his votive *carmen*. It commences thus, "ὦ χαῖρ' Ἰησοῦ μητὲρ εὐλογημένη;" and it was printed by Frobenius as early as 1518. The first edition of the Colloquies appeared but a few years later; and even had it been otherwise, no one could venture to gainsay the truth and freshness of the description. In that spirited dialogue, "Peregrinatio religionis ergo," a quondam Augustine Canon is drawing a picture of his fraternity, and, after a lapse of more than 300 years, the numerous pilgrims to Walsingham can find no better handbook than that of the jesting Cantab, whilst enjoying his long vacation in 1514. It is hoped that a correct plan is now produced in illustration, and it is offered in confidence, that whatever additions may hereafter be made to it, its accuracy will be established, and its errors found insignificant.



The Covered Well in the Common Place, Walsingham (See p 117).

ACCOUNT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES AT WALSINGHAM.

Since the above was written, the hope that the lost foundations might gradually be recovered, has been fully realised. Such having been the case, the writer is now induced to relate the steps of his discovery, not only by way of marking the accuracy of his ground-plan, but also as a permanent record of many points of interest attaching to the celebrated locality, which it has been his lot to illustrate.

The first desideratum was to assign to the ground-plan of the choir its true form and dimensions. The title of Vandergucht's engraving of this part of the building, "*Cænobii Walsinghamensis quod reliquum est, A.D. 1720,*" (published by the Society of Antiquaries in the "*Vetusta Monumenta,*" vol. i.) compared with that of Buck, A.D. 1738, traces for us the progress of decay, or rather of ruin and spoliation. An examination of a few inches beneath the level turf revealed the hidden motive which prompted this destruction; for there the last remnant still exists of a noble pair of stone buttresses, connected with each other at their intersection by a diagonal splay, which formed the main angle of the building. Each of these buttresses is 4 feet 4 inches across, and they project 4 feet 10 inches from the north and east walls respectively. Their position enables us to give 16 feet as the exterior face of the chancel wall, and 11 feet as that of the north aisle. Following the external face of the north wall, three single buttresses of similar dimensions were successively developed, separated by irregular intervals, and of less careful construction than the pair first noticed. The intervals between them are as follow: from 1 to 2, 14 ft. 6 in.; from 2 to 3, 10 ft. 3 in.; from 3 to 4, 10 ft. The second and third buttresses, subsequently to their original construction, had been prolonged northwards, so as to form a porch or vestibule, in one corner of which there still exist *in situ* a red and a yellow glazed tile, a portion of its chequered pavement. The portion of church wall intervening between these last buttresses, is formed below the ground line with a massive arch, turned to a span of 6 feet, apparently the entrance to a vault or crypt beneath the original pavement of the church. It is filled with loose mould, and circumstances did not permit an exploration of its interior. The portion of wall connecting the buttresses

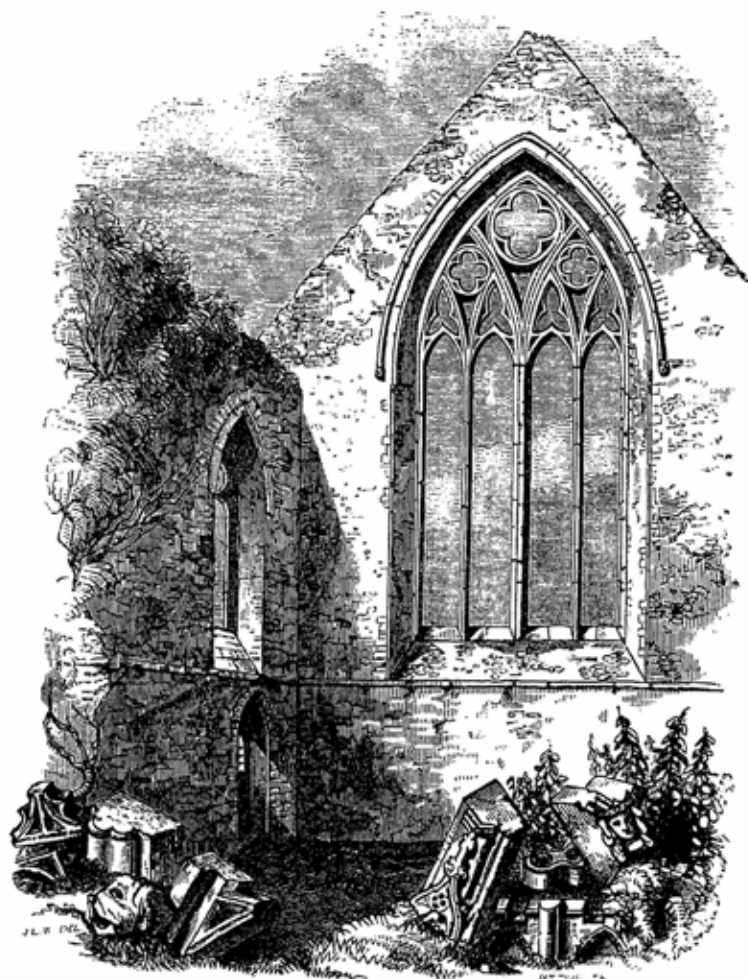
hitherto described is about 5 feet in thickness, but on the other side of a gravel walk, which crosses it diagonally over the foundations of the fourth buttress, it is found to have increased in thickness to 12 feet. The additional 7 feet are gained externally, but the formation of the gravel walk has not only in part broken the junction, but prevents a proper examination of the precise point of increase.

Remarkable, however, for solidity as these foundations are, they are comparatively insignificant by the side of others connected with them, which are now about to be noticed. The 12-foot wall pursues its course westwards, and, at a distance of 78 feet from the north-east corner of the aisle, is found to abut upon a platform of solid grouted masonry, which measures from east to west 20 feet, and from north to south 40. It is now covered with garden mould to a depth of several inches, sufficing merely for the growth of shrubs and flowers, beneath which its surface is for the most part level ; but attempts seem to have been made both at the sides and centre to break through its solid crust, as if with a view to discover the secrets of its interior. Neither has the hope peradventure been disappointed ; for nearly at the angle formed by it with the 12-foot wall (which passes beyond it), a stone coffin remains, which contained the larger portion of an undisturbed skeleton, interred in the south-east angle of the Lady Chapel, whose enclosure we have now entered. The measurements of this building coincide so exactly with the dimensions of the "*novum opus*," as already quoted from William of Worcester, that not a shadow of a doubt can exist as to their identity. The length, we may remember, is stated by him at 16 *virgæ* ; the breadth "*infra aream*" at 10. And he adds, (apparently as connected with this particular building) "*Longitudo capellæ Beatæ Mariæ continet 7 virgas ; Latitudo continet 4 virgas, 10 pollices.*"

But what was the "*infra aream* ?" Authority seems wanting for the use of the word *ara*, as equivalent to *altare*, or a mere slip of the pen would account for the ambiguity. But the *area* (whatever it was) seems to have been identical with the platform of solid masonry (see the Ground-plan) which forms the eastern end of the "*novum opus*." The expression "*infra aream*" may imply that it was elevated ; but why William of Worcester excluded it from his internal

measurement of the chapel, of which it formed the most honourable part, is not so apparent. Here, however, the description of Erasmus comes in very seasonably, and enables us to fill up the "lacuna," at all events conjecturally. "In eo templo," he says, "quod inabsolutum dixi, est sacellum angustum, ligneo tabulato constructum, ad utrumque latus per angustum ostiolum admittens salutatores." And speaking of it afterwards, he adds, "In intimo sacello, quod dixi conclave Divæ Virginis, adstat altari Canonicus." It seems reasonable to suppose, that this wooden sacellum, in which the costly image was thus honourably enshrined, and thus carefully guarded by no inferior minister, must have occupied the east end of the chapel, and thus that it was superimposed upon the *area*, or platform, whose place and purpose we have thus minutely investigated. With respect to the chapel itself, its level was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above that of the church; its pavement was of Purbeck marble, bedded on solid mortar of 3 inches in thickness; and it was entered by a doorway of three steps pierced in the 12-foot wall, which separated the church from it. This being the door of entrance, a corresponding door of egress was placed directly opposite, flanked by large buttresses; or possibly these foundations may have carried a shallow porch. Their position must have had reference to the streaming throng of pilgrims, who on all grand occasions would thus be enabled to obey the "*Guarda e passa!*" of the Mystagogus, without hindrance or confusion. Their situation explains also the "patentibus ostiis" of Erasmus, who, probably visiting the shrine on the 25th of March, would have ample reason for remarking in the person of his Ogygius, "Prope est Oceanus, Ventorum Pater!"

And now, quitting the building by its northern doorway, we find ourselves in the separate yard of our Lady's Chapel, and might have left the precincts of the abbey, either by the West gate opening on the Common Place, or by the "ostiolum perpusillum" of Erasmus, the memory of which is preserved in Knight Street. The foundations of these gates have yet to be discovered. Not so the foundations of the north and west walls of the chapel. The west, as well as the north, appears to have had its doorway; and the north wall, at its ground line, was bedded in flat masonry at two separate levels, as if it had been cased originally with squared blocks



West End of the Refectory.

of stone of large dimensions. And it may be also noted, that small fragments of magnesian, or Roche-Abbey, limestone are found repeatedly around these foundations, although never wrought, as if they had been used in construction. And under the head of fragments, it may be added further, that amidst the copious wreck of rich mutilated carving which frequently comes to light in digging around the ruins, two unconnected portions of angels, each bearing part of the scroll, inscribed AVE MARIA—GRATIA PLENA, attest the exquisite finish and costliness of the decoration. It will be seen by the Ground-plan, that the north façade of the chapel exhibited in this instance the rather unusual composition of a central doorway flanked by octagonal turrets, and that it occupied in external appearance the place of a north transept. Its general effect must have harmonised with the east window of the church, as now standing, which, combined with the ancient wells, the elegant pulpit of the Refectory,¹ and the faithful restoration of its beautiful western window (due to the present proprietor, the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, and of which a representation accompanies this memoir) forms a group of ruins, as grand in actual effect as it is rich in ancient reminiscences.

APPENDIX.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

In connection with the foregoing memorials of Walsingham, and of the actual condition of the existing remains, it has been thought desirable to give the following documents, hitherto unpublished. The Acknowledgment of supremacy, in September, 1534, and the actual Surrender of the Priory, in August, 1538, to Sir William Petre, Commissioner for the Visitation of Monasteries, appear worthy to be placed on record in the full detail of their legal phraseology, since they serve as exemplifications of the formality and the deliberate purpose with which the Suppression of Monasteries was carried out. The former is especially deserving of attention; the original, bearing the autographs of the prior and canons, with a perfect impression of the fine conventual seal, has been preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer, at the Chapter House, Westminster. The Surrender has been found entered on the Close Roll, 30 Henr. VIII., deposited at the Rolls Chapel. Our acknowledgment is due to the kindness of Mr. Joseph Burt, in directing our researches for those documents, and obtaining transcripts. Bishop Burnet has given in the Appendix of Records, Hist. of the Reform., Book iii., c. iii., the Latin preamble of the

¹ A representation of this pulpit is given in Mr. Parker's Architectural

Notes, Transactions of the Archaeological Institute at the Norwich Meeting, p. 188.

Surrender of Langden Abbey, being also that occurring in most of the Surrenders, as in the subjoined document. Some houses, however, as he observes, could not be persuaded upon to adopt such form. The examples obtained by Weever from the Augmentation Office, and printed in his "Funerall Monuments," p. 106, as also in part by Fuller and Collier, and the Surrender of Betlesden Abbey (Burnet, Records, B. iii., c. iii., sect. iv.), are in English, and are not accompanied by the tedious minutiae of legal diction, of which an example is here given. Within a month after the visit of Sir William Petre, namely, in Sept. 30th, Hen. VIII., the image of our Lady, long the glory of Walsingham, was brought to London by special injunction from Cromwell, with all the notable images to which any special pilgrimages were made, and they were burnt at Chelsea.

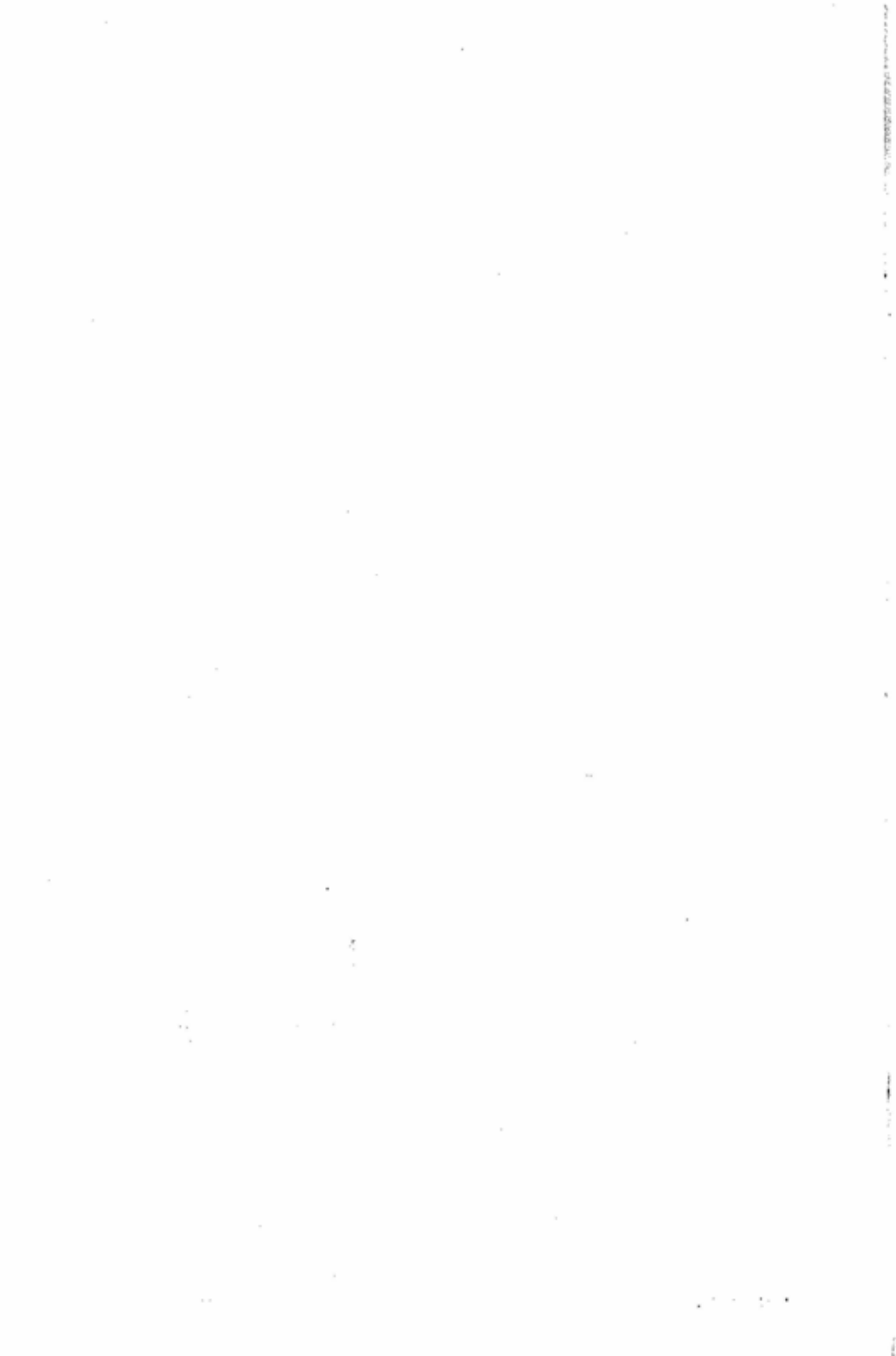
The seal of Walsingham Priory, of which an impression, on white wax, is appended to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, has never, as far as we are aware, been published. For the woodcuts representing the obverse and reverse of the seal, we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, the present possessor of the site and remains of the Priory, and who has liberally presented several of the illustrations of this memoir. On one side of this seal appears a cruciform church of Norman character, with a central tower, and two smaller towers both at the east and west end. The roof of the church appears to be covered with tiles, a crest of small intersecting arches runs along its ridge. Through a round-headed aperture in the nave and another in the choir are seen heads, as of persons within the church; and in a larger opening or door in the transept is likewise perceived a demi-figure in the attitude of supplication; it represents an aged man with a beard, clad in a sleeveless garment, with a hood which is thrown back, and his sleeved arm passed through the wide opening in the shoulder of the upper garment. The inscription, commencing from the cross on the summit of the tower, is as follows,—SIGILLVM ECCL'IE BEATE MARIE DE WALSINGHAM. The work is in higher relief, and has an aspect of greater antiquity, than that of the reverse: at first sight, it might be supposed that the date of its execution was earlier, or that the other side had been copied from an early type. On that side appears the Virgin seated on a peculiar high-backed throne; she holds the infant Saviour on her left knee; on her head is a low crown, an elegantly foliated sceptre is in her right hand; the draperies are poor and in low relief; over the figure is a sort of canopy with curtains looped back at each side, and falling in ungraceful folds. The Angelical Salutation is inscribed around the margin,—✠: AVE: MARIA: GRACIA: PLENA: DOMINUS: TECUM. In addition to less archaic effect of the workmanship, suggesting the notion that this side may be the reproduction of an earlier seal, it may be noticed that the word *PLENA* is blundered, a *D* being found in place of *N*, an error which might easily occur from the similarity of the two letters in the particular character here used. From the general execution, however, of these seals, their date may probably be assigned to the later part of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century. On careful examination of the impression preserved in the Chapter House, the seal of Walsingham is found to supply an example of the rare practice of impressing an inscription upon the edge or thickness of the seal, as on that of Norwich Cathedral, the city of Canterbury, and a few others.² In the present

² See Sir F. Madden's Remarks on this peculiarity. *Archaeologia*, vol. xx.



WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

Obverse and reverse of the seal appended to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, Chapter House, Westminster.



instance, the following words of a Leonine verse may be decyphered,—
 VIRGO:PIA:GENITRIX:SIT:NOBIS:—In Taylor's "Index Monasticus" a second impression of the seal of Walsingham is mentioned, in imperfect state; it was in the possession of Mr. Miller, of London. This we have not had the opportunity to examine.

No seal of any of the Priors of Walsingham has hitherto been described. Of Richard Vowel, the last Prior, who succeeded on the resignation of William Lowth, 1514, a relique deserving of notice exists in the east window of the chancel, in the parish church of Walsingham; where it was placed about 30 years since, having been found in a lumber-room in the modern mansion occupying the site of the Prior's dwelling, for a window of which this painted glass may have been originally destined. Through the liberality of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner we are enabled to give the accompanying representation. Three different coats of arms, it must be observed, have been assigned to Walsingham Priory (See Taylor's Index Monast., p. 26). *Argent*, on a cross *sable* five billets of the first:—*Argent*, on a cross quarterly pierced *sable*, a tree erased, *vert*:—and, *Argent*, on a cross *sable*, five lilies stalked, of the first. The last, for which Tanner is the authority, here appears impaling the bearing of Vowel, *Gules*, three escutcheons *argent*, each charged with a cinquefoil pierced of the first. The colour of the cinquefoils is faded, but there can be no doubt that this escutcheon commemorated Richard Vowel, whose signature appears on the



Acknowledgment of Supremacy. The upper portion of the dexter coat has unfortunately been destroyed; a line in the annexed woodcut shows the portion of the cross and of the uppermost lily here restored by the engraver. It is very unusual, as we believe, to find examples of the arms of any monastery thus impaled with those of its superior, in like manner as the arms of a see are often found occupying the dexter side, or place of honour, and impaling the personal coat of the bishop. Deans and heads of colleges, however, have been accustomed to impale their own arms with the insignia of their offices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SUPREMACY.

(RECORDS PRESERVED IN THE LATE TREASURY OF THE EXCHEQUER, IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF SUPREMACY, NO. 112*).

Quum ea sit non solum Christiane religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostre etiam obediencie regula, Domino Regi nostro Henrico ejus nominis octavo, cui uni et soli post Christum Jesum servatorem nostrum debemus universa, non modo omnimodam in Christo et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque animi devotionem, fidem et observanciam, honorem, cultum, reverenciam prestemus, sed etiam de eadem fide et observancia nostra rationem quotiescunque postulabitur reddamus et palam omnibus (si res postulat) libentissime testemur; Noverint universi, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, quod nos prior et conventus prioratus canonicorum de Walsingham, Norwicensis Diocesis, uno ore et voce atque unanimi omnium consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillo nostro communi in domo nostro capitulari dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnibus et singulis imperpetuum profiteamur, testamur, ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos priorem, conventum, et successores nostros omnes et singulos integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque fidem, observanciam, et reverenciam semper prestaturos erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam Reginam uxorem ejusdem, et erga sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitime tam progenitam quam prognerandam, et quod eadem populo notificabimus, predicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et perpetue habituri sumus, quod predictus Rex noster Henricus est caput Ecclesie Anglicane. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis bullis pape nomen usurpat, et summi pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Anglie quam quivis alius externus episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum in ulla sacra concione privatim vel publice habenda eundem episcopum Romanum appellabit nomine pape aut summi pontificis, sed nomine episcopi Romani vel Ecclesie Romane; et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam papa, sed tanquam Episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et successoribus suis adharebimus, et ejus leges ac decreta manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis, et canonibus, qui contra legem divinam et sacram scripturam, aut contra jura hujus Regni esse inveniuntur, imperpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex sacris scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere presumat, sed quisquam Christum ejusque verba et facta simpliciter, aperte, sincere, et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum scripturarum et vere catholicorum atque orthodoxorum doctorum predicabit catholice et orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum in suis orationibus et comprecationibus de more faciendis primum omnium Regem, tanquam supremum caput Ecclesie Anglicane, deo et populi precibus commendabit, deinde Reginam Annam, cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopos Cant' et Ebor', cum ceteris cleri ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli predicti, prior, conventus, et successores nostri, consociencie et jurisjurandi sacramento nosmet firmiter obligamus, et quod omnia et singula predicta fideliter imperpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic

scripto nostro commune sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus. Datum in domo nostra capitulari, xvij. die mensis Septembris, anno Domini Millesimo, quingentesimo, tricesimo quarto.

per me Ricard Vowel, Priorem
per me Willelmum Rase (*sic*).
per me Edmundum Warham, Subpriorem
per me Johannem Clenchwardton
per me Nicholaum Myleham
per me Robertum Salt.
per me Robertum Wylsey
per me Willelmum Castellacre
per me Simonem Ovy
per me Johannem Harlow
per me Johannem Lawinxley.

per me Ricardum Garnett
per me Johannem Clark
per me Johannem Awstyn
per me Johannem Marthe
per me Thomam Pawlum
per me Edwardum Marstone
per me Johannem Byrcham
per me Johannem Hadlay
per me Thomam Holte
per me Thomam Walsyngham
per me Umfredum London

L. S.

SURRENDER OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

AUGUST 4, 30 HENR. VIII., A.D. 1538.¹

(PRIMA PARS CLAUS⁹ DE ANNO REGNI REGIS HENRICI OCTAVI TRICESIMO. N. 68.
DE SCRIPTO PRIORIS DE WALSINGHAM FACTO DOMINO REGI.)

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens Scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus Prior Domus sive Prioratus Beate Marie de Walsyngham, Ordinis Sancti Augustini, Norwicensis Diocesis, et ejusdem loci Conventus, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatos Priorem et Conventum unanimi assensu et concensu nostris, animis deliberatis, certa sciencia, et mero motu nostris, ex quibusdam causis justis et rationabilibus nos, animas, et consciencias nostras specialiter moventibus, ultro et sponte Dedisse, Concessisse, ac per presentes Damus et Concedimus, Reddimus et Confirmamus illustrissimo principi, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Anglie et Francie Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hibernie, et in terra Supremo Capiti Anglicane Ecclesie, Totam dictam Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, et precinctum ejusdem Domus sive Prioratus de Walsyngham predicta, necnon totam cellam nostram de Flycham, ac totum situm, Fundum, Circuitum, et precinctum ejusdem Celle de Flicham; ac omnia et singula Maneria, Dominia, Mesuagia, Gardina, Curtilagias, Tofta, Terras et Tenementa, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Boscos, Redditus, Reversiones, Servicia, Molendina, Passagia, Feoda Militum, Wardas, Maritagia, Nativos, Villanos cum eorum sequelis, Communias, Libertates, Franchisias, Jurisdicciones, Officia, Curias, Letas, Hundreda, Visus Franciplegii, Ferias, Mercata, Parcos, Warrennas, Vivaria, Aquas, Piscarias, Vias, Chimina, Vacuos Fundos, Advocaciones, Nominaciones, Presentaciones et Donaciones Ecclesiarum, Vicariarum,

¹ It is stated in Dugdale's Monasticon, new edit. vol. vi. p. 71, that Richard Vowel, with the sub-prior and Canons, on Aug. 4, 30 Hen. VIII. by deed enrolled in Chancery, surrendered the Priory with the Cell of Flitcham, and all their possessions to the king. Blomef. Hist. Norf.

vol. ix. p. 278. The document is here given (*in extenso*) from the entry on the Close Roll, preserved at the Rolls Chapel. We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Joseph Burt in directing our search and obtaining a transcript.

Capellarum, Cantariorum, Hospitalium, et aliorum Ecclesiasticorum Beneficiorum quorumcumque, Rectorias, Vicarias, Cantarias, Pensiones, Porciones, Annuitates, Decimas, Oblaciones; ac omnia et singula Emolumenta, Proficua, Possessiones, Hereditamenta, et Jura nostra quecumque, tam infra dictum Comitatum Norfolchie quam infra Comitatus Suffolchie, Essexie, et Cantebrie, vel alibi infra Regnum Anglie, Wallie et Marchiarum eorundem, eidem Domui sive Prioratui de Walsyngham predicta, ac Celle de Flicham predicta, ac eorum utrique quoquomodo pertinentia, spectantia, appendentia, sive incumbencia; ac omnimodo Cartas, Evidencias, Scripta (et) Munimenta nostra eisdem Domui sive Prioratui, ac Celle predictae, Maneriis, Terris et Tenementis, ac ceteris Premissis cum pertinentiis, seu alicui inde parcellae quoquomodo spectantia sive concernentia; Habendum, Tenendum, et Gaudendum dictum Domum sive Prioratum, Situm, Fundum, Circuitum, et precinetum de Walsyngham predicta, necnon Cellam, Fundum, Circuitum et precinetum de Flicham predicta, ac omnia et singula Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, et cetera Premissa, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis, prefato Invictissimo et (sic) Domino nostro Regi, heredibus, et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Cui in hac parte ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi poterit aut potest, nos, et dictum Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac omnia jura nobis qualitercumque acquisita, ut decet, subjicimus et submittimus, dantes et concedentes, prout per presentes damus et concedimus, eidem Regie Majestati, heredibus, et assignatis suis, omnem et omnimodam plenam et liberam facultatem, auctoritatem, et potestatem nos, et dictam Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac Cellam de Flicham predicta, unacum omnibus et singulis Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Redditibus, Reversionibus, Serviciis, et singulis premissis, cum suis juribus et pertinentiis quibuscumque, disponendi ac pro suo libero Regie voluntatis libito ad quoscumque usus majestati sue placentes alienandi, donandi, convertendi, et transferendi; hujus modi dispositiones, alienaciones, donaciones, conversiones et transaciones per dictam Majestatem suam quovismodo fiendas extunc ratificantes, ratasque et gratas ac perpetuo firmas nos habituros promittimus per presentes; et ut premissa omnia et singula suum debitum sortiri valeant effectum, eleccionibus insuper nobis et successoribus nostris, necnon omnibus et singulis querelis, provocacionibus, appellacionibus, accionibus, litibus, et instantiis aliisque nostris² remediis et beneficiis nobis forsitan et successoribus nostris in ea parte, pretextu dispositionis, alienacionis, transacionis, et conversionis predictarum et ceterorum premissorum, qualitercumque competentibus et competituris, omnibusque doli, erroris, metus, ignorancie, vel alterius materie sive dispositionis excepcionibus, objectionibus, et allegacionibus prorsus semotis et depositis, palam, publice, et expresse, ex certa nostra sciencia, animisque spontaneis renunciavimus et cessimus prout per presentes renunciavimus et cedimus, et ab eisdem recedimus in his scriptis. Et nos, prefati Prior et Conventus et Successores nostri, dictum Domum sive Prioratum, Precinetum, Situm, Mansionem, et Ecclesiam de Walsyngham predicta, necnon Cellam, Fundum, Circuitum, et Precinetum de Flicham predicta, ac omnia et singula maneria, Dominia, Messuagia, Gardina, Curtilagia, Tofta, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Boscos,

² "Aliisque quibuscumque *juris* remediis," &c., in the Surrender of Bardney, according to the same form as the above.

Dugd. Mon. edit. Caley, vol. i. p. 640. In the Surrender of Cerne, however, *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 628, the reading is—"nostris."

Subboscos, Terras, Tenementa, ac omnia et singula cetera premissa cum suis pertinentiis universis, Domino nostro Regi, heredibus, et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum. In quorum testimonium nos, prefati Prior et Conventus huic Scripto Sigillum nostrum Commune apponi fecimus. Datum in Domo nostra Capitulari, quarto die Mensis Augusti, Anno Regni Regis Henrici supradicti tricesimo. [A.D. 1538.]

Et memorandum quod die et anno predictis venerunt predicti Prior et Conventus in domo sua Capitulari apud Walsingham coram Wilhelmo Petre,³ pretextu Commissionis dicti Domini Regis ei in hac parte directo, et recognoverunt scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta, in forma predicta.

CABBOKESWELL. See page 118, *supra*.

The following is a Copy of the Document which forms a fly-leaf at fol. 26 of the Walsingham Register, Cotton MSS. Nero, E. VII. with its various endorsements and notes.

Copia Semitæ inter Priorem de Walsingham et Stephanum Black.

Ad curiam tentam apud Walsingham, XV.^o die Junii, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum X^o, coram Roberto Hethe tunc ibidem Seneschallum, Dominus concessit Johanni Priori Ecclesie de Walsingham et ejusdem loci conventui quandam semitam ducentem de communi via versus quandam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell in communi villatura de Walsingham parva, ut unum . . . non . . . ad nec—aliquorum Communarium ibidem ut testatum est per homagium redditum inde domino per annualem obm in festo Sancti Michaelis. Et dat domino de fine VI. denarios.

(Notes)

Et nota quod ista semita jacet sub fovea aquilonari vocata Blacks, juxta Cruftam vocatam Powerscroft. Et Cabbokeswell jacet in angulo Australi foveæ de Powerscloos, juxta prædictam foveam de Blacks.

Et nota quod Dominus Richardus Dux Eboraci postea tempore Thomæ Hunt Prioris, Confirmavit prædictum, et super hoc etiam dedit Prioratui totam parcellam terræ ex parte occidentali vocatam Eleemosinariam, quæ jacet inter semitam et prædictam Eleemosinariam.

(Endorsements)

Item pars terræ vacuæ inter semitam et vetus Eleemosynarium Priori.

Ista Billa facit mentionem de quadam semita ad finem aquilonarem hujus villæ subtus tenementum quondam Nicholai Black postea Jacobi Cabb—k.

THE KNIGHT'S GATE: LEGEND OF SIR RALPH BOTETOURT.

(See page 124.)

The probable position of the *ostium* is shown in the plan accompanying this memoir. Erasmus distinctly states that the gate, to which the legend cited by Blomefield related was on the *north* side. It is singular that

³ Sir William Petre, a great favourite of Cromwell's, and one of the Commissioners employed by him to visit monasteries, of which Henry VIII. had nominated Cromwell General Visitor. Petre was afterwards Secretary of State and held posts of high trust in four successive

reigns. He had large grants out of the spoils of the monasteries, as enumerated in Biog. Brit., Life of Petre; and he obtained a Bull from Pope Paul IV., in the reign of Mary, permitting him to retain them.

Mr. J. Gough Nichols (*Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury*, p. 8) should have fallen into the error of giving the principal gateway to the west of the church as that in question, and he produces in illustration Cotman's representation of that gatehouse, with its old gates and "the very wicket which was the supposed scene of the miracle." Blomefield gives the following relation, from an old MS. On the north side of the close there was a very small wicket, "not past an elne hye, and three quarters in bredth. And a certain *Norfolk* knight, Sir *Raaf Botetourt*, armed cap-a-pee and on horse-back, being in days of old, 1314, pursued by a cruel enemy, and in the utmost danger of being taken, made full speed for this gate, and invoking this lady for his deliverance, he immediately found himself and his horse within the close and sanctuary of the priory, in a safe asylum, and so fooled his enemy." *Hist. of Norf.* vol. ix. p. 280. An engraved brass plate representing this miracle was affixed to the gate, and was there seen by Erasmus. One of the articles of enquiry for the monastery of Walsingham (Harl. MS. 791, p. 27) is—"What is the sayng—of the knyght, and what of the other wonders that be here, and what proves be therof?" It is singular that amongst numerous representations of miraculous interpositions of the Virgin Mary, as for instance amongst the sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely Cathedral, erected so shortly after the alleged date of this miracle, no representation of it should have been noticed.

The name of the "Knight Street," Mr. Lee Warner observes, "is the sole local evidence now remaining of the scene of Sir Ralph Botetourt's exploit. The outline of the boundary of the precincts might lead us to the supposition that the foundations of the original gate are below the present turnpike road:—but when we remember that the road has been altered, as shown in the annexed plan, we are inclined to attach credit to the report of ancient inhabitants, that formerly an old building existed nearer to the Wishing Wells, which may have been the gate in question, or possibly the chapel of St. Nicholas. This notable miracle is perhaps alluded to in the Pepsyan Ballad, cited at the commencement of this memoir, and written about a century after the time to which the miracle has been assigned:—

"Foke that of feenes have had incumbrance,
And of wicked sprites also much vexatyon,
Have here been delivered from every such chauce,
And souls greatly vexed with gostely tentatyon."

Before we close these notices of a place of such interesting memories as Walsingham, it may not be irrelevant to mention the signs, *signacula*, of metal, which were doubtless as much in request here by the innumerable pilgrims to the shrine of Our Lady, as they were in other notable resorts of pilgrimage. These tokens of vows performed were usually of pewter or lead, and they were often formed so as to be affixed to the cap or the dress, or hung round the neck, as Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Bishop of Winchester and his company, lately come from Canterbury, "*cum signaculis B. Thome a collo suspensis*." It has been supposed that the pewter *ampulla*, of which representations are subjoined, bearing on one side the initial W. under a crown (see woodcuts), may have been a Walsingham sign, carried by some pilgrim to Cirencester, where it was found; it was brought under the notice of the Institute by Professor Buckman. Another, marked with the crowned W., found at Dunwich, is figured in Gardner's *History of that place*, Plate III. p. 66. Such *ampullæ* may have served to contain small quantities of the waters of the Wishing Wells, as at

Canterbury they were filled from Becket's healing well, miraculously tinged as if with blood. Mr. Roach Smith has given a curious essay on Pilgrims' Signs, in the *Journal of the Arch. Assoc.*, vol. i. p. 200, and they are more fully noticed in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 81, vol. ii. p. 43, and in the catalogue of his museum, p. 134. The original *signacula* have recently been deposited with his collections in the British Museum. Mr. Roach Smith has also kindly made us acquainted with an undoubted Walsingham sign, of which he possesses a cast. It is a small rectangular ornament of lead, on which appears the Annunciation with the vase containing a lily between the figures, and underneath is—Walsygham. We have not been able to ascertain where the original was found, or in whose possession it is preserved.

There is a curious relation by Richard Southwell, one of Cromwell's Commissioners for the visitation of monasteries, addressed to him in July, 1536. It describes a secret laboratory discovered in Walsingham Priory, a circumstance eagerly seized by the captious visitor, whose special object it was to magnify suspicion and give a colour to any mysterious discovery. The sequestrators, Southwell states, had taken possession of money, plate and stuff, found at Walsingham, and "emoung other thinges—dyd ther



fynd a secrete prevye place within the howse, where no channon nor onnye other of the howse dyd ever enter, as they saye, in wiche there were instreumentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of such strange colers as the lick non of us had seene, with poyries⁴ and other thinges to sorte, and denyd (?) gould and sylver, nothing ther wantinge that should belonge to the arte of multiplyeng."⁵ It is by no means improbable that this furnace was for no processes of alchemy, but simply the place where the sacristan melted the metals suited for his craft of casting *signacula* and "ampulles" for the pilgrims. Such a privy furnace, very probably destined for a similar purpose, may still be seen in an upper chamber in Canterbury Cathedral.

⁴ Weights.

⁵ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv., f. 231. Let-

ters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, p. 138. Camden Soc.

SOME REMARKS ON A CASKET AT GOODRICH COURT.

IN the collection of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick, still preserved at Goodrich Court, is a small casket of silver-gilt, which formerly belonged to Mr. Astle, and afterwards to Mr. Douce. By the kind permission of Colonel Meyrick squeezes were taken from it a few months ago by Mr. A. Nesbitt, from which a remarkably good electrotpe in copper has been executed, that was exhibited by him at a recent meeting of the Institute.

The present gilding of the casket is modern, but there is no good reason to doubt that it was originally gilt. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and resembles a rectangular Gothic building, with a pitched roof, that forms the lid. On each slope of the lid are three quatrefoils; and in each quatrefoil, on one side, are the arms of England dimidiated with France semée, entire; and in each quatrefoil, on the other side, are the same arms with a plain label of 3 points over all. A woodcut of each coat is given below. The last-mentioned arms



are in *front*. The former must be those of some queen of England, who was a daughter of a king of France. There were only two queens of England answering this description before Edward III. quartered the arms of France in 1339 or 1340; namely, Margaret, the second queen of Edward I., and Isabella, the queen of Edward II. It will presently appear, that while the latter was queen, there was no one

who bore the other coat ; and, therefore, the arms without the label must be Queen Margaret's.

The other coat is probably, to some extent, incorrect as regards the label ; for no such arms, as England dimidiated with France, and a label over all, were borne by any one while either of these two princesses was Queen of England, unless it were by Isabella herself as the betrothed of Prince Edward while his father was living. This coat was once supposed to be that of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I. He bore England with a label of France, having married for his second wife Queen Blanche, the widow of Henry I. of Navarre. Her father was Robert Count of Artois, whose arms were France with a label *gules* charged with castles *or*. But, beside that the label would not be correct, the earl would not have used either a dimidiated or an impaled coat ; and in fact he was dead before Margaret became Queen of England.

If we suppose the label to have been meant for two labels, or for parts of two labels, there was no one that bore such a coat while Isabella was queen ; but in that case it might possibly have been intended for the arms of Blanche herself after the death of her second husband, the Earl of Lancaster, in 1296 ; for she survived him, and did not die till 1302, which was three years after Queen Margaret's marriage. There are, however, considerable difficulties to be overcome in order to arrive satisfactorily at that conclusion. For the label is quite plain, and to all appearance but one and uncompounded ; whereas, for this Blanche the dexter part of the label ought to have been charged with fleurs-de-lis, and the sinister with castles ; and even granting that the space is too small for such charges, there should, and most likely would, have been some means resorted to in order to distinguish the two parts, and show that it was not a single label. It may be noticed too, that, as France, in these arms, is entire, the label for Artois ought not to have been dimidiated, but to have been entire also. It may be thought difficult to distinguish between France dimidiated and France entire, because the coat was *semée* ; but I think, if a few seals in which those arms are dimidiated be compared with the arms on this casket, any one will be soon satisfied that such is not the case. I need hardly mention, that instances of half of one coat being impaled with the entirety of

another about that date are not very rare.¹ Add to these considerations, that there is no reference to Navarre ; yet Blanche was Queen consort of Henry I. of Navarre for nearly four years, and was generally styled Queen of Navarre until her death, notwithstanding her second marriage. Since the coat in question occurs three times on the same side of this casket, the omission of Navarre could not have been for want of room. According to the heraldic usage of that age, her arms would most likely have been placed between Navarre on the dexter and Lancaster on the sinister. Should it be objected that Navarre was not on Crouchback's monument at Westminster, though Artois was, I grant it, and reply, that neither was the coat of Blanche herself there ; which would have been a dimidiation or impalement of Lancaster and Artois, most likely with Navarre introduced in some manner. The coat of Artois on that monument had reference to her father to show the alliance, and not to herself. With Navarre Crouchback himself was unconnected. Therefore, there was no reason why Navarre should have appeared on his tomb, unless her arms had been there, and then only as part of them. I am thus brought to a conviction, that it is improbable that the arms in question on this casket should have been intended for those of Blanche Queen of Navarre and Countess of Lancaster.

If they were not meant for *her* arms, I think they *must* be those of Isabella, while she was the betrothed of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II. ; for I can discover no other person to whom they can with any show of reason be attributed ; since they must have belonged to some princess of France who married, or was affianced to, an English Prince that bore a label as a mark of cadency, while either Margaret or Isabella was Queen of England. There was a usage, which those who have read Mrs. Green's *Lives of the Princesses of England* may recollect, of a Princess after her betrothal assuming the same title that she would have borne had she been actually married to her betrothed ; and there is no reason to doubt, that with the title she assumed the corresponding arms. Now had Isabella been married to Prince Edward in his father's lifetime, she would have borne England with a label *azure* dimidiated with France *semée*,

¹ One of the seals of Margaret, Countess of Artois, Blanche's sister-in-law, is

a contemporaneous example, as appears by an engraving of it in Vredius, pl. 48.

either dimidiated also or entire. There was a treaty between Edward I. and Philip the Fair in 1299, by which it was agreed, not only that Edward should marry Philip's half-sister Margaret, but that Prince Edward should marry his daughter Isabella, who was then not quite seven years old. The betrothal of the Prince and Isabella did not take place till May 1303. Their marriage was deferred till January 1308, which was about six months after Prince Edward had succeeded to the throne of England. It is possible the label may have been designedly placed over both England and France, but that would, I conceive, have been anomalous; for ladies' seals of corresponding date occur, in which the label is confined to the arms to which it properly belonged.² I am therefore inclined to believe, that the extension of it over France was an error of the artist; and in this opinion I am confirmed by observing, that it appears to have been treated as an error; for though that part of the label was not removed, the engraving of the arms of France is in each case carried through it. I think, therefore, we may upon the whole conclude, that the arms with the label are those of Isabella as the betrothed of Prince Edward between May 1303 and the death of Edward I. in July 1307; and if so, they are a coat which had long become unknown; for I am not aware of any other example of her arms during that period being in existence or even recorded.

The form and size of the casket have been mentioned, and also the material, and that it was in all probability originally gilt. It has all the appearance of being of English workmanship. The arms are too slightly engraved to lead me to think they were ever enamelled. Its form may have been intended to represent a house, a chapel, a shrine, or a chasse. There is no saint, symbol, name, or other peculiarity to mark it as ecclesiastical, unless the form suffices for that purpose. Chrismatories are to be found of a similar shape: one such was discovered a few years ago in St. Martin's church, Canterbury; and I have been informed of another, in which the three compartments for the different kinds of chrism or holy oil were marked with the letters used to distinguish them;³ and I am told by Mr. A. Way, who

² As an example, it may be sufficient to mention the seal of Margaret, Countess of Artois, before noticed.

³ The chrisms or holy oils were of three

kinds: 1. The Chrisma properly so called, which was made of oil and balsam, and was used at the blessing of fonts, chalices, and patens, at the consecration of churches

had examined this casket before it was regilt, that there were then traces of two partitions, which divided it into three compartments, as if for the small vessels, probably of glass, that held the chrisms. This, therefore, may have been a chrismatory. If it were not that, it may have been a box for trinkets or the like, such as might have been a very suitable present from Queen Margaret to her niece, a child of ten or eleven years of age, and indeed more appropriate for her than for Isabella's grandmother, as Queen Blanche really was, having been the mother of Joan Queen of Philip the Fair. That it was a present from Queen Margaret is highly probable; for the arms with the label being on the front, the *more* honourable place, would seem to indicate the donee, and those at the back the donor. Had it been a joint gift by those whose arms are upon it, the differenced coat would, no doubt, have been in the *less* honourable place. Therefore, whether ecclesiastical or not, I think we may safely assume this casket was presented by Queen Margaret to some one, and most likely to her niece Isabella on or soon after her betrothal; and if it be ecclesiastical, it may have been intended to form part of the furniture of her chapel. We find, for example, a chrismatory in the Inventory of the effects of the Duke of Berry, in 1417, "*un crespier d'argent, veré, a trois estuis pour mettre le saint cresse;*"⁴ and there was also one of silver gilt among the jewels, &c., of King Henry V.⁵

At any rate, whatever may have been its object, and whether a present or not, one thing seems morally certain, viz., that the date of it must be between September 1299, when Margaret married, or very shortly before, and January 1308, when Isabella became Queen of England; and with this inference derived from the heraldry upon it, all, I think, who examine the electrotype, will agree that the design and workmanship accord. It is not often that an undated work of art can have the time of its execution so clearly ascertained.

W. S. W.

and altars, at baptisms and confirmations, and at the consecration of bishops; 2. *Oleum Catechumenorum*, used also at baptisms and the consecration of churches and altars, and at the ordination of priests, and the coronation of sovereigns; 3. *Oleum Infirmorum* for the extreme unction of the sick. See *Supplementum Nicolai de Ausmo*, voce *Oleum*, and

Decretales, Lib. 1, tit. xv. de *sacra unctione*. These different kinds were generally distinguished on the respective vessels containing them by the abbreviations CHR. CATH. and INFIR.

⁴ Laborde's *Emaux du Louvre*, Glosaire, p. 233.

⁵ Rot. Parl. IV. p. 225.





NITRE OF DAMASK WITH EMBROIDERED ORPHREYS.
Formerly in Beauvais Cathedral. Date, XIIIth Century.

NOTICE OF AN ANCIENT MITRE PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM
AT BEAUVAIS.

DURING a recent visit to Beauvais, M. Mathon, one of the Conservators of the Public Museum in that city, was kind enough to afford me facilities for making a careful drawing of a mitre which that institution has now possessed for little more than a year. At the same time he communicated to me some interesting particulars respecting its history.

In bringing these particulars under the notice of the Institute, I have added a few observations upon some fragments of ancient textile fabrics, possessing analogies either of design or manufacture with the peculiar features of the Beauvais mitre.

It appears that when purchased for the Museum, at a sale of a collector of ancient reliques at Beauvais, there was a short notice appended to it, of which the following is a translation :—

“ This mitre, of somewhat ancient form, was nailed to the top of one of the presses in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Beauvais. The revolutionary devastations of the year 1792, and the years following, abandoned it as an object of too small value to be noticed. The bands *semées* of fleurs-de-lis, with which this mitre is ornamented, would appear to denote that it was the best of those mentioned by Philippe de Dreux in his will, and which he left to the church. Philippe de Dreux, grandson of Louis le Gros, was elected Bishop of Beauvais in 1175, and died in 1217.”

We find accordingly in the will made by this prelate, on the day after the feast of All Saints, the following directions :—“ Ego Philippus, Dei patientia Belvacensis Episcopus . . . lego Ecclesiæ B. Petri Belvacensis, præter textum aureum quem jam dederam, meliorem crucem auream meam, et calicem unum aureum, et navem argenteam, et missale et ordinarium tecta argento, et meliora sandalia, meliorem mitram, et omnes pannos meos senios (? *sericos*) quæ dependere

solent in Ecclesia, et quindecim cappas sericas, et decem infulas,¹ et octo dalmaticas."

It appears that the former possessor, above mentioned, was under a misapprehension when he imagined the term "*meliozem mitram*" to apply to the subject of the present notice. It is more probable, I think, that the expression would mean the *mitra preciosa*, of which every bishop possessed one or more. This latter was generally formed of plates of gold and silver, and was enriched with pearls and precious stones; and it was by no means an uncommon occurrence for a bishop to leave it at his death to his cathedral. In the inventories of the treasures of St. Paul's, London, and St. Peter's at York, several instances of this munificence of the deceased prelates are recorded, while the less costly mitres are stated to have been given by the gentry and persons of lower degree.

If this mitre ever did belong to Philippe de Dreux, (and from its form and armorial decoration this has been considered by no means improbable,) I think it must have been included in the "*omnes pannos meos sericos*" mentioned in the latter part of the extract from his will.

It is not very clear whether it must be classed with what was denominated the *mitra auriphrygiata*, which was to be "*aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex serico albo intermixto, vel ex tela aurea simplici*," or with the *mitra simplex*, which was without gold, made of simple damask, or even of linen.

This mitre, it will be perceived, partakes of both varieties, for it is formed of linen damask with embroidered orphreys. The fleurs-de-lys of these orphreys are worked in the common embroidery stitch, upon a ground of violet-coloured silk, strengthened by a double layer of strong canvas underneath; a small silk thread, formerly black, but now brown, is worked round each fleur-de-lys to define the outline. The orphreys and the linen damask were then sewn together, and the whole strengthened by a stiff piece of vellum, which in fact forms the body of the mitre. A lining of red silk concealed this from view, and formed a border by turning over the inner edge.

¹ By reference to Ducange, we find that the word *infula* has several significations:—1. A chasuble—which I think is its meaning in this case; 2. the labels

of a mitre; and 3, a covering for the head, and perhaps, occasionally, the mitre itself.

The *infulæ* or pendant labels have unfortunately disappeared, but if we may judge by the mitre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, preserved in the treasury of Sens Cathedral, and published by Mr. Shaw,² they would be of the same material as the mitre, and accordingly may have been of linen damask, lined with red, and terminated by violet fringes.

The colour of this linen damask has no doubt much altered from its original tone; at present the figures are almost yellow, and the ground brownish purple. In all probability the original colour was not far different from that of the coarser kind of napkins of the present day. M. Michel, in his "*Recherches sur la Fabrication des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent*," adduces a curious passage from the collection of "*Poësies latines antérieures au douzième siècle*," edited by M. de Meril, to prove that linen napkins were woven and in use in western Europe anterior to that epoch. Most probably this piece of linen came from Abbeville, which had a considerable reputation for the manufacture during the XIIIth century.

As to the rest of the precious bequests given by the piety of Philippe de Dreux to his church, M. Mathon states the following particulars:—

"I have spoken with old men who remember having seen all the copes, chasubles, crosses and pictures which were in the church and treasury collected into a great heap before the door of the church, and set fire to as a *feu de joie*, in 1793."

The mitre is described in the Museum at Beauvais as having belonged to Philippe de Dreux, and indeed generally attributed to him in that town. In regard, however, to the tradition, which would assign to that prelate this interesting example of a class of sacred objects of which very few, of early date, have been preserved, it must be admitted that certain doubts have arisen. Mr. Franks has kindly pointed out that, from the form of the fleur-de-lys, this mitre must be referred to at least a century later than the time of Philippe de Dreux, and that the armorial decoration may be accounted for by the fact, that kings and distinguished personages often gave, or left by will, their best garments to be made into sacerdotal vestments. I am afraid that Mr. Franks' objection extinguishes the claim of Philippe de Dreux to the ownership of this mitre. With regard to the latter fact a singular contemporary testi-

² Dresses and Decorations, vol. i., pl. 13.

mony is contained in the story of Martin Hapart in the "Nouveau recueil, Contes, Dits, et Fabliaux des 13, 14, 15 siècles. Par Achille Jubinal." Paris, 1839. Vol. II., p. 204.

" Il ne a riens de Saint Michiel
Fors les paroïs
Et l'ymage que le bian rois
Fist parer des ses vieux ORFROIS."

Considerable attention has been of late years bestowed by French archaeologists upon the class of fabrics of which such quantities were ruthlessly destroyed. In addition to the light thrown upon the subject by M. Michel, Le Pere Martin, in his "*Mélanges Archéologiques*," has engraved many interesting reliques, in which an oriental character of design is strongly imprinted; and, although it appears probable that the materials of the Beauvais mitre were French, there can be no doubt that the pattern of the fabric which forms its base was founded upon the traditions of Byzantine art, popularised throughout Europe through the Mahometan weavers, and their successors of the royal establishment in Sicily. To illustrate this connection I would notice some details relating to such manufactures.

Amongst interesting reliques of this class found in France may be mentioned the remains of a sacerdotal vesture, with Arabic inscriptions found in a tomb of a bishop of the XIIth century at Bayonne, opened in 1853.³ The original, with the crozier of Limoges enamel, and other objects, is preserved in the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris. There can be little doubt that they belong to that period when Europe generally was supplied with fabrics of gold and silk from the East through Jerusalem and Constantinople.

I may here also notice an example of what M. Michel calls the second period, when first the Sicilians, and afterwards the Italians, began to manufacture silk on their own account, so as to become independent of the East; but still, as might be expected, with a very strong infusion of Oriental taste in the designs.

It would appear that when the Normans conquered Sicily they found attached to the Palace of the Emirs of Palermo a very common state appendage of Eastern Monarchs,

³ Mr. Burges has very kindly presented to the Institute his beautiful drawings of specimens of ancient tissues, as also of

the mitre preserved at Beauvais, described in this Memoir.

namely, a manufactory of precious fabrics destined for the wardrobe of the king himself, or to be used for presents in the form so common in the East at the present day, namely, dresses of honour. The kings of Sicily of Norman race retained this manufactory, and Roger I. even increased it by transplanting to Sicily the workers in silk from the Greek towns sacked by his army. Many of the original artificers would be Mahometans, and we accordingly find Moorish patterns and even Moorish inscriptions in most of the Sicilian fabrics of that time. Thus the coronation garments of the German emperors, formerly preserved at Nuremburg, but now deposited at Vienna, have an entirely Eastern composition; the cope presents Cufic inscriptions, informing us that it was made in the city of Palermo, in the year 1133; while the tunics claim a little later date, 1181, but this date is inscribed in the Latin language.⁴

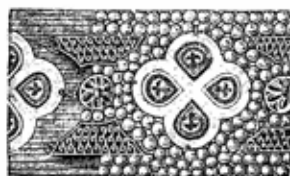
The piece of stuff, to which I have adverted, was discovered in the tomb of the Emperor Arrigo or Henry VI., who died 1196. It would appear originally to have been of that colour called in the inventory "*Diarhodon*" and which, we are told, "strikes the look with the appearance of fire." This at the present day has faded into a reddish *murry* colour. Lighter than this was the *Rhodinum*, or rose colour, and a still more delicate tint of the same colour was the *Leucorhodina*. The inventory of the *Capella Réale*, taken in 1309, presents a vast number of sacerdotal vestments made of silk and gold figured with lions, parrots, peacocks, wheels, antelopes, &c.; so much so, indeed, that we almost appear to be reading again the accounts of Anastatius of the riches of St. Peter's, at Rome, in the IXth century. Among the items the inventory describes "*cappam unam vetustam deauratam super seta rubea, ad aviculos et alias operas,*" a description which might almost serve for the

⁴ Representations of these remarkable vestments were published in a work produced at Nuremburg, by M. d'Ebner, in 1790; one of the tunics is given by Willemin, in his "*Monuments Inédits*," pl. 21. The inscription records that it was "*operatum felici urbe Panormi*," in the reign of William, King of Sicily. Gally Knight, "*Normans in Sicily*," vol. ii., p. 242, states that a learned Italian antiquary, by careful examination of the Saracenic inscriptions on the ceiling of the *Capella Réale*, built by King Roger,

and finished in 1132, ascertained that they are identical with the inscription on the robe of honour, above-mentioned, wrought for King Roger in 1133, and carried away by the Emperor Henry VI. It was subsequently used as the Imperial coronation robe, and was ultimately conveyed to Vienna. The Saracens of Sicily wrought another robe, and presented it to the Emperor Otho, whom they desired to conciliate. It came into the possession of Frederic II. and was found in his tomb.

tissue found in the tomb of Henry VI. I have only to point out the drawing of the animals, which is particularly Eastern, and indeed bears considerable resemblance to that on the hunting-horn of ivory preserved in the *Trésor* at Aix-la-Chapelle, and said to have been given by Haroun Alraschid to the Emperor Charlemagne.⁵

Sicily at this time was celebrated all over the world, not only for its stuffs of gold and silk, but for the application of precious stones to embroidery. A contemporary historian quoted by M. Michel, says,—“*Margaritæ quoque aut integræ cistulis aureis includuntur, aut perforatæ filo tenui connectuntur, et eleganti quadam dispositionis industria picturati jubentur formam operis exhibere.*” One piece of this manufacture has come down to us and is preserved with other things, including the piece of the garment of the Emperor Henry VI., in the Duomo at Palermo. (See woodcut.) It is the border of the dress of Constanza, the consort of Henry, and is composed of plates of gold, alternately decorated with *cloissonnés* enamels and filagree work,



Border of the Robe of the Empress Constanza, size of the original, and one of the enamelled ornaments, enlarged.

sewn on linen, the interstices being filled up with pearls—“*perforatæ filo tenui.*”⁶ Most of the pearls, however, have now disappeared. An enlarged representation is here given of one of the enamelled ornaments; the colours, red, blue, and white, are varied; in two of the segments composing each quatrefoil, the central ornament is red, surrounded by blue and a white margin; in the other pair, blue, surrounded by red, with a blue margin. The Empress, who died in 1198, was interred in a tomb of porphyry in the Duomo.

WILLIAM BURGESS.

⁵ Representations of the remarkable reliques found in the tomb of Henry VI., as also in those of Roger, King of Sicily, who died in 1154, and of the Empress Constanza, may be seen in the “*Regali Sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo*,” pub-

lished at Naples, 1784, fol.

⁶ See full-sized representations of this rich decoration, as also of the jewelled diadem and other very interesting reliques found in the tomb of the Empress, “*Regali Sepolcri*,” Tav. M. and N.

THE MONASTERIES OF SHROPSHIRE: THEIR ORIGIN AND
FOUNDERS.—HAUGHMOND ABBEY.

BY THE REV. R. W. EYTON, M.A.

IN entering upon this subject, we are at once beset by a variety of previous statements, which, as being discordant with each other, must involve some degree of error. To detect that error shall be our first concern.

The first statement which I shall cite upon the matter is embodied in the Abbey Register.¹ It has been printed in the *Monasticon*,² but with much verbal and grammatical incorrectness. This is not chargeable on the original, which runs as follows:—

*Fundata est Abbathia de Haghmon anno domini millesimo centesimo et in anno ultimo regni Regis Willielmi Rufi et anno regni Regis Henrici primi primo, per Willielmum filium Alani, ut patet in pluribus, et specialiter in duobus Bullis sub plumbo Alexandri Papæ Tercii vocantis eum Fundatorem predicti loci.*³

This document then asserts Haughmond Abbey to have been founded in 1100, and William Fitz-Alan to have been its founder. It alludes to much unspecified evidence of the fact, or facts (for it is ambiguously worded), and particularly cites two Bulls of Pope Alexander III. in support thereof. Now we happen to know something of Pope Alexander's two Bulls to Haughmond. One, dated apparently in 1172, is of "Privileges." It is preserved in the Register⁴ in all its essential parts, and says not a word about the founder or

¹ Chartulary of Haughmond Abbey (in possession of Andrew W. Corbet, of Sundorn, Esq.), fol. 76. This Chartulary is the same with that which Tanner speaks of as, in 1653, in possession of Dame Margaret Barker. The Harleian MS., No. 446, which once belonged to Peter le Neve, is a fragment (less than a quarter) of a very fine original Chartulary. A few of the lost contents of this seem to

be transcribed or rather abridged in Harleian MSS., 2188 and 3368.

² *Monasticon*, vi., 108, No. I.

³ The words "de sede et loco abbathie ibidem," which in the *Monasticon* are added to this sentence as if part thereof, form in the Chartulary the title of the succeeding document.

⁴ *Monasticon*, vi., 112, No. XII.

date of foundation, nor indeed is it a document of the class which would be likely to contain such allusions.

The other Bull also exists in the shape of a full and apparently accurate transcript.⁵ It is dated at Tusculanum, May 14, 1172. It is a confirmation of "grants" to the Abbey. It distinctly indicates William Fitz-Alan as the founder thereof, but says nothing about the date of foundation. In short, a matter so irrelevant and discursive can hardly be conceived to have crept into a Papal Bull of any kind. We therefore have no other authority for dating the foundation of Haughmond in 1100, than the assertion of that Abbot or Canon of the house who wrote the above extract at least 72 years after the event he affects to describe (otherwise he could not quote the bulls of 1172).⁶

Any one acquainted with those monastic documents, usually entitled "*De Fundatione*," or "*Historia Fundationis*," will know that they are not to be received without caution. The antiquity of a house was a matter of pride as well as of advantage. It was therefore seldom underrated by any member of the house concerned.

We have external evidence which is very strong against this alleged date of foundation. William Fitz-Alan, the undoubted founder, was, as we learn from Ordericus, but a youth in 1138, and therefore not born so early as 1100. Also, there were no Canons-regular of St. Augustine, such as were those of Haughmond, introduced into England, till 1105 at the earliest.⁷

A second date has been assigned for this foundation under the following circumstances; in the year 1253 a Shropshire jury had been empanelled to try an issue as to the right of patronage over this house. Their return, made to the Courts at Westminster, in Michaelmas Term of that year, remains on the Plea-Rolls, and a seeming copy thereof is given in the Abbey Register. The latter amplifies the information contained in the Plea-Rolls. Part of the verdict as recorded in the legal document is, "*Dicta Abbacia est de feodo Johannis*

⁵ Harl. MS. 3868, fol. 11.

⁶ The extract is written in red ink throughout, and is therefore the work of the Rubricator of the Chartulary. All documents professing to be copied from original deeds stand in black ink. The Chartulary was probably written as late as the reign of Henry VII.; but I have

allowed in the text for a possibility that the writer got his information from some older source.

⁷ Their first houses seem to have been at Colchester, founded in 1105,—Christ Church, London, founded about 1108,—and Nostell, Yorkshire, founded about 1114. See *Monasticon*, vi., 37.

fili Alani et a predecessoribus suis fundata." To which words the Register adds, "anno xxxvii Regis Henrici Secundi."⁸ Henry II. did not, however, live to enter on his 36th regnal year. This inaccuracy is not, I imagine, to be explained by charging it on a false chronology of the jurors, who probably did not make any date part of their verdict. It rather belongs to the transcriber of the chartulary, who has assigned the year in which the trial was taken (viz. 37 Henry II.) to the foundation of the Abbey, and so incorporated it in the supposed verdict, altering, however, the name of the King to suit his own ideas.

The third date assigned for the foundation of Haughmond is 1110,⁹ which may be possible, so far as that about that time Augustine Canons were settling in England, but is inconsistent with the known era of the founder.

We may now dismiss all previous statements on this subject, and investigate the question of date on other evidence.

The mistakes which have given to Haughmond Abbey a too high degree of antiquity, may possibly be connected with a circumstance which Leland heard and recorded, viz., that there had been an Hermitage and Chapel there previous to the erection of the Abbey.¹

The Chartulary contains no Charter of Foundation by which we may estimate the date when the abbey was begun. The document purporting to be a Foundation-Charter is in fact nothing of the kind, but, as I shall presently show, belongs to a much later period. The next object of search must therefore be the earliest deed which the charter contains. This, when found, though it may say nothing about foundation, will probably belong to the period immediately succeeding that event. The deed then which I fix upon hypothetically, as the oldest in the Chartulary, is one whereby William Fitz-Alan gives to "the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Haghmon the fishery of Upton, which is upon Severn, and the man and land pertaining thereto, free and quit of all service, for the maintenance (victum) of Fulco

⁸ Compare *Monasticon* vi., 111, No. VIII., and *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, page 129.

⁹ Tanner assigns this date on the evidence of a MS. chronicle, formerly in possession of Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough (1685-1690).

¹ *Itinerary*, vol. viii., fol. 113 a. Leland

also gives 1101 as the date of the Abbey, and William Fitz-Alan as the founder. He says also that William Fitz-Alan and his wife were buried at Haughmond. If the founder is hereby meant (and Leland's words can only be so taken) it is a mistake. He was buried at Shrewsbury Abbey.

the Prior and all his brethren living in the aforesaid church, in right perpetual, so long as faithful brethren shall serve God in the same church. Witnesses, Walter, his (the grantor's) brother, and Christiana, his (the grantor's) wife."²

Now this deed exhibits, I think, the church of Haughmond as a Priory, and so in an intermediate state between the previous hermitage and the subsequent Abbey. As no other charter to Haughmond has so obvious an appearance of being a grant to a Priory, we have thus far justified our selection of this as the earliest of its charters.

The difficulty of dating this charter is not so great as its very brief testing-clause would promise. The grantor was a "youth,"³ and became an exile from Shropshire in 1138. He is not heard of at any earlier period than the close of Henry I.'s, or beginning of Stephen's reign. To that period (1130—8) I therefore assign the deed. With this agrees all that can be ascertained of the two witnesses; e.g., Walter Fitz-Alan had no feoffment in his brother's barony till after 1135. In 1141 he appears as an active partisan of the Empress. He died in 1177. Christiana, the wife of William Fitz-Alan, was a niece of the Earl of Gloucester. The latter was the eldest of Henry I.'s illegitimate children. It is not probable that he should have had a marriageable niece much before 1135. At the same time Fitz-Alan must have been married at least as early as 1136, for in August, 1138, he was father of more than one child by this wife, of whom we are speaking.

There is another very early grant by William Fitz-Alan to Haughmond. It does not speak of the church either as a priory or an abbey, but I cannot help looking on this charter as nearly coeval with the last. "William Fitz-Alan with his wife, Dame Christiana, give to God and to the Church of St. John of Hamon, and to the Canons there serving God, two carucates of their own demesne (*de proprio nostro fundo*) of Hales" (Sheriff Hales): they give the same "for support of the Canons' necessities, in perpetual alms, for the remission of the grantors' sins and the souls' redemption of their parents and ancestors, and specially for the soul of their son Alan, whose body they had bestowed in burial there" (at Haughmond).⁴

² Chartulary, fol. 168, tit. Preston.

³ Orderic calls him so, but the expression must be construed with some

latitude. Fitz-Alan was upwards of thirty years of age in 1138.

⁴ Chartulary, fol. 53. The land given

The next charter which I shall cite is one of which the date can be proved within a year, almost within a month, but it does not inform us whether Haughmond was as yet an abbey, or only a priory.

"Matilda the Empress, daughter of King Henry, and Lady of the English, addressing the Bishop of Chester and others, informs them that she has given to God and to Saint John the Evangelist of Haghmon, and to the Canons Regular there serving God, three carucates of land in Walecote, with the men and all things belonging, with soch, and sach, and thol, and infangetheof, for the remission of her sins. This charter is attested by David King of Scots, R. (Robert) Bishop of London, A. (Alexander) Bishop of Lincoln, W. (William) the Chancellor, R. (Richard) de Belmes Archdeacon (of Middlesex), Rainald Earl of Cornwall, W. (William) Fitz-Alan, and W. (Walter) his brother, and Alan de Dunstonvill. At Oxenford."⁵ This Deed passed in June or July, 1141,⁶ and so during Stephen's imprisonment and the temporary ascendancy of the Empress.

Another grant of the Empress to Haughmond I can say little of. It was of Walcot Mill, and was attested by Robert Fitz Heldeber, Walter Fitz-Alan and Nigel de Brac. The infamy of the first witness happens to furnish us with the proximate date of this charter. It must have passed before 1144, when Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, having betrayed the interests of the Empress to Stephen and the Bishop of Winchester, and being tainted with the further crimes of adultery and sacrilege, expired by the same horrible death which is recorded as the judgment of Heaven on Herod Agrippa.

was Cuttesson, then a member of Sheriff Hales. The forms of expression used in this Charter are more antiquated than in many other deeds of William Fitz-Alan. Two of the witnesses, viz., Roger Fitz-Siward, and Gluric the priest (Sacerdos), do not appear in any other or presumptively later deed hitherto seen by me. The other witnesses are John le Strange and Marescote, whose feoffments in Shropshire, were later than 1135. Marescote, unless this deed be the exception, does not appear till after Fitz-Alan's restoration in 1155. John le Strange held, however, a fee in Norfolk under Fitz-Alan, which was apparently of old feoffment, i.e. granted to him or his ancestors before 1135. However, the early history of the Stranges is itself too

great a problem to allow of its yielding any facts for the clearance of other difficulties. I would only advise enquirers to suspect former statements on that subject—Dugdale's especially.

⁵ Chartulary, fol. 220, collated with Harl. MS. 2188, fol. 123.

⁶ Robert de Sigillo, Bishop of London, was so appointed by the Empress in June, 1141, when she visited the Metropolis. From London she and King David went to Oxford, thence to Gloucestershire, and back to Oxford, where they are known to have been on July 25. On August 2nd, they had invested Winchester. Thence, after their disastrous defeat, King David fled to Scotland. He never saw his niece afterwards.

There was a charter of King Stephen to Haughmond, in which, addressing the Bishop of Chester, he gives three carucates and the mill of Walcote, as if his own original gift, and without any reference to the Empress' previous charters.⁷ This was the usual course pursued by these great antagonists. It is again to be noted in this charter, that the grantees are described only as the "Canons Regular of Haghmon." Another early grant to Haughmond is by Walcheline de Maminot, a noted partisan of the Empress, and who early in Stephen's reign succeeded, in what way is not known, to a share of the Shropshire Barony of the Peverels. This charter is to the "Church of St. John of Haghmon," to which it conveys the Mill of Bradeforde,⁸ then involved in the Manor of High Ercall. It is attested by Roger Fitz Warin and Fulk, his brother, whom I believe to have been tenants of the Peverels at Whittington. This deed passed before the year 1147, as we know from the concurrent act of William Peverel of Dover, at that time a Coparcener in the Peverel estates. William Peverell's grant, the original of which still exists,⁹ is verbally to "St. John and the Canons of Haiman." Its date, as well as the date of Walcheline Maminot's deed (to which it refers), is fixed as in or before 1147, for William Peverel went on the crusade of that year, and perished therein.

"Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou," confirmed his mother's donation to Haughmond, according to her charter. The prince was at Leicester, and William Fitz-Alan attests his Deed.¹ It can be dated almost to a day, and so is not only a fact for history, but a monument of Fitz-Alan's constancy. The prince attained the titles which he uses in 1151 and 1152. On January 6, 1153, he landed in England to fight for his crown. He was at Leicester on June 7, at Warwick on June 12, and on August 18 entered on that pacification with Stephen which at length ended in his leaving England about Easter 1154. In eight months he returned, not however as Duke of Normandy only, but as Stephen's successor on the throne.

In 1155, the Haughmond Chartulary supplies us with

⁷ Chartulary, fol. 221. Stephen calls Walcote a member of *his* manor of Welinton.

⁸ Chartulary, fol. 39.

⁹ In possession of Mr. George Morris

of Shrewsbury. It is printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. v., p. 175.

¹ Chartulary, fol. 220 b.

another interesting circumstance and its date. In the beginning of July a great council of the nation had been summoned to Bridgnorth to settle the terms of the king's peace with Hugh de Mortimer, hitherto in rebellion. William Fitz-Alan now no longer an exile, had restitution of his lands and honours from the king. On the 25th of July, the day on which he took the homage of his tenants at Bridgnorth, and in presence of a great concourse of barons and knights, Fitz-Alan gave the church of Wroxeter to the Abbot and Canons of Hageman in perpetual alms, for the well-being of the Lord the King, and the souls'-health of himself, his ancestors and successors.²

At Michaelmas, 1156, the same William Fitz-Alan, as Sheriff of Shropshire, discharges his account of the *ferm* of the king's demesnes of a sum of 3*l.* 11*d.* 4*s.* It was for "land given to the *Abbot* of Hageman;"³ and we know from later records that this sum represented the annual revenue arising from those grants in Walcote which the Empress had made long before.

Between his restoration and his death, which happened about Easter, 1160, William Fitz-Alan made and encouraged various other grants to Haughmond Abbey. He gave them land at Downton, Marscot, his tenant there, acceding, and also Isabel (Fitz-Alan's wife) to whose dowry the premises belonged. He gave them the Mill of Upton, with half a virgate of land, and the islands belonging thereto, which grant only appears on the chartulary as if originally made by his son, which it was not.

He gave them the land of Pipinginges (in Sussex) with a right of such common-pasture in the neighbouring vill of Stokes, as had been enjoyed by Avelina, his mother. This grant he made while Ingenulf was Abbot of Haughmond, and before he (Fitz-Alan) had enfeoffed his brother Walter

² Some of these particulars are taken from two curious certificates of John le Strange and Roger de Powis, who (perhaps in consequence of some question as to the Abbot's title to Wroxeter Church) were called upon to state their recollection of the grant, some years, apparently, after the grantor's death. The original of Roger de Powis's certificate is in the possession of Mr. George Morris of Shrewsbury.

The grant by William Fitz-Alan, as preserved in the Chartulary, is a most

curious document, but too long for insertion here. I should state, however, that he gives Wroxeter Church to his Canons (Canonicis meis de Haghamon) "to increase their number, so that they may thenceforth have a full convent." He also stipulates certain conditions which the "Abbot of Haghamon" is to observe. Here, therefore, we have not only the first assurance of Haughmond having become an Abbey, but also a specific assertion of its previous lowly condition.

³ Rot. Pip., 2 Hen. II. Salop.

in Stokes. He gave them the church of Stokes with consent of his wife, Isabella.

He gave them half a salt-pit in South-Wich (Cheshire), a grant afterwards, it would seem, increased by his son, but again without reference to the previous gift of the father.

He further encouraged and confirmed several grants of his tenants, viz., of Hamole Strange in Naginton; of Gilbert de Hadnall in Hardwick; of Osbert de Hopton and others in Hopley; of Alan Fitz Oliver and others in Sundorn, and of Roger Fitz Hunald in Ree.⁴

I have said that William Fitz-Alan died about Easter, 1160. By his first wife, Christiana, he left no surviving male issue, but by his second wife, Isabel de Say, Baroness of Clun, whom he seems to have married about 1153-4, he left a son, William, an infant, whose minority seems to have expired about June, 1175.

It was during this minority that King Henry II., at request of Alured, Abbot of Haughmond, who seems to have sometime been the king's tutor,⁵ granted to William Fitz-Alan and his heirs, custody of the abbey and its possessions in all future vacancies; and this notwithstanding any grants which had been, or might be made, by the king or his heirs to the said abbey.⁶

This was in effect a cession of the right of patronage by the king to the youthful heir of the founder of Haughmond. The Deed passed unquestionably either between 1163 and 1166, or else in 1170.⁷ The favour thus granted at petition of Abbot Alured, rather than of Fitz-Alan, is curiously consistent with the known minority of the latter.

Another charter remains on the abbey register, which requires a few remarks, inasmuch as its expressions are such as to render it easily mistaken for the Foundation Charter. It is entitled, "*De Sede et Loco Abbathie ibidem*," and, in fact, conveys the site and precinct of the church,

⁴ Chartulary, passim: and Harl. MS. 2188, fol. 123.

⁵ *Ad preces Aluredi Abbatis de Haghmon, nutritii mei.*

⁶ Monasticon, vi., 108, III.

⁷ The Deed passed at Woodstock and purports to have been tested by Geoffrey, "Archbishop of Canterbury" (a person who never existed) and Richard de Camville. The first witness, whose title I have seen similarly misrepresented elsewhere, was Geoffrey Ridel, *Archdeacon* of Can-

terbury, so appointed in 1163, and who was elected Bishop of Ely in 1173.

A grant of land which the King made coterminously to Haghmond has the two witnesses rightly described (Chartulary, fol. 132). It also is dated at Woodstock, and it received the Papal Confirmation in May, 1172. These facts, when combined with the known movements of the King, limit the date of both deeds as stated in the text.

with all appurtenances, to the canons.^s This is done without any reference to a previous grant thereof. The charter is, however, by the second William Fitz-Alan, and so is really only a charter of confirmation. I could quote several other charters of the same baron, which have similar delusive appearance, but avoiding a matter of such detail, I will merely say that this deed passed positively between the years 1175 and 1196, probably towards the close of that period.

Summarily then we conclude the Augustine House of Haughmond to have been founded as a priory between 1130 and 1138, to have grown into an abbey in or before 1155, and that its founder in all respects was the first William Fitz-Alan; that its other benefactors, during the life of the founder, were the Empress Matilda, King Henry II., Wacheline Maminot, William Peverel of Dover, and several of the founder's tenants. We need not include Stephen, whose grant was either an act of usurpation, or a piece of mimic piety; but we must add the names of Randolph de Gernons, Earl of Chester, who was poisoned by the partisans of Stephen in December, 1153, and of Walter Durdent, Bishop of Chester, who died in 1159.

The foundation of Haughmond was therefore associated with a distinct political creed, for those whom I have named were, for the most part, either the representatives or champions of that cause of legitimacy which was at issue during the twenty years that followed the death of Henry I. All or nearly all were sufferers either from the eminence of their position, or the greater loftiness of their principles. Thus out of calamities such as Shropshire has never again experienced, were elicited at least two beneficial results—the increase of its religious establishments, and the triumph of those hereditary rights which it has ever since venerated as divine.

^s Printed *Monasticon*, vi., 108, No. II.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT
AND NUBIA.

BY A. HENRY RHIND, F.S.A., LOND. AND SCOT.

So valuable have been the results derived by modern investigation of the Monuments of Egypt, that it may not be uninteresting to be reminded of the present condition of remains which have occupied so prominent a place in the field of antiquarian research. For my own part, although prepared to find the evidence of the vicissitudes through which they have passed, and of the neglect or destructive cupidity of the Egyptian government, so strongly deprecated as well in official documents¹ as by personal remonstrance, still I did not expect the reality which on actual inspection is so painfully apparent. Accustomed as we are in Britain to the desecration and destruction of memorials of the past, there is a lower depth of degradation reserved for the monuments of the ancient Pharaohs—a degradation rendered more intense by the noble aspect of the structures themselves, and by the importance of the facts to be deduced from them. Already, in remote ages, they had suffered from the violence of invading conquerors, and the zeal of iconoclasts whose chisels made sad havoc on the sculptured walls; but much of the sense of indignity which their present appearance suggests, arises from the circumstance that the original character which most of the religious edifices, at least, possessed, as centres of population, descended as was natural, after they themselves had ceased to be venerated, and in many cases even to the present day. Hence it is that, except in those instances where the sand of the desert has done its work unaided, the temples are often choked up or encumbered by the débris of dwellings, which gradually encroaching on their precincts, had been built in and upon them. And hence it is, as no attempt has in recent times been made to rescue them from similar inroads, that ruins of

¹ Dr. Bowring's Parliamentary Report on Egypt and Candia.

extraordinary interest and magnificence are devoted to the vile purposes of a Fellah village. Thus, at Edfoo, a small colony of men and cattle is established on the top of the half-buried temple, after Dendera, the most perfect in Egypt, and foul streams of manure trickle down its decorated walls. So in like manner at Luxor, squalid hovels are huddled round the splendid columns, many of which cannot be approached at all, and many only by penetrating the filthy intricacies of those miserable dwellings. Nor is this by any means an unusual state of things.

The grandest remains of all, however, those at Karnak, have happily escaped a fate so degrading as a matter of sentiment, and so detrimental as a matter of fact. But even they have not been left quietly to the dealings of the hand of time, and they have suffered from the paltry rapaciousness of government officials, who sought there, as it was their habit to seek too often in similar monuments, materials for building some public work, or for burning into lime. In fact, to such a pitch had this species of spoliation arrived some years ago, that, besides other indications of dissatisfaction, several gentlemen of influence addressed remonstrances on the subject to the then Viceroy, Mohammed Ali. The result was a promise from the Pacha that a different course would be pursued, and, as I am informed, a standing order in consonance with this promise was issued and exists. This, however, has not been strictly attended to; and it has happened oftener than once that government quarrymen have only been deprived of their prey by subsequent representation to the higher powers. I have not heard that they have of late injured the ruins to any great extent, but it is hinted that this is as much owing to the absence of any demand for building materials, as from a desire to abide by the prohibitory ordinance. At all events, in the best point of view, the conduct of the government with respect to the monuments is simply passive; for they may be appropriated by the Fellahs as cattle-pens or pigeon-cotes,—in fact abused or mutilated in every way not even short of actual demolition, without apparently the slightest interference.

The temples in Nubia are similarly circumstanced to those of Egypt. In like manner some are embedded in mud-built hovels, some nearly overwhelmed by the drifting sand, and even some of those excavated in the rock are partially filled

up by the restless activity of the same agent. The entrance to Abou Simbel which was cleared about thirty years ago, is particularly exposed to obstruction, and once more is nearly blocked up. With this exception, that wonderful memorial of the ancient religion is in excellent condition, and would not leave much to be desired were it not for the abominable practices of travellers which have so constantly excited indignation.

It will not, of course, be supposed—and the numerous illustrated works which are everywhere met with, would, without any allusion here, counteract the impression—that many of the ruins on the Nile are not singularly perfect considering their great antiquity, and strikingly noble notwithstanding the disadvantages with which they have to contend. Their substantial workmanship has stoutly defied the influence of three thousand years in a climate whose exquisite equality has rendered resistance more simple; their massive proportions cannot easily be degraded even by the closest contact with the degenerate products of modern misery; and they rise up grand and imposing amid surrounding desolation or among the puny parasites that cluster around them. With respect, also, to some of those of which this may be said, it is perhaps often the case that as regards picturesque effect they sacrifice little by being partially buried and encumbered by masses of débris. But scenic interest is a small part of the character of vestiges so intimately bound up with all that concerns the early history of human civilisation, and which have for that very reason been subjected to such sustained scrutiny. Still, notwithstanding the fruits of this investigation; notwithstanding the earnestness with which they are desired; notwithstanding the vigorous pursuit implied by the despatch of four or five national expeditions, no one ruin of constructive architecture, save that at Dendera, whether in Egypt or Nubia, has been thoroughly cleared of rubbish: nor, with the additional exception of Mohammed Ali having caused the portico of the Temple of Esneh to be excavated during one of his visits, has any attempt deserving of notice been made beyond partial explorations at points of interest. No doubt the labour of disclosing the whole of huge temples to their foundations, which might be productive of general instruction and gratification, rather than of any specific discovery of commensurate brilliancy, could not

reasonably be expected from unaided private enthusiasm, and is, from its nature and magnitude, an undertaking which, did the country possess an enlightened government, could only be looked for from it. Certainly it was a work not sufficiently inviting, beyond the compass of their resources, and savouring far too much of the principle *vos non vobis* to recommend itself to the scientific commissions who had museums to fill at home, and were laudably ambitious to secure a higher and less barren fame.

With regard to the tombs, which are so valuable from presenting in infinite diversity the various phases of life, manners, and religious belief, their nature—being excavated in the living rock—has preserved them in a great measure from the chance of being gradually dismembered and utterly swept away like structural buildings. But although it is true their chambers and passages deep in the sides of limestone mountains may last to the end of time, these may still be but as the shadow when the substance is gone; for the more perishable decorations on the walls, which may be regarded as the latter, enjoy no similar immunity. In fact, the deterioration which they have experienced, even of late years, is alarmingly considerable, as they manifestly show, and as I have been assured by those familiar with them at the period when a voyage up the Nile was only undertaken by the zealous few, and who have seen what they are to-day. In certain instances, a good deal of this is owing to dust and other impurities arising from some of the tombs, being, as many were centuries ago, inhabited, or at all events occupied as lumber-stores attached to mud-dwellings in front. For example, one of the most remarkable, that known as the Brickmakers', at Goorneh, where scenes of the most interesting description illustrative of arts and customs are depicted with great precision, is in this condition, and is likewise a nursery for tame pigeons, which resent intrusion by fluttering from side to side, and charging the atmosphere with impalpable dust.² That under these circumstances the paintings on the walls should grow dim is not surprising; and it may be anticipated with regret, that a continuance of this state of things will render them at no distant date hopelessly obscure.

² Dr. Robinson found this same tomb filled with an Arab family and their

cattle. Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c. Vol. i., p. 543.

The splendid Sepulchres of the Kings, situated in a mountain gorge, are not, from their sequestered position, liable to this sort of treatment, but in them as everywhere—in temples as in tombs—the grand enemy of the sculptures has been the very reputation which demonstrates their value. Unlike the usual course, where increasing interest in any object is followed by increasing care, notoriety has in their case been the death-knell of some and the curse of all. It has been their fortune that hosts of the visitors attracted by their fame, instead of bestowing upon them the cheap tribute of respect, have left traces not unworthy of the followers of Attila or of Genseric. Apart from the violation of good taste, the amount of damage which has been inflicted in this manner can scarcely be believed. Whole tableaux previously uninjured either in outline or in colour, have been sacrificed in the attempt to chip out, perhaps, the head of a figure that excited an ignorant acquisitive desire; elaborate inscriptions have been ruthlessly mutilated to gain possession of one or two of the characters; while here and there are to be found examples of that species of vulgar humour akin to idiotcy, which exhibits itself in irremediably spoiling a historical document or a work of art, for the sake of producing some grotesque effect. But the most glaring offence arises from the pains which so many have taken to secure lasting ridicule for themselves, by scrawling or chiselling their names in the very midst of the sculptures. So often has this silly and hateful practice been reprobated, that I had no intention to allude to it; only, as a part of the *present* state of matters which I have ventured to describe, I am compelled to say, with regret, that up to this hour a few names seem to be added in equally objectionable positions to those which already excite derision or contempt. While leaving on ruins so distant a record of their visit that might possibly be their only epitaph, it did not probably occur to men like Bruce and Belzoni to what a disastrous extent it might be in the power of followers to copy their example without the slightest exercise of discretion. It is humiliating, however, to find a scientific body quite recently countenancing this modern folly, by disfiguring the Great Pyramid at Gizeh, and inserting above its entrance, under the sanction of the classical title *proskunéma*, a slab with their names, inscribed to the honour of a northern king, who, among other pedantic and equally appropriate

hieroglyphical epithets, is designated "the Favourite of Wisdom and History."

In connection with this subject it is impossible not to notice the mode of action pursued by some of the scientific expeditions, and particularly by that from Prussia, under Dr. Lepsius, which spent three years in the country from 1842 to 1845. Everywhere this body made free use of the hammer and the crowbar; and if half the absent groups in tombs and temples, whose removal is attributed to Dr. Lepsius, were carried off by him, he certainly dealt with the monuments with no sparing hand.

It is of course evident that there can be no fixed rule by which to test the propriety of dismantling ancient ruins and transporting the excised fragments to other lands. What in one case would be highly meritorious, would in another be equally reprehensible, the peculiar circumstances of each being the turning-point. Hence an investigator professing to act in the interests of science can only be guided by a sound discretion. That in the exercise of this discretion Dr. Lepsius saw good grounds for some of his proceedings, may unfortunately be very true; but there certainly is room for a grave difference of opinion with regard to some of his more prominent operations. Take for instance the most magnificent tomb in Egypt, Belzoni's, where, finding every column standing, and the whole in general good order, he overthrew one to secure a portion of it, leaving the remaining half crumbling on the floor. Many, we apprehend, would not undertake to defend the decision of Champollion, who, twenty years before, cut away one or two slabs from the same sepulchre; and certainly the act contrasts most unfavourably with the right feeling and considerate care of another distinguished archæologist, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and his fellow-workers, who, about the same time, laboriously examined and sketched the figures on the walls by the light of wax candles, rather than injure the paintings with the smoke of torches.

But not only are the dilapidations by Dr. Lepsius of a more violent character, they were accomplished under a very different order of things. They were executed after numerous visitors from all countries had begun to visit Egypt chiefly for the sake of those monuments which he was helping to destroy, and at a time when, by increasing facilities

of communication, a voyage up the Nile was becoming a matter of so easy achievement, that in such a point of view to bring the ruins piecemeal to Europe might be deemed as advisable as to break off the mouldings from some remarkable gothic edifice in Germany, and deposit them in London or Paris. Nor is it enough to say that the sculptures which Dr. Lepsius removed at such a sacrifice, might have been scribbled over or otherwise ruined by successors like those I have before alluded to. For, first, the alternative was no inevitable sequence ; second, in so far as the general aspect of the monuments themselves is concerned, it is of little consequence whether they are mutilated by the crowbars of a scientific commission, or by less learned chisels ; and finally since the skill of the draughtsman and modeller has attained such excellence, the presence in our museums of the actual blocks hewn by the old workmen, is not so indispensable for purposes of scientific research, that whole buildings of matchless interest must be irremediably defaced to procure them, and that they should be deprived of the chance, probably every year now becoming less remote, of being preserved in their original and peculiar positions where their value would be tenfold greater. Neither should it be forgotten that this sort of authoritative demolition, by declaring *ipso facto*, that the ruins are delivered over to perdition, must have largely tended to encourage the destructive faculties of succeeding visitors, and to countenance the wanton carelessness of others. It also ought to be remembered that, formerly, when Mohammed Ali was urged to save the antiquities, he retaliated by saying, "How can I do so, and why should you ask me, since Europeans themselves are their chief enemies?" And thus, although one well-known investigator before named, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, could and did intercede for them with, as we have already seen from his own conduct, the best title to be heard, another, Champollion, who was also particularly pressing in his solicitations, certainly assumed a curiously inconsistent position when he besought³ the Pacha to cherish with religious care those very memorials which he himself had just returned from despoiling.

These considerations seem to show that the propriety of the course pursued by Professor Lepsius was at least highly

³ Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie.—Appendix.

questionable. It is to be hoped that he saw other reasons which were adequate in themselves and sufficient to satisfy his judgment; for certainly if he were actuated by no higher motive than to bring home tangible fruits of his mission to fill new galleries at Berlin, his well-earned fame and the liberality of his government in sending forth the expedition will not shelter both from the charge of unjustifiable spoliation. His proceedings have frequently been censured severely, and they have sometimes most unfairly been attributed to personal objects. To accusations of this nature, as unjust as they were invidious, he has thought it necessary to allude by repeating that "we made the selection of the monuments not for ourselves, but, commissioned by our government, for the Royal Museum, therefore for the benefit of science and a public eager after knowledge."⁴ Yet this alone would not be enough; the end, we know, cannot always justify the means; and where would this reasoning lead? Antiquarian collections are no doubt admirable institutions, and so rare is it to see any overweening zeal displayed in their management, that no reasonable man would think of squeamishly conjuring up obstacles to their progress. But there are certain limits to their field of operation; and were they to be conducted on principles of refined cupidity akin to those which stimulated Aurelian, as some allege, to sack Palmyra for the purpose of seizing the works of art within its walls, or induced Napoleon to dismantle St. Mark's—were their stores to be augmented at the cost of dilapidating ancient structures in every quarter, without due reference to the circumstances or conditions which might render that course desirable in itself or otherwise,—then we should have seed capable of producing all the fruit of a fresh barbaric irruption, and the world might one day be startled by enormities as glaring as the despatch of an expedition to treat for the removal of the Fountain of Lions from the Alhambra, or to subsidise the Neapolitan government for permission to quarry out the choicest vestiges of Pompeii.

Six hundred and fifty years ago a traveller in Egypt, Abd-el-Lateef, condemning by arguments drawn from reason and philosophy, the ravages which had already commenced, deplores that, while "in former times the kings watched

⁴ Letters from Egypt and Ethiopia. Note p. 41. Horner's Translation.

with care over the preservation of these precious remains of the past, in these days the reins have been cast loose to men, and nobody has troubled himself to repress their caprices."⁵ Of the present century this, as we have seen, could be said as truly as of the XIIIth, with the unfortunate addition, that the rulers were now to be regarded as the most dangerous, because the most sweeping and persevering, delinquents, and that too, unhappily, at a time when the progress of scientific discovery was imparting fresh value to the doomed vestiges, and calling more loudly for their conservation. But this would hardly influence in any great degree a semi-barbarous despotism; and under such a government, careless, yet rapacious, lavish, yet niggardly—served by employés corrupt as those in the East proverbially are, even the medium course of quiescent toleration was little likely to prevail if directly opposed to the fancied exigences of a grasping self-interest. Many have probably heard of the havoc committed, not earlier than the present generation, by vice-regal authority or consent; and for those who may desire minuter information on the subject, an energetic writer has drawn up a long catalogue of the misdeeds of Mohammed Ali,⁶ with a zeal which cannot be disputed, but with a bitter censoriousness almost indicative of personal resentment.

A mere cessation, if such be really the case—a mere cessation of these wholesale *razzias* is no doubt an important gain, still the monuments, as has been pointed out, suffer from so many other quarters, that no languid supineness would do much more than protract their deterioration, if not destruction. But surely these noble relics are not to perish so miserably just as they are becoming at once more accessible, better understood, and more generally attractive. Every day brings Egypt, so to say, further within the circle of European nations, and more within the influence of that feeling with which those heirlooms of primeval skill are there universally regarded. Yet I fear it will be vain to hope for spontaneous active supervision on the part of the native government, although the organisation of its inferior departments would afford extraordinary facilities for the work at the most trifling expense. If, however, this were ever undertaken before it is too late, whether under the present

⁵ Relation de l'Egypte, trad. par S. de Sacy, p. 195.

⁶ Gliddon's Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe. 1841.

tottering régime, or after great political and territorial changes foreseen on all sides shall have occurred—and especially if by judicious exertions the principal ruins were cleared and exhibited to fair advantage, there would be saved for future ages a heritage such as neither they nor we would willingly lose. And it is perhaps not unworthy of notice that, in the position of affairs, a request from the British or French Government to the Porte, and its vassal the Viceroy, would scarcely be neglected. Nor would it be an ignoble use of the paramount influence in the East which the stirring events of the period have given to the Western States, were they to stretch out a hand to preserve for the admiration of generations to come, the remnants of the greatness of a people to whom are traced the germs of our higher civilisation.

Original Documents.

REGULATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE OFFICE OF ARMS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

FROM A TRANSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
AT SYON HOUSE.

THE following documents, connected with the functions of the officers of arms, in the XVIth century, and the high position which they occupied in all matters of state and ceremony, have been preserved in the library of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. They are here printed through his kind permission. The oath taken by Heralds at the time of their creation has been given by Weever¹ and other writers, but the form as preserved in the MS. at Syon appears to be of earlier date than those hitherto printed, to some of which it is for the most part similar. The inauguration oaths used in 1685-6, at the creation of Sir Henry St. George, Garter, John Dugdale, Norroy, and other officers of arms, closely resemble the form given by Weever, and printed from Philipot in the "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. i. p. 159. The very brief oath used in more recent times may be found in the "Repertory," vol. iii. p. 375, where it is given from Vincent's Collections, preserved at the Heralds' College.²

The draught of the order "for the welthe and quyetnes of th'office of Armes" has not, so far as we can ascertain, been printed or even noticed by any of the writers on the subject. We are disposed to attribute it to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king of arms in the reign of Henry VIII. He made large collections and wrote much himself on all matters connected with his official functions; and on his death, in 1534, bequeathed his books to his friend, Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux, and after his life to those who should hold the office of Garter, for ever. The proposed ordinances, of which a transcript, probably contemporary, has been preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's library at Syon House, appear to have been submitted by Garter to the Earl Marshal, designated at the close of the document, "your noble grace," with the request that he should put his hand to the confirmation of such articles therein as seemed advantageous to the office, and cause the officers of arms to do likewise. If the supposition be well grounded that Wriothesley was the author of this project, it was probably submitted either to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, created Earl Marshal in 1509, or to his successor, Charles

¹ Weever, *Funerall Monuments*, p. 666.

² Compare also the oath as used at Nicholas Dethick's creation as Windsor herald, 1583, in his own account of the ceremonial, *Gent. Mag.*, November, 1836,

and given in his collections, *Ashm. MS.* 1116, p. 1. The herald's oath is also found in *Ashm. MSS.*, 846, p. 106; 857, pp. 1, 7; 1113, p. 31, and in other MS. collections.

Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The former died in 1524, and in the previous year certain orders were concluded, of which a copy may be seen amongst Ashmole's Collections, thus entitled—"At a chapter houlden at the frise of Greenwich, the 23rd of May, 15 Henry VIII., it was ordained that the ordinances insuinge should be observed by the king at armes, wherunto the then officers at armes did set the[ir] signets manuell."³

It is not however certain that the provisions "for the welthe and quyetnes" of the office of arms, proposed by Garter in the draught under consideration, were actually carried into effect. The indecorous variance which too frequently prevailed, and the intrusion of one functionary upon the province of another, had from an early time called for some wholesome discipline.

In 1568 (18 July, 10 Eliz.), orders to be observed by the officers of arms were made by the Duke of Norfolk, at that time Earl Marshal.⁴ At a subsequent period no slight prejudice having arisen from disputes, at the time when Burleigh, with Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord Hunsdon, was deputed by Elizabeth by commission for the office of Earl Marshal, the orders were set forth, in 1596, of which the titles may be seen in Noble's "*History of the College of Arms*."⁵ It will be seen that although not identical with the ordinance here given, there is so close a resemblance in many clauses, that those orders were very probably grounded on the regulations drawn out, as we have supposed, by Wriothesley. Noble has also given the heads of regulations, for the most part to the same effect, proposed by Sir William Dethick, Garter, who held that office from 1586 to 1603.⁶ The principal features of all these injunctions are moreover familiar to us through the well-known "*Discourse of the Duty and Office of an Herald of Arms*," written by Francis Thynne, in 1605.⁷

A remarkable feature of the following document consists in the evidence which it supplies of the arbitrary power exercised by the officers of arms, especially in matters connected with funeral ceremonies. In the XVth century, and the earlier part of the XVIIth, the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court appears to have been absolute in all questions concerning the office of arms or the privileges of heralds. The correspondence between the provincial deputies and the officers of arms, such as has been preserved amongst Ashmole's Collections, presents singular instances of such arbitrary jurisdiction.⁸ We find these functionaries making bitter complaint that "Gent' keepe theire buryalls secret, and are growne so miserable that they will not have an escutcheon of armes made for them;" whilst illegal hatchments or penons were pulled down, and on one occasion the ignorant arms-painter, who had intruded upon the proper functions of the heralds, suffered the loss of an ear for his presumption.⁹

³ Ashmol. MS. No. 763, f. 181, b—182, b. See Mr. Black's Catalogue, col. 377.

⁴ See transcripts of this ordinance, Ashmol. MSS., 846, p. 102, and 857, p. 22. A general chapter was held, 14 Eliz., at which statutes and orders were established by consent of all the officers of arms. Glover's draught may be seen, Ashmol. MS. 839, p. 693.

⁵ History of the College of Arms,

Appendix p. xii. The chapters enumerated are fifteen, commencing with "the scite of the house appropriated to the college of heralds," of which no mention occurs in the draught of the order by Garter, here printed.

⁶ Ibid. p. x.

⁷ Hearnes Collection of Curious Discourses, vol. i., p. 153.

⁸ Ashmol. MS. 836, f. 171, &c.

⁹ The following documents are here

THE OTHES OF HERAULDES.¹

(Syon MS., fol. 17.)

Furste, ye schall sweyre to our Suffraigne Lorde the Kyng, that made you of the Ordre of Heraude in his exelent (*sic*) presence, and to be trewe in all maner poyntes. And if ye here ony maner Language or ony other thynges that sholde towch treason to His Highe and exelent personne or other wise in ony poyntes, as God defende, ye shall discover hit to his highe and exellent parsonne, or to his noble and discrete Cowncell. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be servysable and Secret in all poyntes, except Treasone, and obediense to all knighthode and gentilnes to Lordes and Ladies, and to all gentilmen and gentilwomen, and as a Confessour of Armes, and Cawse, and Conceill to all them trowthe, worschippe, and vertewe, in that you² in you is (*sic*). So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be trewe of all your repourtes, And diligent to seke wourshippe and desire to be in place ther greate Semble of prynces and pryncessis, Lordes, Ladies, and Estates of great worshippe, wher through ye may have connyng to reporte to youre prynce or pryncesse or other astates such wurshippe as is Occupied ther. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall promyse in Case that fortune fall ye to mete ony gentilman of name and of Armes, that hath loste his goodes in our Suffraigne Lorde Service or in ony other place of wurshiipe, if he requyred you of youre goode to his Sustenance, ye shall gyve or Leande hym to your powre. So helpe you Gode and Holydome.³

Item, if Case fall that ye be in ony place that ye here ony language betwene gentilman and gentilman that sholde towche ony stryfe or debate betwene them twoo, and after that ye be send for to come befor our Suffraigne Prince, Lorde, or Juge, to beyr a witnes of the forsaide langage (*sic*), ye shall kepe your mowth close and beyre no witnes withoute leave of both parties. And with their leave ye shall say the Trewth, and leyt neyther for love nor drede. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be serviseable and trew to all wydowes and Maydens of their Supportes in all wurshippe and conceill to all vertewes. And if ony man wuld diswurshiipe or fource them other in ony maner, or otherwise take

printed *in extenso*. The words—the, their, that, &c., being sometimes so written, sometimes—ye, &c., have been printed uniformly with th. The volume of miscellaneous collections in which these transcripts occur comprises various contemporary draughts, ceremonials, &c., chiefly relating to the sixteenth century. Amongst these are certain notices of Scottish affairs, which, by the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, have been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

¹ Weever, *Fun. Mon.*, p. 666, printed "The Oath of the Herald at the time of his creation before his Sovereigne," for

the most part similar to this but not identical with it, and the language in which it is expressed seems of a more recent time.

² Compare the expression *infra*,—"in all that in you is." Possibly these words were written by the first hand "y^e in you is."

³ This pledge of a generosity, worthy of the most vaunted days of chivalry, does not occur in the later formula of the herald's oath; in that printed by Weever the promise is thus qualified, "Ye shall give him part of such good as God hath sent you, to your power, and as you may leare." *Fun. Mon.* p. 667.

from them their goodes against the Lawe of God and of al gentylnes, yf they requyre you of your goode Supportacion ye shall diligently and trewly certifie it to your Suffraigne Lorde, Prynce, or Lorde, or Judge, to helpe them that they may have right in all that in you is, as the Matter requyrithe. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall promesse to your powre to forsake all vyces and take you to all vertewes. And to be no commen gooar to Tavernes wich mighte cawse onvertewouse and oncleane langage. And that ye be no dyse Playar nor Hasardar. And that ye flee places of debate and onhonest places. And the Company of whomen onhoneste. This Articles and other abovesaide ye sweyre trewly to kepe with all your myghte and power. So helpe you God and Holydome.⁴

THORDER DRAWEN AND MADE BY GARTIER KYNG OF ARMES OF ALL YNGLOND
FOR THE WELTHE AND QUYETNES OF THOFFICE OF ARMES.

(Syon MS., fol. 24.)

Furst, Where thoffycers of Armes of this Noble Realme of Englonde afor this tyme have ben had in greate Estymacion, and reputid the most experte and most approvyd persons in knowledge of all thinges aparynyng to nobilitie, above all other officers of strange reaulmes, And so have contynued and have bene suffyciently mayntenyd by many yeres in the tyme of dyverse famous and noble kynges and prynces, Wich officers of armes both of utilite and Necessitie be requysite to be had, both for ording of armes and Crestis, Connysancis and devicis, Regestryng of Pedegrewis and recordyng of marciall actis and valiante dedis, achewide by persons of Nobilitie and Reynowme, The knowledge wherof can not be lightly had withowte grete study, longe contynuaunce, and daily experyense, for lernyng and exersycyng of the same, wich Lernyng and Exersice must ryse of reasone, of diligent study, serchyng of Antiquities, and of oftyne communycacion had, and assemblies of all such as be experte and playnly instruct in the featis of the said office, so that thoffice do not decay through ovr negligens, that we may reforme ovr selfis, doyng ovr dewties to god and to ovr Suffraigne Lord the Kyngis Highnes.

Item, that we three kyngis of armes, Gartier kyng of armes over all Englonde, Clarenceux kyng of armes of the Sowth, and Norrey kyng of armes of the Northe, loke to ovr othes, that we bee sworne befor the kyngis highenes to his honour, and advauntage of this his realme, to study every day to be more cunnyng then other in thoffyce of armes, to tech every of the saide office, how they shuld doo accordyng to ovr olde ordynauncis and Rolles of the same, To have knowledge of noble gentilmens of this realme, of their Cootis, Who is moost able to serve the kyng ovr Suffraigne Lord in his warres, or otherwise, Them with their Ysewis trewly regester, all such armes as they beyre, with their

⁴ This clause, as given in Weever, ends thus.—“So God you helpe and holydome, and by this Booke, and Crosse of this sword, that belongeth to Knighthood.” Fun. Mon. p. 667. Amongst the ne-

cessaries there enumerated for the creation of a herald, are, a book, whereon he must take his oath, a drawn sword, collar of SS., a bowl of wine, to pour over his head, &c.

- differentis dewe in armys to be gevyne, and their servisse that they owe by their tenour to the kyngre our Suffraigne Lorde.
- Item, the saide kingis of armes to kepe trewly their visitacions, and to teach other herauldis and pursyvauntis of all dowbtis concernyng their offyce, if they demande them so to doo, to tech them their demandis.
- Item, as oft as nede shall requyre, to kepe chapters for the reformacion and welthe of thofficers, to thencrase of Cunnyng and lernyng, and to regester all actis of honoure in maner and forme as they be doon, as farfourth as their Cunnyng and power may extende.
- Item, that Clarenceux and Norrey kyngis of armes [bring] all such patentis of armes or confirmacions and pedegrewes by them gyvyne (and visitacione *interlined*) to any parson or persons, to be seen and Regesterde after the old Custome by a certain day, in the bokys of gartier Pryncipall kyng at armes, upon payne—
- Item, that all herauldis and pureyvauntis of the Kyngis Coote, and all other Ordynary or extraordinare, or any other offyicer of armes of the Realme of Ynglond, not being of the Kyngis Coote, to kepe their order in goyng on Festyvall days according to their rowmes and awneyentye, not goyng oon at thother Heelis, but a good space on from the other at all tymes, so that it may be saide, that we kepe good order seyng we be thorderers of all other.
- Item, that every offyicer know and forbeir his awneyent feylowe to suffer hym to speyke, not to Reply ageinst hym till he have herd his reasone, And then to speyke and shew his mynd; And if that ony demande hym ony questione, to putte it to his awneyent if he be there, and that no pureyvaunte assoyle if a Herauld be there, And if a Kyng of armes be there to put it to hym to assoyle, so that no man of thoffice medle, his awneyent being present.
- Item, for all such days as they Ordynarye shuld gyve attendaunce on the kynges highenes at any festyvall day,⁵ if it be a kyng of armes, and he be absent, when the kyngis grace goith to Evensong, he shall lose of his parte to his company being there for that defaulte—xvj d. A Heraulde—viij d. And a pureyvaunte—iiij d. that shuld be their ordynarye. And if he defawte the next day, to dowble the same some, onles he be sicke or have commandment of the Kyng or his concell contrary, or els thes to stand in effect without favour of any of them of what degree so ever he be, without the cause or leytt aforsaide.
- Item, that neyther Heraulde ne Pureyvaunt of armes medle with nothyng that longith unto the kyngis of armes, without the aucthorytie of the said kyngis, that is to say, Enterementis, nor to order any armes, as quartier, or mynishe,⁶ or putt in Pale mariages, without the lycens of the Kyngis of armes, Nor crestis nor devices, nor Instruccions or Pedegrewis of⁷ any thing longying to thoffice of the forsaide Kyngis of armes, withoute theyr lafull auctorytie, upon such payne as shalbe ordyned by chapter. Nor they to have non advantage of the kyngis of

⁵ Henry VII. in the third year of his reign made an ordinance for the regular attendance of the heralds on principal feasts, councils, &c., and that on all ordinary occasions a king of arms, herald and pursuivant, should attend in rotation, according to the scheme then settled, with

certain liveries and fees. Antis, Order of the Garter, vol. i. 472.

⁶ Marks of cadency, or differences of arms, were sometimes termed diminutions.

⁷ Sic. Possibly an error of the transcriber for "Or any thing," &c.

- armes, till they be well reconsylde and know their defaultis, without their lawfull auctorytie in that behalf, They havynge auctoritie to have them entred in the Bokis of the kyngis of armes their doings from tyme to tyme trewly and according to thold ordynauncis of the saide office.
- Item, that no paynter medle with no armory of no mans puttyng to hym, Nor take upon hym to medle with burials of any maner of parson or persons, of what degre, astate, or condicion so ever they bee, without the Lycens of a kyng of armes appoyntid ; and if he doo, the kyng of armes to put the Busynes to other wurkemen till he be reconsyld ; And they to have no profyft of the saide kingis of armes handis after a Lawfull woryng.
- Item, that thofficers of armes, herauldis and pursyvauntis shall visytte all the paynters, Marblelers, glasyers, and goldsmythes, for armes not lawfull, to brynge the Trycke to the kyngis of armes ; And if he be not trew Armory, to deface them at their pannels or they goo to any place for memorye ; to thynntent they may aske counsell in so doying of Kyngis of armes and of them that have Auctoritie.
- Item, that No waxchaundlers seit or poynte any armes uppe or achementis of any parsons, till the parties have agreid with the kyng of armes, as they will have the favour of the saide kyng of armes for their profyftes in gretter caussis for ther advauntagis, and therfor to be paynede.^s
- Item, that thofficers of armes that be expert in lernyng, takyng payn in thes thinges to see them executid, shall have profytte and advantage befor them of thoffice that applieth them to no lernyng, nor in this thing aforsaide take no payne, [who ?] schall have no profytte in tyme comynyng.
- Item, that no offyicer of armes from hensforth complaynyng⁹ to any Estate or gentilman ageinst any offyicer of armes, but onely to the Compayny of the kyngis and offyicers of armes furst, The wich offyicers shall redresse the said complaynt amongst them selfis or otherwise in their Chapyter, Indifferently and equally, withowt any favour or parcyaltie, or els to complayne to therle Marshall.
- Item, that every offyicer of armes use and haunte honest placis and good compaigny ; And that they eschew all placis and parsons wich manifestly and openly be sklawnderde ; And if he be of good behaviour and maners, that he kepe hym self from shame and vicious language, and above all thingis from speykyng openly any villany in presens of the People. And in tyme conveyent that he applye hym self to reede Bokis of good maners and Eloquens, Cronyces, Actis, and gestis of honour, feattis of armes, and the proprieties of Colours, and herbis and stonys, to thynntent that they may be the more acceptable and commendable and wurthy to have preferrement to come to honour, with payn—
- Item, we wull that in every Chapter Certen dowbtis be movyd for thawgmentacion of thoffice in Seyens, and the said dowbtis, so assoyled by

^s The waxchandlers appear to have taken a leading part in ancient obsequies. Besides torches and numerous lights around the hearse, they probably were engaged in supplying the cerecloth for

the embalming. It is recorded that Elizabeth, second daughter of Henry VII., was "cered by the wax-chandler." Dart's Westm., vol. ii. p. 28.

⁹ Possibly an error for "complayn."

good deliberacion and determyned trewly, for a perpetuall memory to be regesterd, upon payne—

Item, we wyll that no man presume to take upon hym to make visitacion or to have knowledge of Certen armys of ony Estate or gentilmān, what so ever he be, in maner aforsaid, withowt the Lycens of the furst kyng of armes, or of the kyng of armes of the marches that the gentilmān is of, upon Payne—

Wherfor your said Oratour most humbly besechithe your noble grace with good deliberacion to peruse thes articles by the said gartier thus made and drawn for the quyetnes of thoffice, and after your gracis most high discreccion to put your hand to the confirmacion of such of them as your grace doith suppose concerne the welth of thoffice. And to commaunde and cawse the offycers to doo likewise to them and such other as your grace shall devyce and ordeyn.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

FEBRUARY 1, 1856.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A COMMUNICATION was received from the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, announcing their intention to form during the ensuing summer an extensive collection of Scottish Historical Portraits, and to inaugurate by such an appropriate exhibition the new galleries recently erected by Government in the structure adjoining the National Gallery at Edinburgh. For some years past a project of this nature had been under consideration; the value and interest of such an Exhibition must obviously be very great in the illustration of the History of Art, the elucidation of National history, and tend to encourage the development of an historical school of Painting in Scotland. The Academy had taken up the undertaking with energy; the project, having been submitted to the Hon. Commissioners of the Board of Manufactures, in Edinburgh, and to the Lords of H.M. Treasury, had received the entire sanction of the government. Scotland is rich in works of Art of the kind, and such a series must greatly contribute to the gratification of those who may visit Edinburgh during the meeting of the Institute. The Royal Scottish Academy expressed every desire to give furtherance to the purposes of the Institute on that occasion, and invited the co-operation of the Society in giving aid to the proposed Exhibition of Scottish Worthies, by information regarding such valuable portraits as may be preserved in private collections in England. The project has subsequently received the sanction and patronage of her Majesty, who has graciously signified her pleasure that the portraits of James III., king of Scotland, of Margaret of Denmark, and of their son, afterwards James IV., now at Hampton Court, as also the remarkable "Darnley Picture," with other Scottish portraits in the Royal collections, should be sent to Edinburgh for exhibition. The curious portrait of Queen Margaret is familiar to many of our readers through the admirable plates in Mr. Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations."

The Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE gave the following account of his recent explorations at Great Chesterford, and of a cemetery discovered in December last, adjacent to the site of the Roman station.

"The burying-ground, of which the description is subjoined, is the third cemetery of the Romans which I have examined since I first commenced excavations at Great Chesterford. Like the two before noticed, in accordance with the general custom it is placed on the outside of the walls of the town; the former ones lay to the north-east and north at nearly the same distance from the wall, while the present one is on the south, and also about two hundred yards distant, and the river Cam, in this instance, intervenes

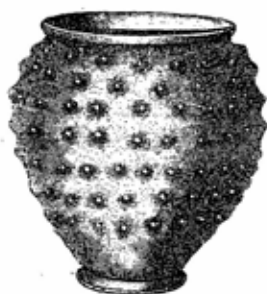
between them and it. The site is a field belonging to J. Parker Hamond, Esq., of Pampisford, to whose kindness I am indebted for permission to explore the spot. The field is skirted by the modern road from Chesterford to Ickleton, which pursues the track of the ancient way, and, deeming from this circumstance, as well as its situation on the outside of the station, that it was a likely spot to contain funeral remains, I commenced digging there on the 17th of last December. The result justified my expectations, for within twenty feet of the hedge on the side of the Ickleton road, the labourers met with vessels of Roman fictile ware, which were at once shown to be of a sepulchral character by the burnt human bones contained in the largest. Before the first day's work terminated, sixteen of them had been exhumed, and the number was increased to twenty-nine by the evening of Saturday, the 22nd. Many of these urns were entire, and most of the others have been restored from the fragments, which lay in heaps where the vessels had been originally interred. They stood apparently in groups, and as there were only seven *olla*e containing burnt bones out of twenty-four vessels, I should infer that there were no more than the same number of persons interred, which is confirmed by the nature of the accompanying urns, since they are clearly of domestic use, and buried as such with their owners; among them are four plain *patera*e of Samian ware, with potters' names—MARC. MA :—MINNA :—TITTIVS :—ANDERNI—five bottles with one handle, of white ware; one pitcher, elegant shape, of ditto; four black *pocula*; the remaining five of the twenty-nine were found in a group by the side of a small infant or very young child, and call for remark in consequence. The group consisted of one white ware bottle with one handle; one small plain Samian ware dish with ivy-leaf pattern, and, as usual, no potter's name; and three very small vessels of black ware, and similar in shape and size to those found formerly at Chesterford, with the remains of infants, which are engraved in Volume X. of this Journal, page 21. Here, then, in contradistinction to the general custom, instead of being buried in *suggrundaria* or under the eaves of the houses, we have an instance of an infant interred in the middle of adults, but still without cremation. Nor does this instance stand alone here, for on excavating the ground around, although no fresh interments by cremation were discovered, as many as twenty-five more small children were found lying separately in no regular order, and many separate from one another; one of these had another small vessel of the same type, and by another some fragments of a small glass vessel were lying; the remainder were accompanied by no deposit. The ground, it is true, contained many objects of interest, but none which I can connect immediately with those infantine remains, nor were there any traces of foundations or débris of buildings in the soil; otherwise it might have been supposed that the babies had been interred among them, as I have found them in every Roman building hitherto, or that a wall had been built as a fence to the graves of their parents, around which they had been laid, since twenty-five out of the twenty-six children were rather outside than among the mass of other burials. The soil was carefully trenched on every side, and produced several coins and two or three more fictile vessels, which are no doubt in some way connected with the interments described, or others perhaps disturbed by agricultural operations. In a small black vase, imperfect from old fracture, eight coins were found, seven of large brass, one Hadrian, two Antoninus, two Faustina sen., one Lucilla, one Commodus or Aurelius, and one illegible; the eighth, a small brass of

Tetricus nearly new, lay in the bottom of the vessel below all the others, and may be considered as near the date of the deposit; but close to this, and apparently dropped from the broken side of the pot, a base metal denarius of Gallienus, with a large brass Hadrian and Antoninus were also found, as well as a one-handed bottle of white pottery. About a score of coins were found in the course of the excavation, all third brass of the Constantine family, of Tetricus, and Valentinian, with the exception of one Carausius, a large brass of Antoninus, Trajan, and Faustina the younger: the usual amount of bone pins, iron styli, keys, one of the latter with a lute shaped top of bronze, two or three bronze spoons, and a fine bow-shaped bronze fibula, comprise the list of relics obtained. Nearly all the coins, keys, spoons, &c., have passed through the fire and suffered in consequence. I cannot conclude this account without mentioning the discovery of an entire human skeleton near the western end of the work. Near it, although not immediately close, an enormous urn of thick black ware was lying in fragments, which proved to be too much decayed to be restored. Some idea of the size will be afforded by the fact, that the diameter of the bottom was 18 inches, which would indicate the girth to have been over 4 feet, and there is no reason to doubt, from the number of fragments, that the height was proportionally great. The above particulars will enable you to form an opinion as to what connection, if any, there is between the last-mentioned human body and the Roman cemetery."

Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE communicated the following notices of Roman pottery found in Lincoln, and of a recent discovery of a small vase of peculiar ware, rarely if ever bearing the potter's mark, and in this instance stamped—CAMARO. F., a name hitherto, as we believe, not recorded.

"In excavating for the foundations of some houses in Monson Street, Lincoln, in November, 1855, a Roman cinerary urn was found, 6½ inches in height, 2½ inches at base, and 4 inches 8-10ths over top. This urn is somewhat peculiar, and differs from others in having seven rows of projecting knobs, which have been pushed out by some blunt instrument from the interior. It is of that porous light ware called Castor ware, but which is found continually at Lincoln, and was made to a great extent at the Boultham pottery, situated about a mile from Lincoln. Great quantities of fragments of the same ware was found at this pottery in 1847, from four to five feet deep, in cutting a railroad through it. The paste of which this urn is formed is light yellow approaching white, the exterior is brushed over, from the inside of the lip to the edge of the base, with a metalloid wash, composed chiefly of a small sparkling yellow mica; underneath the urn the maker's name is stamped, as fresh as if only just turned out of the potter's hand. This ware appears to have been used chiefly for drinking cups and urns of moderate size. Some are found ornamented with raised figures representing hunting scenes, animals of various kinds, and scroll patterns. All these are raised, having been first moulded and then affixed to the urn whilst the clay was wet. The figures are of the same clay as the urn, in some cases a white pattern is put on in pipe-clay slip. The glaze employed is not a true glaze, impervious to moisture, like what is seen on Samian ware, but merely a metalloid wash, sometimes brushed on, when it was intended to decorate the outside only, but generally the pieces were dipped into the liquid, covering them both inside and out. After this they were turned upside down to drain, which is the reason so many are seen with a very slight coating towards the bottom. This ware does not appear

to have undergone two firings ; the wash was put on as soon as the vessel was dry, after which they underwent a moderate firing. Some of the metalloïd colours seen on many pieces at Lincoln are very beautiful, beginning with yellow of many shades, then colours like polished steel, many shades of



Urn found in Lincoln. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.



Potter's stamp, orig. size.

brown with purple tints thereon, and lastly black. Although so many metallic tints are seen on these urns, the material from which it was made was probably obtained at Lincoln from the ochrey ferruginous stone bed, the next stratum under the lower oolite. In the ochrey bed is formed the sparkling kind of mica, ochre and iron.

"In packing the kiln the Romans were in the habit of putting the small drinking cups in the larger ones, then one on the top of the other, and so on until the kiln was filled. Thus many urns when fired appeared of the colour of polished steel, brown or black, on being taken out of the furnace ; according to the degree of heat, and the quantity of iron they received at the time of dipping, the closeness in which they were packed in another urn, or in the middle of a kiln. Those on the outside and top would assume a yellow hue, whilst the lower part, which had fitted within the rim of the one underneath, would be dark, and have more or less of the polished steel or other metalloïd tints. This is shown by a portion of an urn in my possession—a rim of clay adheres to the lower part, where it caught the edge of the urn in which it was placed. The upper part of this urn is of a brilliant yellow ; the lower part, underneath the rim of clay, is quite of a different colour, being dark with a metalloïd lustre ; the inside is the same colour as the lip of this urn, showing that another urn had been placed on it in the kiln. Near the urn, figured above, on the same level was found a *cutter*, or knife ; portions of wood are seen in the socket, it measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length from the point to end of the



socket, the blade is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; it is much corroded, a piece of the point is broken off, at which place the section of the blade is very plainly seen, showing that it had a back of considerable strength and thickness."

Mr. C. D. BEDFORD, by the permission of Henry Greaves, Esq., produced the Tutbury Horn. The Honor of Tutbury, Staffordshire, extends into the adjoining counties of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick. It

is a portion of the Duchy of Lancaster, and formed part of the Lancastrian possessions from the time of its acquisition by Edmund Crouchback, the first Earl of Lancaster, in 1266, till their conversion into a Duchy. It had previously belonged to the Earls of Derby of the family of De Ferrars. Many of our readers will recollect the mention of this Horn in Blount's Tenures, and Mr. Pegge's paper in the *Archæologia*, III., p. 1. It there appears, on the authority of a MS. formerly in the possession of Mr. St. Lo Kniveton, that, at some early period not stated, Walter Achard, or Agard, claimed to hold by inheritance the office of Escheator and Coroner through the whole of the Honor of Tutbury and the Bailiwick of Leyke; for which office he could produce no evidences, charter, or other writing, but only a white Hunter's Horn, decorated in the middle and at each end with silver gilt; to which also was affixed a girdle of black silk (*cingulum byssi nigri*), adorned with certain "*fibulæ*" of silver, in the midst of which were placed the arms of Edmund, the second son of King Henry III., according to the MS. quoted. The arms now on it are France (modern) and England quarterly with a label of three points ermine, impaling vair or vairy, for the tinctures are not given. The Horn, with the belt and appendages, is engraved in the *Archæologia*, but Mr. Pegge supposed the label to be charged with fleurs de lis. These charges are not clear, being very minute; but they more resemble ermine spots than fleurs de lis, and there was no coat, we believe, such as this would have been, if the charges were fleurs de lis. Henry Earl of Derby, son of John of Ghent, and afterwards King Henry IV., bore, in the life time of his father, France and England quarterly with a label of five points, of which two were charged with ermine spots, and three with fleurs de lis; and the same coat was borne by his son John Duke of Bedford; but these charges are all alike, and, as has been said, resemble the former more than the latter. Mr. Pegge remarks on the discrepancy between the arms mentioned in the MS. and those now on the Horn, and especially the omission of the coat vair or vairy; but if the claim were made, as is most probable, before John of Ghent became Duke of Lancaster, the shield of arms, if any, must have been different from the present, and it may have been only England with a label of France, the arms of Crouchback and the succeeding Earls of Lancaster, as they were Lords of Tutbury. Judging by its form and execution, and the three fleurs de lis for France, the present escutcheon may be referred to the beginning of the XVth century, soon after the time the Duchy and Crown were de facto vested in the same person, Henry IV. The belt is of black silk, with silver mountings, possibly as old as the escutcheon, though they appear rather later. These arms have long been a perplexing subject. They can hardly be an impalement on a marriage; for no prince of the lineage of John of Ghent, the first who bore the dexter coat, married a lady whose paternal coat was either vair or vairy.

A daughter of his by Katherine Swinford, viz., Joan Beaufort, married Robert Lord Ferrers of Wem; but, even supposing the coats to be reversed because of the lady's royal blood, this marriage will not explain these arms; for it is remarkable that, though legitimated, this lady did not use her father's coat, but Beaufort, which was France and England



quarterly within a bordure compony, as appears by her seal described in Sandford ; and Ferrers of Wem bore vairy with a lion pass. guard. in a dexter canton. Mr. Pegge suggested that a Ferrers of Tamworth may have held the above-mentioned offices by this Horn before the Agards, because a Nicholas Agard of Tutbury, who was living in 1569, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Roger Ferrers, son of Sir Thomas Ferrers of Tamworth. But, beside that this does not account for the impalement of Lancaster according to any known heraldic usage, the claim by Walter Agard must, in all probability, have been considerably earlier than 1569. The sinister coat is most likely not Ferrers of Tamworth, but that of the Earls of Derby of the family of de Ferrars, the last of whom was disinherited in 1266, and his estates, including the Honor of Tutbury, were granted to Crouchback, and the earldom granted to his grandson, Henry Earl of Lancaster, in 1337. This vairy coat occurs also on one of the seals of Tutbury Priory, which is said to have been founded in 1080 by Henry de Ferrars, an ancestor of the Earls of Derby of that name. Seeing that the escheator and coroner, who held by this Horn, was an officer under the Lord of the Honor of Tutbury, and that the Honor had gone first with the earldom, and then with the duchy of Lancaster, from 1266 till the probable date of this escutcheon, and that from 1362, and indeed earlier, the Lord of Tutbury had been Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Derby ; and since the dexter coat is without doubt that of the Duke of Lancaster, though the quarters of France had earlier been borne *semée*, it has been suggested, that these two coats may have been intended for those of the Duchy and Earldom respectively, the arms of the ancient Earls of Derby having been taken as those of the earldom, just as the arms of the first Duke of Lancaster were shortly afterwards adopted as those of the Duchy. This would seem highly probable, but that it is rare in English heraldry to find any arms referred to dignities or property instead of persons. Some indications of attempts to introduce a practice of this kind are to be met with, yet it never gained such a footing as it did in Scotland and other countries. Still, until some better explanation of these arms be given, this suggestion seems not undeserving of attention, as the escutcheon so understood might be in the nature of a badge worn by the official owner of the Horn, or regarded as the arms of the Honor of Tutbury, for there are some Honors to which arms have been attributed.

As to the devolution of the ownership of this Horn, it may be mentioned that the heiress of Agard married, we understand, in 1629 a Stanhope of Elvaston Derbyshire ; a descendant of whom sold it, with the offices, in 1753, to Samuel Foxlowe, Esq., in whose possession Mr. Pegge saw it. His son, the Rev. F. Foxlowe, by his will gave it to his widow ; and she by her will gave it to his nephew Francis Greaves, Esq., of Banner Cross, Sheffield, and Ford Hall, Chapel le Frith, now a minor. The various possessors of this interesting relic have appointed coroners and other officers. The last appointment was made a few months ago by the father of Mr. F. Greaves, and is mentioned in Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, i. p. 115.

The Rev. W. H. GUNNER gave a detailed account of the ancient library of Winchester College, and especially of books given by the founder, as recorded in the original catalogues. Mr. Gunner exhibited tracings from several singular drawings in one of the manuscripts, chiefly of an allegorical character, or moral symbolisms ; amongst them was an early map of the

world, of pointed oval form, surrounded by the ocean, Jerusalem being placed in the centre.

Mr. G. SCHARF read a memoir on the Coventry Tapestries, of which he produced an elaborately-coloured representation, which he had executed with the greatest care. After a few preliminary observations on the importance and rarity of historical tapestries, Mr. Scharf remarked that the date of the tapestry at Coventry appears to be towards the close of the XVth or early in the XVIth century. It was evidently executed for the place it still occupies, and is most probably a Flemish design, wrought at Arras, a town which gave its name to the old English designation for hangings, and is still perpetuated in Italy by the word "*Arazzi*." The compartments in this tapestry correspond precisely with the mullions of the window over the spot where it was placed, and it exactly fills the wall against which it hangs. The design is divided into six compartments, first by a horizontal line the entire length of the tapestry, and this is again intersected by two upright divisions, leaving the two central portions narrower than the outer ones. The lower central division contains the Assumption of the Virgin, attended by the twelve apostles. Angels support the figure of the Virgin, who stands upon an angel holding the crescent. In the compartment to the left a monarch kneels at a desk, on which lie a book and arched crown, and behind him stand numerous courtiers and noblemen: a cardinal kneels in front of them behind the king. On the opposite side a queen, with a coronet on her head, kneels attended by her ladies. The upper division, on the right side of the picture, is filled with female saints; the foremost are St. Katharine, St. Barbara, and St. Margaret. The corresponding division on the left side is occupied by male saints, the most prominent being St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, St. Adrian, St. Peter, and St. George. In the central compartment it is generally supposed that a personification of the Trinity was placed, for which a representation of Justice was substituted in the Puritan times; but Mr. Scharf expressed his belief, from the remaining angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, that it had been an enthroned figure of the Saviour in glory, called by the older writers a "Majesty," and as such mentioned in records of the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. This would accord with the subject of the compartment below, namely, the Assumption of the Virgin. The style of costume, and many of the accessories, clearly indicate the close of the reign of Henry VII., but the monarch represented is most probably Henry VI. In the ornamental border which surrounds the whole, large red roses are introduced, drawn heraldically as the Lancastrian badge. If relating to Henry VII., the rose would have been parti-coloured, as familiar to antiquaries on monuments of the period. In the spandril of an arch over the king's head, a red rose had been carefully introduced. No legend to afford explanations of the persons represented appears on the tapestry. The writing on the books before the king and queen, although indicated in lines and groups of letters, is not sufficiently intelligible. At the four angles, Mr. Scharf discovered labels with letters and numerals on them, but unfortunately they have been too much injured by nails and careless treatment to afford conclusive evidence. The whole work, however, is in fair preservation, and many of the colours very brilliant, especially in the draperies. Two entries relating to the tapestry have been found by Mr. Alderman Eld, of Coventry, in the guild accounts; one, dated 1519, of payment for mending the arras; the other, in 1605, of 4s. 6d., for cloth to

line the cloth of arras in St. Mary's Hall. Mr. Eld has taken great interest in the preservation of this tapestry. Mr. Scharf had been induced to make his elaborate drawing with the desire of preserving a minutely accurate record of so valuable a monument.

From want of light the details of this curious tapestry can with difficulty be discovered, and the tissue is in a very perishable condition; the value therefore of so careful a memorial as the skilful pencil of Mr. Scharf has produced is considerable, and it well deserves a place where it might be accessible to the student of medieval art, in some public depository. An engraving on a small scale, representing the interesting group of the king and his court, has been given in the "Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages," p. 90, and this by the kindness of Mr. Murray we were enabled to place before our readers in a former volume of this Journal (vol. xii. p. 417). Coloured reproductions of the two principal subjects were also executed some years since by Mr. Bradley, and portions copied from his plates were given by Mr. Shaw, in his "Dresses and Decorations," representing the royal personages with their attendants.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Lord TALBOT de MALAHIDE.—A collection of casts in plaster, from Irish antiquities of stone and bronze, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and the collections of Mr. Cooke, Mr. Huband Smith, Mr. Haliday, &c. They comprised 150 examples, illustrative of the various types of stone hammers, axe-heads, celts and palstaves of bronze, swords, with good specimens of the type described as the "*Agave* leaf shaped blade," spear and arrow heads, daggers, bronze rings and other reliques. The series of celts and palstaves was most instructive, displaying the progressive forms in great variety, from the simple hatchet to the more elaborate and ornamented types. Also casts from bronze brooches, nearly all of which retain traces of enamel, and in some instances of ornamental glass insertions; copper brooches, originally tinned or silvered, and apparently intended to be riveted on leather; casts from the remarkable *forula* or case of thick stamped leather in which the "Book of Armagh," an Irish MS., supposed to be of the early part of the IXth century, has been preserved; the ornament partakes of the character of that occurring in early sculpture and metal-work in Ireland. These interesting exemplifications of the most characteristic types amongst the earlier antiquities of Ireland were consigned by Lord Talbot to the care of Mr. Kemble, for presentation to the Museum formed at Hanover. The Directors of that collection, to the formation of which Mr. Kemble's exertions have largely contributed, are desirous of bringing together by exchange or purchase, as extensive an assemblage as possible of casts and models of antiquities from all countries, an invaluable means of facilitating comparison, in many cases where it may be impracticable to obtain originals.

By PROFESSOR BUCKMAN.—A bronze *statera*, or steel-yard, found at Watermoor near Cirencester. It is of unusual size, the *scapus*, or yard, measuring rather more than 17 in. in length. To its short end is appended a weight, to which a pair of hooks are attached, to hold the object to be weighed; the *ansa*, or hook, for suspension, is perfect; the second hook, on the under side of the *scapus*, which usually is attached behind the *ansa*, or nearest to the short end, is in this example placed beyond it, or towards the graduated end. Compare the *statera* found at Cirencester, figured in

this Journal, vol. vii. p. 411, and see the explanation given in the "Illustrations of Roman Remains" at that place, by Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, pp. 100, 105. A smaller *statera*, having the same arrangement of the hooks as above described, was found at Kingsholm, Gloucestershire, in 1788, and is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. x. pl. 13. Several curious examples of the *statera* are given by Caylus, vol. iv. plates 94—96.

By the Rev. R. GORDON, of Elsfield.—A collection of spurs of various periods, chiefly found near Oxford. Amongst these was one of very curious character, formed of bronze, with the point or *aculeus* of iron, now much corroded by rust, so that its original form and dimensions cannot be ascertained. The bronze, however, is in the finest preservation, and well patinated. It has studs or buttons on the inner side of the shanks, and a hook under the point, as shown in the woodcut, which represents the *under*



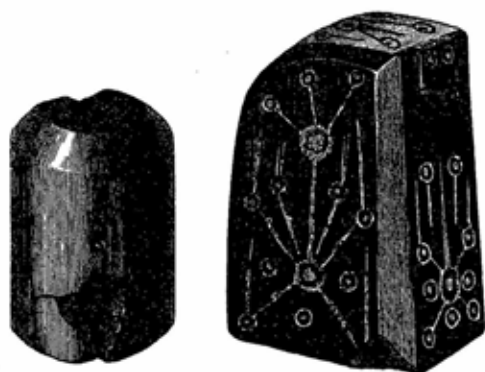
side, as supposed, of this curious spur. It has been considered with much probability, to be Roman; it was found in arable land where for many years Roman pottery, coins, fibulae, rings, &c. have been turned up by each successive ploughing. Coins of other periods are occasionally found there, but the prevailing character of the remains discovered is that of Roman workmanship, and the field occupies an elevated position commanding some miles of the Roman road from Alchester to Dorchester. Spurs of that period are of great rarity; there is one of bronze in a private collection at Metz, which resembles this example in the adjustment of the studs, on the inner side, and the hook at the heel. It was found with Roman remains at Ell, (*Bliesbun*) in Alsace, and is figured in the "Memoirs of the Academy of Metz," 1838-9. A Roman spur of bronze, of very diminutive proportions, was in the museum of the late Comte de Pourtalès, at Paris, and there is another in the Museum of Antiquities at the Bibliothèque Imperiale. Some iron spurs, found with Roman remains at Hod Hill, near Blandford, are figured in the Journal of the Archaeological

Association, vol. iii. p. 98, and they closely resemble one of bronze, figured by Caylus as an object of the greatest rarity, *Recueil*, vol. iii. p. 69. Other examples of spurs of Roman or very early date may be seen in Wagener, *Handbuch*, figs. 1267, 1289, and Dorow, *Roman Antiquities* found at Neuwied on the Rhine, pl. xxv.; the latter supplies another specimen of the studs on the inner side of the shanks. Mr. Gordon exhibited also several Norman or pryck spurs, and some specimens of later periods, one of them elaborately inlaid with silver.

By the Rev. S. BANKS.—A richly enamelled ornament of bronze, found with a skeleton, accompanied by an iron sword and some other enamelled reliques, in Staffordshire. It is an object of the same description and period as that found in Warwickshire, and figured in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 161.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A circular fibula of bronze enamelled, purchased at Amiens, and described as having been found in a tomb, near that place; it is of late Roman workmanship.—A sculpture in ivory, XIVth century, representing the Virgin with the infant Saviour.—A pilgrim's sign, found in the river Somme, at Amiens; it is of lead and represents a crowned personage, possibly St. Olaus, king of Denmark, armed in mail and raising an enormous battle-axe, as if about to strike a deadly blow. A small shield on his left shoulder displays a cross charged with five roundels or annulets. This curious little figure is broken, in its perfect state it may have measured about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Date, about 1400.

By JAMES KENDRICK, Esq. M.D., of Warrington.—Two chess-men of jet, found in the Mote-Hill, at Warrington, in the course of excavations, of which a detailed account is given in the *Proceedings* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1852-3, p. 59.¹ These pieces are probably a pawn and a knight, of the black game, the adverse set may have been of Walrus' tusk or some other material, of colour contrasted to that of the jet. They have been assigned to the Anglo-Saxon period, and regarded by some



antiquaries as Scandinavian. As types of very early forms of chess-men they must be regarded as objects of singular interest. The piece which has been described as a knight is curiously ornamented with incised lines and small concentric circles. There is a small projection on one side at its

¹ These objects were also noticed in this *Journal*, vol ix., p. 304.

upper edge, which may probably be a distinctive mark of the piece intended. The Institute is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Kendrick for the accompanying woodcuts of these unique and remarkable reliques.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Two iron arrow-heads, found in an Anglo-Saxon grave on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight. It has been supposed, from certain appearances at the time of the discovery, that a sheaf of arrows had been deposited in this instance with the corpse. It has been questioned whether the bow was in common use amongst the Anglo-Saxons as a weapon of war. The spear was the weapon of the common soldier, and the sword, of the warrior of the higher class. See some remarks on this subject by Mr. Akerman, *Gent. Mag.*, April, 1856, p. 401.

By the Rev. W. H. GUNNER.—Four Anglo-Saxon charters, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Hyde, near Winchester, and now amongst the muniments of Winchester College. They consist of a grant of land to Hyde Abbey by Edward the Elder, dated, A.D. 900; a charter of king Edmund, dated, A.D. 940; a charter of Athelstan, and a charter of Canute.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Two early Italian paintings on panel, obtained in Florence, in the original gilt frames. They represent St. Barbara and St. Agatha. Date XIVth century.

By Mr. J. B. WARING.—A series of drawings of painted glass, representing some of the finest existing examples in Italy, of the XVth and XVIth centuries. From the cathedrals of Florence and Lucca.

By Mr. WHITE.—Four paintings on panel, which appear to have formed the folding shutters of an altar piece. They are of French art, late XVth century, or of the commencement of the XVIth century, and represent subjects from the legend of some bishop or abbot, probably a local saint who has not been identified. Under these subjects appear the four Evangelists, and on the reverse of each panel is a figure of much larger proportions. The saints portrayed are—St. John the Evangelist, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Martin.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A remarkable production of the skill of the Italian armourers, about A.D. 1550. It is the back of a war-saddle, of steel chased, and richly damascened with gold. The subjects are battle-scenes of very spirited design.

By Mr. AUGUSTUS FRANKS.—A "Palimpsest" sepulchral brass from Berkhamstead, Herts. On one side of the plate appears an inscription to the memory of Thomas Humfre, goldsmith of London, about 1470; on the other side is an inscription of later date (about 1530). They are given in the "Lectures on Berkhamstead," by the Rev. J. W. Cobb, p. 54.

By Mr. JOHNSON, of Gaines.—Rubbings from a "Palimpsest" sepulchral brass lately found in Upminster Church, Essex, in removing the pews in the Gaines chapel. The discovery had been noticed by the Rev. E. Wilton, at the previous meeting. (See p. 105, *ante*). On the reverse of the effigy, which is in the costume of the XVIth century, is part of a figure vested in pontificals of rather earlier date. The former had been regarded as the memorial of Ralph Latham, Common Serjeant of London about 1641, but the design is of a much earlier period. Weever, in his "Funerall Monuments," p. 651, states that Ralph Latham,² of the ancient family of that name in Lancashire, purchased the manor of Gaines, and was buried in Upminster Church, with an epitaph placed in brass, recording his death,

² In Jones' *Originalia*, the name of Robert Latham occurs as grantee of the manor of Upminster, 35 Hen. VIII.

July 19, 1557. Elizabeth, his wife, was daughter, according to Weever, of Sir William Roche. At some distance on the left of the "Palimpsest" figure, beneath it, is an escutcheon of the arms of Latham, impaling this coat a chevron charged with a mullet; no colour indicated. At the side of the effigy Mr. Johnson found another escutcheon—1st and 4th, a leopard's face, jessant? 2nd and 3rd, a covered cup, in chief two buckles. If this effigy is not the memorial of the earlier possessor of Gaines, of the Latham family, it may have represented Nicholas Wayte of London, interred at Upminster in 1544.

Mr. Johnson sent also rubbings from two other sepulchral brasses, and a small "Palimpsest" fragment found in the Gaines chancel, one side of the plate bearing part of the spandril of a piece of canopied work, and on the other is found a portion of an achievement, with lambrequins, &c. The effigies are the memorials of Elizabeth, wife of Roger Deincourt, date about 1460, and that of Grace, daughter of William Latham; she died unmarried in 1626. This pretty little brass measures nearly 16 inches in length. The figure of Elizabeth Deincourt bears a general resemblance to that of Joyce, Lady Tiptoft, at Enfield, who died in 1446; it measures $35\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and is in perfect preservation, with the exception of the mantle, originally filled in with colour, possibly to indicate some heraldic bearing, but this has disappeared. The figure of Roger Deincourt, who died, according to the epitaph given by Weever, in 1455, was sold some time ago to an itinerant tinker. The sepulchral brass of Gerardt D'Ewes, an effigy in armour, surrounded by heraldic bearings, as figured in Weever, p. 653, still exists in Upminster Church. He died in 1591.³

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Two photographic representations of the ancient palace of the Dukes of Brabant and Burgundy at Brussels. Also a large family Medal of silver, by John Rotier, representing Colonel Giles Strangways of Melbury, Dorset, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London by the Parliamentarians, having, with his father, Sir John Strangways, distinguished himself as a partisan of King Charles I. This medal has been engraved in Hutchins's "History of Dorset;" it measures in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Obv., the bust of Sir Giles Strangways, with long flowing hair—ÆGIDIVS · STRANGWAYS · DE · MELBVRY · IN · COM · DORCESTER · ARMIGER. Under the shoulder are the artist's initials—IAN · R · F. Rev., the Tower of London, the Royal Standard flying, the sun amidst clouds over it.—DECVSQVE · ADVERSA · DEDERVNT. In the exergue—INCARCERATVS · SEPT. 1645. LIBERATVS · APR. 1648. In a letter to Pepys from Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, in 1687, offering a choice set of "Monsieur Roettier's medals," this is valued at 1*l.* 17*s.*—Correspondence of Pepys, Appendix to his Diary, edited by Lord Braybrooke, vol. V.

Mr. T. LAING presented photographic views of Stokesay Castle, and Wenlock Priory, Shropshire.

By Mr. T. WILLSON.—A multangular die for playing some game of chance; it has a number engraved on each facet; a similar object in the British Museum has letters instead of numerals.

MATRICES and IMPRESSIONS from Seals. By Mr. READY.—Impression from the seal of Richard Fitz-alan, Earl of Arundel, recently obtained at Shrewsbury. The original is appended to an acquittance to the Bailiffs of

³ Mr. T. L. Wilson has recently published the history of Upminster, in which a more full account of these memorials, of the church and ancient houses in the parish, will be found. London, Bell and Daldy, 12mo. 1856.

Shrewsbury for money repaid to the Earl. Dated at Arundel Castle, Dec. 13, 18 Edw. III., 1344. In the centre is an escutcheon charged with a lion rampant; the escutcheon enclosed within a triangle, and around it are three roundels *checky*, (Warren) Edmund, father of Richard Fitzalan, having married Alice, sister and heir of John, the last Earl Warren.

By Mr. WAY.—Impression from a beautiful silver matrix, in the possession of Mr. John Ellen, of Devizes. It bears an escutcheon of the arms of Giffard, three lions passant, with a label of three points. The escutcheon is appended to a tree, and is in bold relief: *Sigillum :: thome :: giffard*: It is supposed to have been the seal of Thomas Giffard, of Boyton, co. Wilts, in the reign of Henry VI. (Figured in the Wilts Archaeological Magazine, vol. ii. p. 391.)

By Mr. FRANKS.—A brass matrix of pointed oval form, the seal of some person named Adam; date, XIIIth century. The device is the Temptation of Adam and Eve in Paradise, with the legend—*EST · ADE · SIGNV · VIR · FEMINA · VIPERA · LIGNV*.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—An Italian personal seal of the XIVth century: so fashioned as to combine the seal and the *secretum*, or privy-seal, which form the extremities of a short straight handle, an arrangement of frequent occurrence amongst Italian seals. The larger seal, of pointed oval shape, bears an escutcheon charged with these arms, a bent between two stars of six points.—*✠ · s · FRATRIS · PETRI · DE P'ARIXIO*. The *secretum*, of small size and circular shape, bears the initial P., surrounded by five cinquefoils.

March 7, 1856.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Professor BUCKMAN gave an account of the method employed in the removal of the fine tessellated pavements discovered at Cirencester, in 1851, and now deposited in the building erected for the purpose of a local museum, through the liberality of the Earl Bathurst.

Mr. BARCLAY PHILLIPS, of Brighton, related the following interesting particulars regarding a tumulus and sepulchral deposit at Hove, to the west of that town, about 100 yards N.N.E. of the newly-erected church of St. John the Baptist. Until recent times this hillock, about 15 feet or 20 feet in height, situate in level pasture land near the path leading from Brighton to Hove Church, had been the resort, every Good Friday, of hundreds of young persons, to join in the rural game of "Kiss in the Ring." A few years since a road to the Hove Station was cut through the hillock, and Mr. Phillips then made careful enquiry whether any reliques were found, being impressed with the notion that it was an artificial mound. Nothing, however, had been brought to light at that time. Very recently, in the course of extensive works on the estate of Baron Goldsmidt, the contractor caused the mound to be removed, in order to level the gardens in the newly-erected "Palmyra Square," not far distant. In January last, on reaching the centre of the tumulus, about 6 feet east of the road to Hove Station, and about 9 feet below the surface, in stiff clay, the labourers struck upon a rude wooden coffin, 6 or 7 feet in length, deposited east and

west, and formed with boards apparently shaped rudely with the axe. The wood soon crumbled to dust; a knot, however, or gnarled knob, was preserved, and ascertained to be of oak. In the earth with which the coffin was filled many fragments of bone were found, seemingly charred. About the centre, the following objects were discovered,—a cup or bowl, supposed to be of amber, with one small handle near the rim, sufficiently large to pass a finger through it. A band of five lines runs round the rim, interrupted by the handle. The height of the cup is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, average thickness, one fifth of an inch. The interior surface is smooth, and the appearance would indicate that the cup had been formed in a lathe, which, however, seems scarcely possible, when the position of the handle is considered. The cup would hold rather more than half-a-pint. A stone axe, perforated for the haft; it is of an unusual form, wrought with much skill, the length is 5 inches. This relique bears some resemblance in fashion to that found in a barrow at Upton Lovel, Wilts. See Hoare, vol. I. pl. v., compare also an example in the Copenhagen Museum, figured by Worsaae, “*Afbildninger*,” p. 11, fig. 25, and the more highly-finished specimens of the Bronze Period, pp. 22, 23, to which the axe found near Brighton bears resemblance in its proportions, although much less elaborate in its fashion. A small hone (?) of stone, measuring 2 inches and seven-tenths in length, perforated at one end; the surface was covered with a red crust. This little relique closely resembles that found in a barrow on Bow Hill, near Chichester, during the excavations made in 1853, and figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 356. A bronze blade, of a type which has frequently occurred in Wiltshire and in other parts of England; these blades are supposed to have been daggers, they were attached to the handles by strong rivets. Compare Hoare, vol. I. pl. xiv., xv., xxiii., xxviii. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, greatest width $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The labourers stated that the coffin rested on the natural soil, stiff yellow clay, whilst the barrow seemed to have been formed of the surface-mould of the locality and rubbish heaped together, with considerable quantities of charred wood. It could not, however, be ascertained whether the corpse had been actually burned. The interesting reliques above described have subsequently been presented by Baron Goldsmidt to the Museum of the Literary Institution at Brighton.

Mr. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on “Self-immolation,” in continuation of his striking and instructive development of the mortuary usages and superstitions of the ancient Scandinavians. The suttee in India has continued until recent times, notwithstanding the energetic efforts of our government; the practice is of high antiquity in the East, and it is mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus, and other ancient writers, as existing many centuries before the Christian era. It is not so well known, Mr. Kemble observed, that the custom extended to others besides the wife, and that traces of it occur amongst races more immediately connected with ourselves; the consideration therefore of this curious subject may throw light upon questions which occasionally arise in investigating sepulchral deposits. Mr. Kemble traced the custom among the Greeks from very remote times; and he showed that among the Romans, even till a late period, we find the friend joining his friend in death, the client his patron, the slave or freedman refusing to survive his master. Servius states, that at the funerals of great men it was usual for their slaves to be put to death, and here it is obvious that these were often, as in some other cases, involuntary victims. Of the Keltic Gauls in Cæsar’s time, we learn that they had been accustomed to

burn with the dead, not only the ornaments or weapons most valued by them in life, but also animals, and their favourite serfs and dependants. Cæsar does not indeed assert that these were voluntary victims, but Pomponius Mela records that there were some who cast themselves of their own free will upon the funeral pile of their friend. Among some of the Germanic tribes we find unquestionable evidence of the usage of self-immolation; thus Procopius tells us, that as late as the Vth or VIth century it was the custom among the Heruli for the wife to strangle herself at her husband's death. The legendary records of Scandinavia, where heathendom maintained itself much longer than among the Germans, supply numerous examples of the usage; and Mr. Kemble cited various passages in the Sagas, in which the prevalence of self-immolation is shown. Nor was the wife alone, as in the majority of instances, the voluntary victim on the funeral pile; the friend would not survive the friend; the *comes* refused to live when his chief had fallen; the serf would not desert in death the lord whose bread he had eaten; the maidens strangled themselves around the corpse of their mistress. Mr. Kemble cited a remarkable passage in the Islandic Landnamabok, relating to the obsequies of a chief in his ship placed in a mound, and his thrall with him, who would not survive his lord, and slew himself, his corpse being placed in the stern of the ship. According to a notion, of which other instances occur, it was afterwards believed that the thrall, who possibly had cherished a hope of entering Valhalla with his master by dying with him, had become a troublesome companion in the burial-ship, and he was accordingly dug up. In the Saga of king Gautrek a most striking tale is preserved; we there find the account of a whole family, whose chiefs for several generations put themselves to death by precipitation from a rock, whenever any unusual occurrence, by them regarded as a portent, alarmed them. Amongst races in more remote parts of Europe, and less cognate with ourselves, vestiges may be noticed, Mr. Kemble observed, of similar funeral sacrifices on the part of the survivors. Boniface, in the VIIIth century, describes the high regard for marriage among the Wends, who considered it honourable that the widow should kill herself, so that she might be burnt with him. Nearly three centuries later it is stated of the Poles, that, at the death of the husband, the wife's head was cut off, and their ashes were united in one common resting-place.

Mr. WILLEMENT communicated an account of an unique "privy cap of fence," formed of pierced iron plates, curiously quilted between stout linen. In form it resembles a small hat, with very narrow brim: its date may be the XVIIth century, or possibly as early as the close of the XVth century. It was found in a very singular position, at Davington Priory, near Faversham, placed on the top of the wall, about twenty feet from the ground, between two wall-plates of oak. The roof which they carried appears not older than the time of Henry VIII. The cap is in most perfect preservation, and no similar head-piece is known to exist, although some examples of body armour, formed of small plates, quilted between folds of linen, are preserved, but defences of this kind are of the greatest rarity. A representation of this curious object will be given hereafter.

The Rev. EDWARD HARSTON, Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset, communicated the following singular circumstance, relating, probably, to one of the great pestilences in England, in the XVth century. During recent repairs of the Parsonage house at Sherborne, a curious old structure of Early Perpendicular date, there was found in the wall concealed between two stones,

a little slip of parchment, folded up, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing was much defaced, but by careful cleaning it has been thus decyphered.

"Be hyt knowen to alle crystyn men and wymmen, that oure holy fadir the pope hath very knowlyche by revelacioun whate medycyne is for the sekyns that raynyth⁴ now a monge the peple. Yn any wyse, when that ye hyryth of thus bull, furste sey in the worschup of God, of oure lady and seynte Martyne iij. pater noster. iij. Ave, and a crede; and the morow aftir, mediatly hyre ye yowre masse of seynt Martyne, and the masse whyle sey ye the sawter of oure lady, and yeve one offrynge to seynte Martyne, whate that evyr ye wille, and promyse ye to faste onys a yere yn brede and watyr whiles that ye lyve, othir sum othir person for yow. And he that belevyth nott on this stondythe in the sentence of holy Church, for hit hath be prechyd at Pawles⁶ Crosse."

There can be no doubt that this singular little scroll was one of certain notifications circulated through the country to allay popular apprehension, and offer, on the authority of some papal bull, a remedy for one of those deadly visitations by which England was afflicted during the XIVth and XVth centuries. From the writing and the language of the little document, it seems probable that it related to the great pestilence in the first year of Henry VII., 1485, which was regarded with great apprehension as a token of troublous times. Its ravages extended to every town and village, and from England it passed to Flanders and Germany. (Holinshed, vol II., p. 763; Grafton, p. 858.) We have sought in vain for any other allusion to the special veneration shown towards St. Martin in England, or the virtues attributed to his intercession, on the occasion of any of the dreadful pestilences by which the country had been depopulated.⁷ We read, in ancient inventories, of rings described as "St. Martin's rings,"⁸ which very possibly were worn with some notion of talismanic virtue, like the rings with *Ave Maria*, the names of the three Kings of Cologne, and other inscriptions. Such rings appear to be described as "*Annuli vertuosi*," the virtue consisting sometimes in the inscription which they bore, and sometimes in the stone or intaglio with which they were set. The rings of St. Martin may have been distributed or sold on his Feast, as the rings of St. Hubert still are in Belgium, in large numbers.

The intercession of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had at all times been regarded as of singular efficacy against disease, and it is not surprising that it should have been brought forward as of especial virtue at a time when there must have existed the greatest apprehension and agitation of the public mind, in a time of fearful pestilence. In 1378, Boniface VIII. sought to allay this perilous apprehension by issuing a Bull of plenary indulgence to the sufferers by the deadly disease then prevalent; and although there is no trace of the Bull to which this little parchment alludes, as

⁴ True, undoubtedly; Fr. *vrai*. So used in the liturgy, "Very God of Very God."

⁵ So also of the great pestilence of 1347-1348, Fabyan speaks thus:—"in Englande and specially in London moost fervently raynynge."

⁶ Or "Powols?"

⁷ There was a dreadful mortality in

2 Hen. IV. Great pestilences also occurred 17 and 19 Edw. IV., and in 22 Hen. VII., 10 and 20 Hen. VIII.

⁸ Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, vol. ii. p. 60. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 5. They were probably sold or distributed on the Feast of St. Martin. See Nares' Glossary v. Martlemas.

"prechyd" or proclaimed at Paul's Cross, there was doubtless some special privilege declared in the following century by the authority of the Pope, of which no other record has hitherto been found.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A bronze buckler, found with a spear-head of bronze in a rath or tumulus at Athenry, co. Galway. No example of this form of the *cetra*, it is believed, had hitherto been found in Ireland. The specimen exhibited closely resembles that found in the bed of the Isis, in 1836, and now preserved in the British Museum. A representation of it may be seen in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., pl. 22.⁹ Another, measuring only 9½ inches in diameter, with a single row of bosses and two raised ribs, is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. This likewise, it is believed, was found in the Isis. (Catalogue of the Museum, Soc. of Antiqu., p. 17.) The buckler recently obtained by Lord Londesborough measures 13½ inches in diameter; the entire disc has a considerable degree of convexity, with a central *umbo* of slightly conical form, surrounded by two concentric rings of bosses resembling large nail-heads, fourteen in the inner and thirty in the outer circle. Of those in the inner circle, two are the heads of rivets serving to attach the bronze handle, affixed within the *umbo*; and two, of the rivets, by which the metal fastenings of a strap or guige were attached. All the other bosses were hammered up, the metal being of no great thickness. The round target, or *cetra*, originally covered with hide, was chiefly used by the natives of Africa, Spain, and by some other barbarous nations, but it does not appear to have been used by the Romans. Tacitus describes the Britons as armed "*ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris*." (Agric. 36.) Of the target of bronze several remarkable varieties have occurred in various parts of England, but of larger dimensions and usually less convex than that exhibited. A specimen in the Goodrich Court Armory measures 27 inches in diameter.¹ Another, found in the Thames, diameter 21½ inches, has recently been added to the collections in the British Museum, with the numerous interesting antiquities which formed the Museum of Mr. Roach Smith. It is figured in the Catalogue of his collection, p. 80. A shield



of this type, found near Harlech, is in the possession of Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P., and is figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 77. Two round specimens, and one of oval form, in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, are figured in Worsaae's "*Afbildninger*," p. 34—37. The silver coinage of Illiberis, in Hispania Bætica, supplies an interesting illustration of the

⁹ It is figured also in Worsaae's "*Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*," translated by Mr. Thoms, p. 32.

¹ Skelton's *Illustrations*, vol. i., pl. 47. See notices of other examples, Catalogue of the Museum of the Soc. of Antiqu. p. 16.

Two bucklers now in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, are figured in their Publications, No. xiv. Notices of several found in Scotland may be found in Dr. Wilson's "*Prehistoric Annals*," p. 267.

use of the *cetra*, by mounted warriors. (See woodcuts.) These coins are probably not of later date than B.C. 140, according to De Sauley.²

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A large bronze fibula, found, December, 1855, in a Roman cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—A bronze statuette, apparently representing Hercules, described as found in 1854, in excavations for the new buildings in Cannon Street, City.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—The triangular front of an antefix of terra-cotta, stated to have been found near Monmouth, and as supposed near the so-called Oratory of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It measured, in perfect state, about 9 inches in width by 8 inches in height; in the centre there is a grotesque face with inflated cheeks, like an impersonation of the winds; in the upper angle is introduced a Greek cross; and below, on either side of the face, is a globular object, the whole being surrounded by a border raguly. A similar Roman antefix found at Caerleon, but with a wheel of six spokes on its apex, in place of the Christian symbol, is figured in Mr. Lee's "Delineations of Roman Antiquities," found at Caerleon, pl. 8; as also a fragment of another, on which three trees appear rudely represented in the lower angle at the side of the grotesque visage. *Antefixæ*, intended to conceal the ends of the ridge-tiles, *imbrices*, as shown in Mr. Rich's useful "Companion to the Latin Dictionary," p. 39, are of rare occurrence in England. Two specimens, found at Chester, were exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury meeting; and some found at York, one of which may be seen in the Minster library, are figured in Mr. Wellbeloved's "Eburacum," pl. xv.

By Professor BUCKMAN.—Several *tesserae* (?) or discs of bone, glass, terra cotta, &c., found with Roman remains at Cirencester. Three were formed of fragments of Samian ware. One, of bone, not perforated, is marked with small impressed circles, arranged in the form of a cross. It resembles a piece for the game of draughts, and may have served for the *ludus latruncularum*.

By Mr. J. BELDAM.—A collection of fragments of antique bronzes, ornaments, portions of vases, and other reliques.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A remarkable iron sword, found in the Anglo-Saxon graves on Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, discovered in excavations by Mr. Hillier, and figured in his "History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight," Part I., p. 35, fig. 2. A small plate of punctured gold remains attached to the handle, as also the silver mountings and the elaborately chased silver mount of the scabbard, upon which niello is introduced, forming a zigzag pattern of very delicate workmanship. This "costliest of irons," to use the expression in *Beowulf*, measures $36\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length: the width of the blade at the hilt is rather more than 2 inches.

By Mr. NESBITT.—A penannular fibula of bronze, of very curious workmanship, ornamented with enamel; it was found in cutting turf near Farnham, co. Cavan; and a bronze pin, with bicornute head, resembling that of the patriarchal staff, used in the Greek Church.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—An iron single-edged knife, length about 9 inches; length of the blade, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, resembling those usually

² Monnaies d'Espagne, Metz, 1840, pp. 12, 202. These coins have been figured also in the 4th Publications of the Cam-

bridge Camden Society, No. xiv., p. 10. We are indebted to the Society for the illustrations given above.

found with interments of the Saxon period. It was found with the skeletons of a young adult and a youth, about 30 inches below the surface, at Elston Winterbourne, Wilts, in one of the vales running S.E. on Salisbury Plain, and within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Charlton locality, where numerous vestiges of early occupation have been discovered.

By Mr. H. W. KING.—A rubbing from the sepulchral brass of Sir John Giffard, who died in 1348. This remarkable example of military costume, of life-size, is mentioned by Dr. Salmon, the topographer, as existing in the church of Bowers Gifford, Essex, in 1740. Through Mr. King's enquiries it has been recovered, having been found in the possession of a gentleman at Billericay, to whom it was given, many years ago, when the church was rebuilt. He readily consented to restore it to the present rector, the Rev. W. Tireman, by whom it has been replaced in the church. The head of the effigy, and part of the right leg, are unfortunately lost. A small shield on the left arm is charged with the bearing of Giffard, *sable*, six fleurs-de-lys or, 3, 2, 1. Mr. King has given a full account of this memorial, preserved through his praiseworthy exertions, with some notices of the Giffards, and a good representation of the effigy, in the "Proceedings of the Essex Archaeological Society," vol. i. p. 93, recently published.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—Three silver hexagonal étuis, enclosing mathematical instruments, and most delicately engraved with scales and graduated lines serving for the calculation of horoscopes, taking altitudes, for astronomical and horological calculations. They are of German workmanship, date early XVIIth century. On one are introduced small figures of the Planets, the Months, &c., curiously represented in the costume of the period. In one of them is a silver die and a silver teetotum, thus engraved on its six faces, respectively—F. An.—L. Ston.—S. Zue.—N. halb.—N. dein.—N. Gar.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—Two fragments of painted glass, from an excavation made, in February last, in St. James's Square, Clerkenwell. One of them bears part of a quatrefoiled flower, and the other is a portion of a pinnaced canopy.

By Mr. S. DODD.—Two small portraits, representing Cromwell and Milton.

Matrices and impressions of seals.—By Mr. J. HENDERSON.—A small oval seal, set with an antique intaglio, representing Mercury, on cornelian. The setting is of silver, inscribed—✠ SIGILLVM : SECRETI :

By the Rev. F. HOPKINSON.—A brass matrix, of pointed oval form, recently obtained at the sale of Mr. Moore's collections, brought to this country from Paris. It is probably a modern casting from an original impression, and not easily to be decyphered. The device is the figure of a Saint, possibly St. Denis, and the inscription may be read thus—*S' Johannis Dyonisi bicar' S' Bened' floriacen'*.

By Mr. H. W. KING.—An impression from the brass matrix of the seal of Henry, Prince of Wales, for the lordship of Caermarthen. It was formerly in Greene's Museum, at Litchfield, as described in his Catalogue, p. 12, and was figured in Gent. Mag., 1769, with a notice by Pegge. See pp. 277, 377, 438, 568; also November, 1813, p. 432. It measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the matrix was formed with four perforated projections, to receive the pins affixed to the obverse, by means of which the two parts of the matrix were adjusted in taking impressions. This curious seal has been assigned to Prince Henry, son of Henry IV. It represents

the prince mounted on his war-horse, and in complete armour. On his shield, jupon, and horse trappings appear the arms of France and England, quarterly, with a label of three points. The bearing of France, with three fleurs-de-lys only, appears to have been first so used by Prince Henry: compare his seal as Prince of Wales, engraved by Sandford, p. 245, and described, p. 277, possibly used as the obverse of the seal in Greene's possession. It is not known where the latter now exists. It is inscribed—*S' henr' principis Wall' duc' acquit' lancast' et cornub' comes cestr' de d'nio de kermerdyn.* On the great seal of Henry IV. the coat of France is semy of fleurs-de-lys, but on his tomb at Canterbury it appears with three fleurs-de-lys only, as on this seal of Prince Henry, and on his Great Seal as Henry V. The princes of Wales had their Chancery and Exchequer for South Wales at Caermarthen.

By Mr. JOSEPH BELDAM.—Two brass matrices of Customers' seals for wools and hides, being the obverses of the seals for Lincoln and Caermarthen, *z.* Edward I. The reverses are actually in the British Museum, having been presented by the Lords of the Treasury with the concurrence of Lord Monteagle, comptroller of the Exchequer. They had formed part of the ancient treasures of the Exchequer, found in the Pix Chamber in June, 1842. See Mr. Black's description of these seals in the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. i. p. 130. The following description of the seals for Caermarthen may serve to indicate the type of all these seals.—Obv. an escutcheon in bold relief, charged with three lions. ✠ *SIGILL' EDWARDI REGIS ANGL' APVD KERMERDYN.* Rev.—*PRO LANIS ET COREIS LIBERANDIS.*

Annual London Meeting.

The Annual Meeting took place on May 15, OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair. The accompanying Balance-sheet, with the Auditors' Report, was then submitted and approved:

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1855.

WE, the undersigned, having examined the Accounts (with the Vouchers) of the ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, for the year 1855, do hereby certify that the same do present a true statement of the Receipts and Payments for that year; and from them has been prepared the following abstract, dated this 15th day of May, 1856.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1855.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1854	37	12	11			
" In Secretary's hands	2	17	2			
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears				40	10	1
Entrance Fees				601	13	0
Life Compositions				31	10	0
Receipts for Sale of Works published by the Institute				42	0	0
Donations in aid of Illustrations to Journal				92	8	6
Net Balance, Shrewsbury Meeting, with Donations in aid of Local Expenses				10	0	0
				125	4	2

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Expenses:						
House Rent				160	0	0
Secretary's Salary (three quarters)				112	10	0
Stationery				7	5	9
Coals				6	14	0
						286 9 9
Publication Account:						
Printing Archaeological Journal				400	0	0
Drawing and Engraving				116	2	3
Lithography				13	4	0
						529 6 3
Petty Cash Disbursements:						
Housekeeper's wages and disbursements				24	4	6
Attendant				19	10	0
Expenses of issue of Journals				26	18	3
Insurance of Rooms, Library, &c.				8	0	0
Sundries, including Purchase of Books, Postage, Carriage of Objects Exhibited at Meetings, Lighting, &c.				17	12	0
						91 4 9
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1855				57	9	9
Deduct, advanced per Secretary for Petty Cash Disbursements				21	4	9
						36 5 0
						£243 5 9

Audited, and found correct, May 15, 1856:

(Signed)
 SYDNEY G. R. STRONG.
 AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS
 (For W. P. HAMOND).

Submitted and approved,
 May 15, 1856.

O. MORGAN,
 Vice-President.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, published by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. viii. London : John Russell Smith. 1856. 8vo.

It has often been said, in discouragement of local societies of this kind, that they must soon exhaust their materials, and then their publications will dwindle into insignificance. Whatever truth there may be in this remark, the present volume affords no evidence of it. Here we have the eighth volume of the Sussex Society, whose existence dates only from the latter part of 1846, as full of appropriate and interesting subjects as any of the former ; nor can it be said that there is any falling off in the ability with which the papers are written. A friendly spirit pervades the Society, which is very commendable, and worthy of imitation. We find acknowledgments of suggestions and assistance from various quarters and in divers ways ; especially deserving of mention is the contribution of illustrative drawings from the pencils of several ladies. It is gratifying to see their artistic skill so usefully employed ; and it must be agreeable, we doubt not, to them to find so praiseworthy an application of their talents of this kind, and to have such permanence given to the results. For the want of a little more care on the part of the printers, some of the wood cuts are over-printed, and full justice has not been done to the artists or the engraver. This might have been easily avoided, and we trust it will be in future. Before proceeding to the contents we must acknowledge our obligations to the Committee for permission to use the blocks with which this notice of the volume is illustrated.

Mr. M. A. Lower has contributed a paper on the Scrase family, now represented by Mr. Scrase Dickens ; in which is introduced a brief notice of the dilapidated Church of Blachington, near Brighton, where some of the family resided, with two views of its present state. These ruins deserve the attention of any ecclesiologist, who may happen to visit that neighbourhood. They are easy of access from Brighton.

The Rev. C. Gaunt has furnished an account of a recently discovered brass at Ticehurst, which now commemorates John Wybarn, Esq., who died 5 Henry VII. (1490), and his two wives, one on each side. The peculiarity of it is, that the husband is in the bascinet, camail, jupon, &c. of about 1400, while the two wives, who are only half his height, are in the costume of the reign of Henry VII. The rational inference from this would seem to be, that the principal figure had originally commemorated some knight who died about 1400, and was appropriated nearly a century afterwards to its present purpose ; and that the two wives were then added, but of smaller size because of the limited space that was available for them on the slab. In this view of the subject, which seems to have been suggested to Mr. Gaunt, he does not acquiesce ; but opposes it by suppositions and conjectures that we think improbable. However, it is not easy to collect his

serious meaning, and we could have wished the subject, as it deserved, had been differently treated. We regret that our space does not allow us to reproduce the woodcut of this brass. The interest of the paper is increased by some particulars of John Wybarn's family, and extracts from his will and that of his widow, who directed her executors to buy a convenient stone to lay upon the grave of her husband and herself.

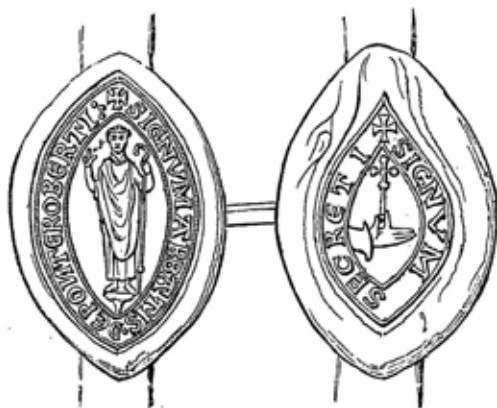
The next article is by the Rev. Edward Turner on Sedgwick Castle, a ruin near Horsham. Small castles seem to have been unusually numerous in Sussex, and some of them may have been intended as occasional residences in the forest districts for their owners, while engaged in the pleasures of the chase at a distance from their principal castles; but it is not easy to explain, why any of such smaller ones should have been so well defended as Sedgwick appears to have been; for it had an inner and an outer moat. Probably wooden houses existed outside the outer moat, which were protected by a palisade. This would account for the situation of the well. These small castles would be a fit subject for a future paper. Mr. Turner has also supplied a short paper on the College of Saxon foundation at Bosham.

From Mr. Blaauw we have three contributions, the most remarkable of which is that on "Dureford Abbey, its fortunes and misfortunes, with some particulars of the Premonstratensian Order." The chartulary, which is among the MS. treasures in the British Museum, has been turned to good account: the gradual increase of the possessions has been traced, and the means by which many of them were acquired. One noticeable mode, as illustrative of the age, was by lending money to small proprietors to free them from the Jews, and then, with little less mercy than they practised, taking possession when the mortgages were forfeited. For some years this Abbey seems to have been very thrifty, but at length its turn to borrow came, and it was glad to raise money by granting corrodies, *i.e.* certain daily allowances of meat and drink, with sometimes lodging, firing, and lights, during the lives of those by whom adequate sums were advanced. The mention of candles has led to the introduction of a woodcut, which we give in the margin, as exemplifying the candle and candlestick formerly in common use in Sussex, and still occasionally found in cottages, and the dairies and kitchens of farm-houses. The candle is, in fact, the inner part of a rush dipped in melted grease, and when burning it is held in a kind of spring nippers, so that it can be easily raised as occasion requires. This example was $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; but the "rushstick" or holder varies in form, and is sometimes made to hang by a hook. Little now remains of this Abbey beside a few detached pieces of architectural decoration, and numerous fragments of ornamental tiles. Some of the former are engraved; and from the latter several of the most rare, including the heraldic, have been ingeniously completed and arranged by Mr. A. W. Franks, so as to form an illustrative page. Beside important materials for a genealogist of the



Husseys, this paper contains some curious information on various subjects ; especially the ceremony of electing, inducting, and installing an Abbot of the Order of Premonstre. Such of our readers as are intent on campanology will be interested in learning that there were eight bells in 1417, when they were destroyed by lightning, and that in the next year five had been restored, the respective weights of which are recorded. Mr. Blaauw's second contribution is on some Anglo-Saxon charters of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, showing the condition of Sussex at that time, divided as it was into several small states. The mention of Biochandonne and Cealtborgsteal led to an endeavour to identify these localities ; as to the former, it appears to have been successful. The third is "Extracts from Iter Sussexiense of Dr. John Burton," an amusing narrative written in Greek of a journey into Sussex about the middle of the last century.

Another Abbey, that of Robertsbridge, has furnished the Rev. George Miles Cooper with the subject of a paper. Some recently discovered deeds, which had long lain hid among the archives of the Sidneys at Penshurst, have supplied some new material for his purpose. If we rightly understand him, he has had the use of transcripts only, which is to be regretted. A few things, which would be a little unaccountable otherwise, may, perhaps, be due to his not having had the opportunity of consulting the originals. This paper is liberally illustrated. We avail ourselves of the permission accorded to us, to present to our readers the Seal of the Abbey, and that of one of the Abbots, with their respective reverses. The former, (see next page), though attached to the Surrender of the Abbey to King Henry VIII., appears to be from a matrix of the XIIIth century. The latter is remarkable as not



Privy Seal of the Abbot of Robertsbridge.

giving the Christian name of the Abbot : it may therefore have been used by more than one. It has been engraved from a drawing by Howlett, taken in 1835 from a seal attached to a deed without date, supposed to be of the XIVth century. The absence of date, as well as the character of the seal, would have led us to expect to find the deed to be of the preceding century. Mention is made at p. 150 of a Seal of Ralph de Issodun, Earl of Eu, in right of his wife the Countess Alice, whose seal is engraved in the eleventh volume of this Journal, p. 369, and on the reverse of his seal there is said to be a shield of arms barry of five, which is not



ROBERTSBRIDGE ABBEY, SUSSEX.

Seal and Countersal, from the Surrender, dated April 16, 1538.

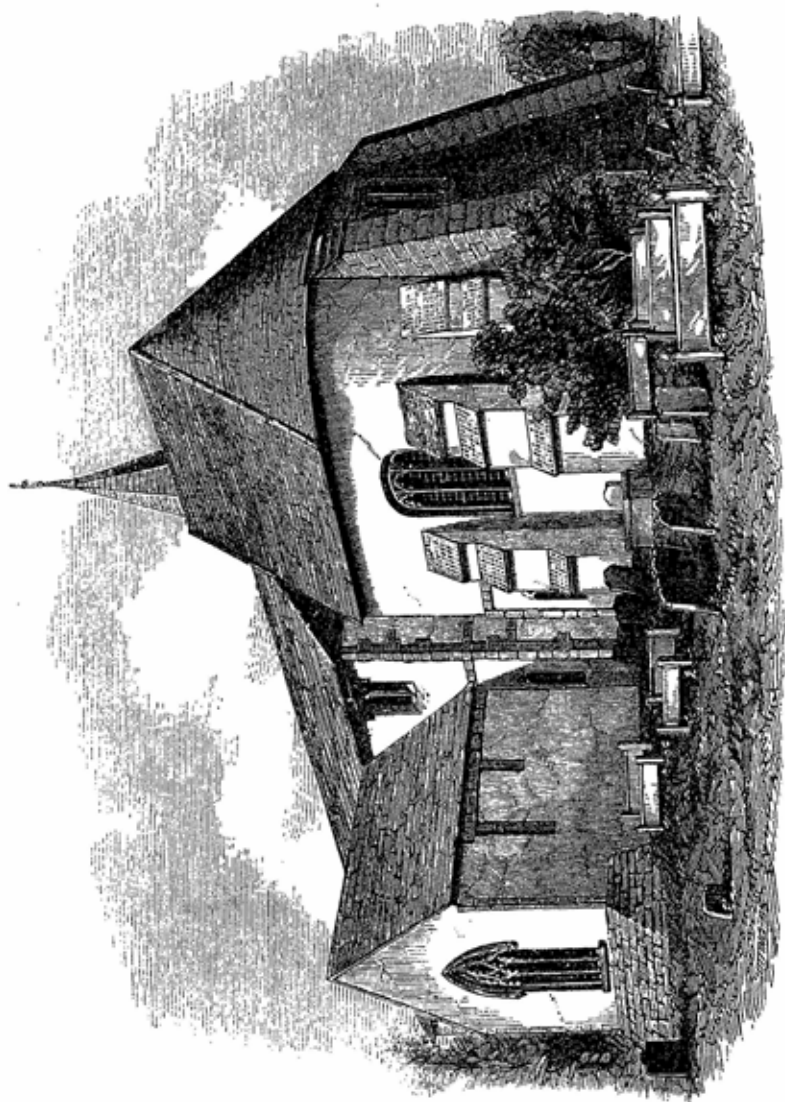
quite intelligible, because barry must be of an even number ; and there is no label mentioned, an omission that is singular, since the arms on the widow's seal have one. The head of his family, that of Lusignan, as stated in the notice of her accompanying her seal, bore barry arg. and azure. We attach no importance to the number of bars or pieces barwise, but as he was a cadet, he is not likely to have borne that coat without any difference. It would be desirable to know something more of this seal. There is also a cut of the seal of Alfred de St. Martin, one of the founders. The other illustrations are chiefly architectural ; most of their originals have perished, as the scattered ground-plan shows. Mr. G. M. Cooper has gleaned some forgotten particulars of the Abbey and its benefactors, and restored the names of a few abbots that had been lost. Some transaction having taken place in the presence of Eleanor, the Queen of Henry III., the story, started we believe by Miss Strickland, and adopted by Lord Campbell, of this Queen having been Lady Keeper of the Great Seal, has been revived in a note. Mr. G. M. Cooper probably was not aware of what had been said on that subject in the third vol. of this Journal. p. 275, *et seq.*

In a valuable genealogical paper, Mr. W. Durrant Cooper has given some account of the family of Braose of Chesworth, and of that of Hoo, with reference to two monuments in Horsham Church in memory of members of those families. He has shown the connection of these Braoses with the elder branch, whence the Lords of Bramber, and also with the junior, which was located at Wiston. He mentions in the pedigree Sir Giles, a half brother of the Sir William of Bramber, who died in 1326. Sir Giles died in 1305, and it is not generally known that a sepulchral effigy of him, now much mutilated, lies in the belfry of Horton Church, Dorset, in which parish he had property. The arms on the shield are crusily a lion rampant charged on the shoulder with a fleur de lis ; which agree with those ascribed to him in the Roll. t. Edw. II. Though he died before Sir William, and left a son, Thomas, this child was then an infant, and probably died young and issueless, as Mr. W. Durrant Cooper



seems to have assumed. Of the Hoo family, the most distinguished members appear to have been Sir William, who served three kings, and died in 1410, aged seventy-five, and his grandson, Thomas, who was created Lord Hoo. In the margin we give the seal of this Sir William, attached to a document dated in 1392, a good example of the period. The arms below the helmet are Hoo, the others are Andeville, St. Leger, St. Omer, and Malmaims. The crowned M over the last is remarkable, and also the place of the motto, *bien aqiert*. Thomas Lord Hoo distinguished

himself both as a civilian and a soldier. He died in 1455 without male issue. An amended copy of his will is given, that in the *Testamenta Vetusta* being in several places incorrect. In another paper Mr. W. Durrant Cooper has furnished some notices of Winchelsea in and after the XVth century, with an account and pedigree of the Oxenbridge family.

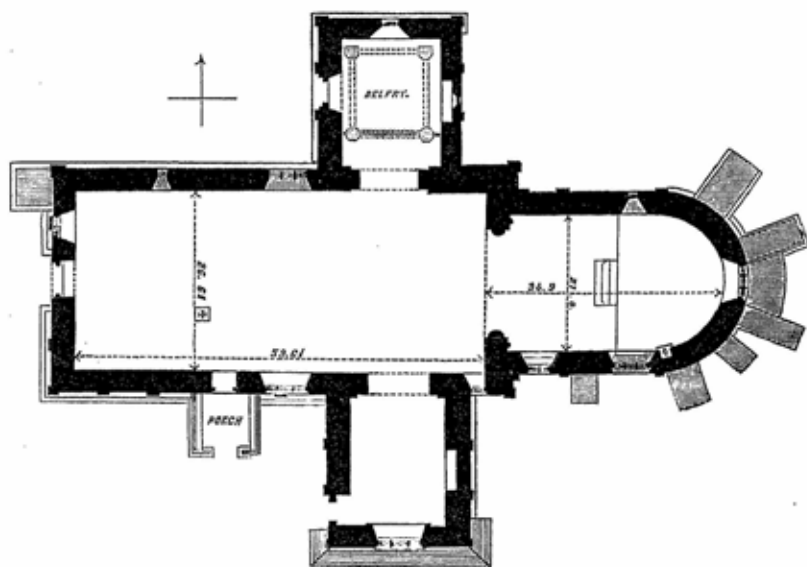


WORTH CHURCH, SUSSEX: View from the south-east.

These may be considered as supplemental to his History of Winchelsea.

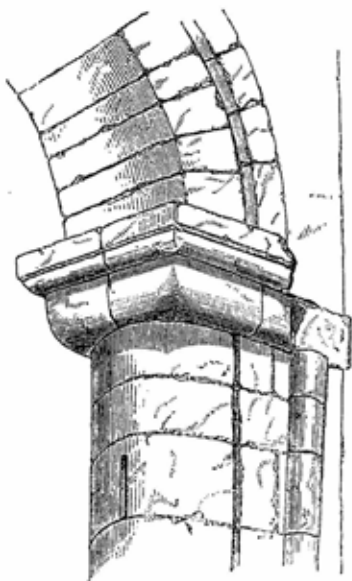
The Rev. Thomas Medland has furnished extracts from an old Book kept in the church chest at Steyning, and still used for entering the churchwardens' accounts and other important matters connected with the parish. The occurrence of the word "Bryde-paist" has afforded an opportunity for offering an explanation of this portion of ornamental attire for the head. The word had been much misapprehended by recent writers.

There is a paper by Mr. W. S. Walford on Worth Church; one well known by name, at least, to many of our readers, as it occurs in most of the lists of churches which are supposed to have some portions of them Anglo-Saxon. We are glad to be able to give a print of the exterior from the south-east after a photograph by Dr. Diamond; and a ground plan, with



dimensions, the additions of buttresses and masonry, undoubtedly of later date, being distinguished by linear shading; and also a woodcut of the east side of the north capital of the chancel arch, from a drawing by Mr. A. Nesbitt. On examining the ground-plan, which has been reduced from one made by Mr. F. T. Dollman for the Society, certain small exterior projections at the corners, and on all sides, except the north side of the nave, will be observed. These are the coins and the pilasters, or remains of pilasters, which were placed on a graduated base or plinth near the ground, and supported a stringcourse about half the height of the wall. They are of what may be called long and short work, but the alternations of long and short are not so marked as is usual in work so designated. Two only of these pilasters remain entire: they are near the south-west corner of the nave. There is no tower: what in the print looks like a small spire, is a modern belfry

erected over the north transept. The doorways are decorated, except those into the transepts which are modern. The windows are of various dates and styles, but none earlier than the XIIIth century, unless a small one on the east side of the north transept be an exception. The most striking feature in the interior is the chancel arch. It is 14 feet 1 inch in span, semicircular, and of a single order, measuring 22 feet 5½ inches at its highest point from the floor. It springs at the height of about 15 feet 6 inches from massive semicircular jambs with remarkable imposts or capitals, each consisting of a flat cushion and a square abacus, with an intervening quarter-round moulding. The piers and arch are about 3 feet thick, exclusive of the mouldings; and the stones, of which they are constructed, extend through the whole thickness. The work is deficient in the neatness and regularity characteristic of Norman masonry; and there is a want of parallelism and similarity in parts which should have been respectively parallel and alike. Something of this is apparent in the accompanying cut. The transepts communicate with the nave by semicircular arches spring-



ing from square jambs of irregular masonry, with imposts, now much mutilated, which seem to have consisted of two members each, the upper projecting beyond the lower; both were probably square and plain; and a plain square moulding descends from them to the floor on the inner side in a corresponding situation to the half round moulding on the east side of the chancel arch, which is shown in the woodcut of the capital. These arches are about 8 feet 8 inches in span, and rise to 14 feet 7 inches above the floor. The square imposts and mouldings suggest the idea of their having been left in block. There is no documentary evidence of the church earlier than the XIIIth century, but Mr. W. S. Walford concurs with Mr. Bloxam, Mr. Sharpe, and others, who have come to the conclusion that it is substantially an Anglo-Saxon building; and what is rare, that there has been no deviation from the original ground-plan; though without doubt there have been great repairs at various times, and windows and doorways inserted, and the roof throughout replaced by a modern one. Still he sees no good reason for believing it to be of earlier date than the first half of the XIth century. The font, of which there is a woodcut, is singular; for it consists of two of nearly the same date, neither later than the XIIIth century, placed one on the other, the lower serving as a base to the upper, and yet there is no incongruity that suggests the fact of there being two fonts.

To this volume, after some "Notes and Queries" relating to local subjects, there is added the Catalogue of the Antiquities exhibited at the Museum formed during the meeting of the Archaeological Institute, held

at Chichester in July, 1853. In the previous volume produced by the Sussex Society a General Report of the Proceedings on that occasion had been given, as a record of the friendly participation of the two Societies in their prosecution of a common purpose, and comprising notices of various matters of local interest. This Report, accompanied by the Catalogue of the Museum, which contains numerous interesting illustrations of local antiquities, has been published in a separate form by Mr. J. Russell Smith. Such a memorial of the Chichester Meeting cannot fail to be acceptable to many, as well members of the Institute, as others, who may not have joined the ranks of the Archaeologists of Sussex.¹

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. I. Edinburgh, 1852-54. Printed for the Society. Small 4to, 312 pp. Plates and numerous woodcuts.

AMONGST the earliest of those combined endeavours for the promotion of archaeological investigations, which have taken in recent years so extended a development, in almost every part of the United Kingdom, the Antiquaries of Scotland may justly claim an honourable precedence. The infancy of such antiquarian confederations in our country was fostered by the patient research and the genial patriotism of that great leader in untrodden paths, whom we still delight familiarly to hail as the "Nourrice of Antiquity." It were no uninteresting task to trace, from the days of Camden and his learned associates, the small beginnings of that extensive movement, which in our own times has taken so wide a range of energetic operation and influence on popular opinion. Through the length and breadth of the land there is now scarce any locality, or any special department of historical and antiquarian inquiry, unprovided with its associated band of kindred spirits, united for the special purpose of prosecuting their purpose by friendly co-operation, more efficiently than can ever be done by any individual efforts.

It is with no ordinary interest, however, that we address our attention to the position and the prospects of archaeology in North Britain. As we observed on a former occasion, the impulse to which we may undoubtedly trace the growing taste for archaeological investigation, not only in our own country, but throughout Europe, is to be sought in the wizard's spell which emanated from Abbotsford. It has been truly remarked by one of the most acute of modern writers on the subject under consideration, that though not exactly the source which we might expect to give birth to the transition from profitless dilettantism to the intelligent spirit of scientific investigation, yet it is unquestionable that Sir Walter Scott was the first of modern writers "to teach all men this truth, which looks like a truism, and yet was as good as unknown to writers of history and others, till so taught—that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled by living men."²

¹ Report of the Transactions at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Chichester, 1853, with a general notice of Memoirs, and a detailed catalogue of the temporary Museum. Published for the Archaeological Institute. London: J. Russell Smith, 8vo. This volume, ranging

with the series of Annual Transactions of the Institute, may be obtained through any bookseller.

² Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. v., p. 301, second edit., cited by Dr. Wilson "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," p. xi.

It was not until 1780 that any institution of a permanent character was organised in Scotland for the special purpose of antiquarian and historical research. It is not our present purpose to pass in review in any detail the earlier efforts of the Society, the foundation of which, at that period, originated with the Earl of Buchan, who appears to have taken the most lively interest in its establishment, and through whose liberality a suitable place was speedily provided for the formation of a museum. Thus fortunately a depository was established for the preservation of numerous reliques, the nucleus of those important and highly instructive collections actually in the possession of the Society. The scheme of operations, sketched out with considerable ability by the noble founder, the progress of the institution, and its beneficial results in stimulating a taste for inquiries connected with National History and Ancient Vestiges, may be found fully recorded in the earlier publications.³ Nor can we here omit to advert to the brief but interesting sketch of the growth of the Society and of its museum, prefixed to the Synopsis of that Collection, which we owe to the exertions of one of the most energetic and enlightened of our fellow-labourers in the cause of National Antiquities, Daniel Wilson. The loss which archaeological and ethnological science has sustained in the untimely removal of so able and intelligent a votary to a distant country, is deeply to be regretted.

The earlier publications of the Antiquaries of Scotland form four quarto volumes, comprising a large amount of valuable information relating to the ancient vestiges from time to time discovered in North Britain, illustrations of historical incidents, popular customs and superstitions, with the record of numerous observations and curious facts brought under the notice of the Society from its formation in 1780, through a period of rather more than half a century. The Memoirs are, with very few exceptions, exclusively illustrative of the Antiquities, Secular and Ecclesiastical, of Scotland; but they comprise many matters of essential value to the archaeologist, more especially in connection with the obscure period of our earlier remains.

The seventy-second session of the society was a memorable period in its history; a crisis from which may be traced the renewal of energetic and well organised co-operation. Those who, like Mr. Turnbull and other devoted historical enquirers and archaeologists, for some years had exerted their best efforts to sustain the vitality of the institution in adverse times, are to be remembered with cordial commendation. It was not, however, until 1852 that the Society found themselves in a position to resume the regular publication of their Transactions, and wisely resolved to commit to Mr. David Laing and Dr. Wilson the preparation of abstracts of the proceedings of each session, in a smaller and less costly form than had previously been adopted, accompanied with illustrations of objects of special interest. They reserved the power of printing in full hereafter such memoirs as might appear desirable to form a continuation of the "*Archaeologia Scotica*," as often as the funds of the society should render such publication advisable. It is to these "*Proceedings of the Society*," of which the first volume has recently been completed, that we would take occasion to invite the attention of our members, on the eve of their visit to the interest-

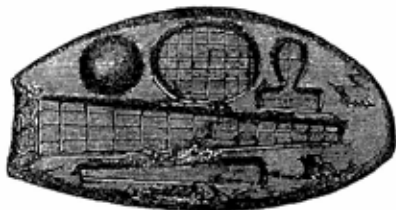
³ See Mr. Smellie's "*Account of the Institution and progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*," and the de-

tailed narrative drawn up, in 1831, by Dr. Hibbert and Mr. D. Laing, appended to vol. iii. of the Transactions.

ing scenes of so many heart-stirring memories, of so many memorable deeds of bold daring and devoted patriotism.

The volume before us commences with the anniversary meeting in November, 1851, and the address of Dr. Wilson, on the future prospects of the Society, and the result of long-pending negotiations for the establishment of the collections on the footing of a National Museum, thus securing permanent accommodation for those collections and for the meetings of the Society in some suitable public Institution. It must be a subject of great regret, that the pledge then given of the tardy assent of government to establish in the Scottish capital a museum of historical antiquities, still remains unfulfilled. We cannot doubt that, remarkable as are the collections amassed within the insufficient space of the rooms now occupied by the Society, their value, as an instructive exemplification of the vestiges of every period in North Britain, would be speedily augmented to an important extent, if a depository were provided, worthy of the national character of such a museum. We might then, possibly, see united in such a national depository, many of those precious relics of ancient art, not less remarkable through the historical or personal associations connected with them; such, for instance, as the Dunvegan Mether, of which we find a notice by Dr. Wilson, in the "Proceedings" before us. It has been described with more critical accuracy by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 79, on the occasion of its exhibition, through the kindness of the present possessor, Norman Mac Leod, Esq., at one of the meetings of the Institute. Of another highly interesting example of early workmanship in metal, the Guthrie Bell, an heir-loom of the Guthrie family, an engraving is given in the volume under consideration (p. 55).

"Amid the increasing zeal for the advancement of knowledge (as Dr. Wilson has well observed) the time appears to have at length come for the thorough elucidation of Primeval Archaeology as an element in the history of man."⁴ Numerous are the examples of vestiges of the earlier races, their implements or weapons, of which notices may be found in these "Proceedings," as also of the daring enterprise of the Roman invader. A detailed description will be found of the remarkable hoard of *denarii*, including the entire imperial series from Nero to Severus, discovered in Fifeshire, in 1851; as also notices of altars and inscriptions found at Newstead and Castle Cary, camps, remains of buildings, with many other traces of Roman occupation in North Britain. Amongst the vestiges of the earlier period, it is believed, the curious mould, of serpentine, found in Ayrshire, may be classed (See woodcut). It measures 16½ inches by 9½, the greatest thickness being about 2½ inches. It is difficult to comprehend the purpose of the objects which this rudely fashioned mould was destined to produce; amongst them are certain implements, bearing some analogy to the simpler types of the celt. It is worthy of remark that a stone mould presenting features of similarity to this, in regard to the forms of implements

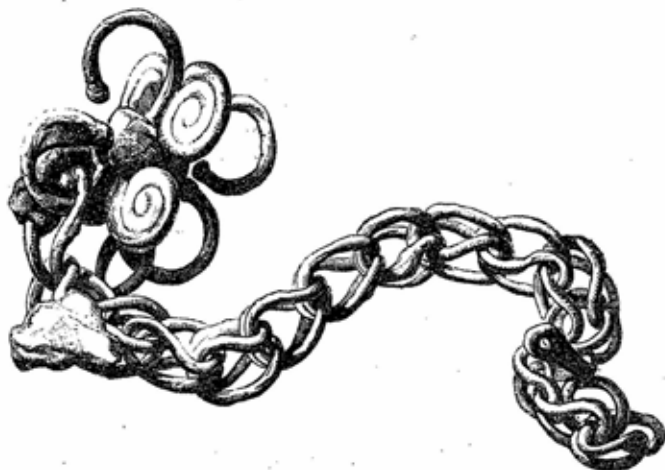


⁴ "Prehistoric Annals," p. xii.

which it was intended to supply, has been found in Ireland, and is now in the collection of our noble President, Lord Talbot, by whose kindness it was exhibited in the museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury Meeting. These reliques of early metallurgical industry in the British Islands are of great curiosity ; another stone mould, but obviously of a much later period, is figured in the "Proceedings," p. 125 ; it is suited for casting buckles of various sizes. Amongst the stone reliques rarely found south of the Tweed, we may here notice the curious "Druidical Pateræ," of which, by



the friendly permission of the Society, we are enabled to present the accompanying representation to our readers. They have been discovered in various positions, within stone circles, and in "Pictish Forts." They are formed of soft calcareous stone, or of steatite. Such vessels are still used in the Faroe Islands as lamps or chafing-dishes, and on the northern shores of Scotland such "Druidical" appliances may have served the like homely purpose even to a comparatively late period. A good Scottish example was placed in our museum at the Chichester Meeting by the kind-



ness of His Grace the Duke of Richmond ; and at Shrewsbury another, found in the Isle of Man, was brought under the notice of the Institute by the Rev. J. G. Cumming. (See p. 104, *ante*, in this volume of the Journal.)

Amongst reliques of bronze, notices occur of celts, spears and swords, found in various parts of Scotland ; of *patellæ*, of *lares*, and productions partaking of an artistic character. The curious fragment of a large iron chain, 27 inches in length (see woodcut), was discovered in Berwickshire, with large culinary vessels of bronze, a Roman *patella* and ornaments, iron hammers or pick-axes, and mechanical tools, an iron lamp-stand, and other reliques of the Roman age. The remarkable resemblance of the object above represented to the massive iron chain discovered by Mr. Neville at Chesterford, as described by him in this Journal, (p. 4, *ante*, pl. 3.) claims our notice ; whilst the cause of the concealment, in this instance on clay below peat, to which the preservation of the metal is probably due, may have occurred under similar circumstances to that of the deposit brought to light through Mr. Neville's researches. An object of interesting character is the bronze sheath here figured, (length 5½ in.) found with four leaf-shaped swords and a large spear-head, all of bronze, on Lord Panmure's estates in Forfarshire.



The first-mentioned object has been regarded in Scotland as the end, or *bouterolle*, of the scabbard of a sword, and is described as unique amongst Scottish remains. A relique of the same class, found in the river Isis, has been figured in this Journal (vol. x. p. 259. fig. on the left side of the page, inadvertently there described as found in the Thames). It is now in the British Museum, with other examples from the Thames, one of them recently acquired with Mr. Roach Smith's museum, and figured in his catalogue, p. 81. In the bronze sheath, now in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, the peculiarity occurs, noticed by Mr. Franks in some of the specimens found in England (*Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xii. p. 201). There are round holes at about mid-length, near the central ridge, not pierced one opposite the other, so as to form a perforation through the sheath, but alternately, that on one side being on the dexter side of the central ridge, that on the reverse on the sinister side. The cause of this singular adjustment has not been explained.

Amongst other ancient reliques of an interesting description noticed in this volume there are various objects of mediæval date, ecclesiastical, sepulchral, sculptured crosses and monuments, coins, seals, &c. We are enabled to give the representation of a singular fragment found near Newstead, Roxburghshire, part of an incised slab, on which the sword appears, with certain objects which we are surprised to find thus associated—apparently, a mason's square, and a pair of compasses. It may be conjectured that these were symbols of freemasonry ; and the initials a p have been regarded as possibly commemorative of a person of the Pringle family, a common name in that locality. The imperfect state of this curious sepulchral fragment, however, prevents our forming any certain conclusion regarding the intention of the symbols in question. The square may possibly be the termination of a kind of staff, such as occurs on a cross slab at Woodhorn, Northumberland, figured in Dr. Charlton's Memoir

in this Journal, vol. v., p. 257 ; as also at Lanchester, and with a sword, on a slab in the county of Durham. It may possibly be a symbol of pilgrimage.



The compasses on the fragment here represented may be the shears, a symbol which Dr. Charlton has shewn to designate the memorial of a female. Amongst the interesting examples noticed by him in the Northern counties, it may be observed that the hammer and pincers occur combined with the sword. Many examples of these sepulchral slabs may be found in Mr. Cutt's Manual illustrating that class of memorials, and the numerous forms of sepulchral crosses.

Several other reliques of this description are noticed in the first volume of the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries. We may notice the

incised slab found by Mr. John Stuart in a grave near Dunrobin Castle, and bearing the mysterious symbols of the fish, the comb, and the mirror, so frequently found on sculptured crosses in North Britain. The attention of archaeologists was first called to that remarkable class of early Christian monuments through the series of examples in the county of Angus, a publication which we owe to the munificence of a lamented and highly gifted antiquary, the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers. A notice of that valuable work was given in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 86. Numerous sculptured slabs of most curious character exist in the more remote parts of Scotland, and may be classed amongst the most interesting vestiges in that country. We look forward with high satisfaction to the complete collection of these sculptures, now on the eve of publication, the result of the research and intelligent devotion to the elucidation of National antiquities in North Britain evinced by Mr. Stuart, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The collector of mediæval seals will find a rich supply of admirable examples in Scotland, which have been brought within his reach through the labours of Mr. Henry Laing, who has long enjoyed the encouragement and friendly cooperation of Mr. Cosmo Innes and other able enquirers into monastic antiquities, family history, and the documentary treasures preserved in many repositories in North Britain. The extent and varied character of the Sphragistic series collected by Mr. Laing, is fully set forth in his "Catalogue of Impressions from Scottish Seals."⁵ By the kindness of the Society we are enabled to place before our readers representations of one of the most artistic and delicately wrought examples. It is the Chapter-seal of Brechin, a brass matrix of the highest class of art in the XIIIth century, as shewn in these exquisitely elaborated productions. The reverse of the matrix is enriched with foliage in high relief, issuing from a

⁵ This interesting catalogue (published in Edinburgh in 1850, 4to.) is copiously illustrated, and comprises 1248 examples of royal, baronial, ecclesiastical and municipal seals. It may be acceptable to the

collector to be informed that sulphur casts or glass matrices of any of these seals may be purchased at moderate cost from Mr. H. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Edinburgh.

grotesque head of an animal, perforated to admit a small cord or chain for suspension. The matrix has been recently presented to the Museum of the



Antiquaries of Scotland. An account of it, accompanied by woodcuts from the delicate pencil of Mr. H. Shaw, was given in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries of London, vol. xxxv. p. 487. In the Museum at Edinburgh, many matrices of interest will be found, and amongst them there is one of very unusual description, found near Edinburgh on the eastern slope of Arthur's Seat. (See woodcut.) It displays a turbaned head, with an inscription in Hebrew characters, containing the name Solomon Bar Isaac, probably the ancient owner of the seal, with some words of which no satisfactory interpretation has been given. It is not easy to reconcile the device of the human head with the supposition that this relic belonged to an Israelite, since the Jews have always eschewed all such imagery. An engraving of another Hebrew seal, found at Gibraltar, may be seen in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxiii., p. 209. The device is a fleur-de-lis, with six stars, hammer and pincers. A singular matrix of quatrefoiled form, with a Hebrew inscription, and the device of a castle and fleur-de-lis, exists in the British Museum. These seals may have been talismanic or magical.



In a recent contribution to this Journal, the subject of mediæval tissues, hitherto insufficiently noticed in this country, has been brought before our Society by Mr. Burges. (See p. 139, *ante*.) Examples of early date are of the greatest rarity. The woodcuts here given represent portions of silken bands, woven with gold or silver thread, found in the tomb of one of

the bishops of Ross, in the Cathedral of Fortrose. The narrow band was bound round the body, from head to foot; the broader band was wound round the neck, having attached to it an object resembling a long seal, lying on the left breast. These curious bands, here figured half the actual size, preserve, probably, the tradition of the peculiar designs of the Oriental looms, in the characteristic ornament known amongst the Byzantine artificers as the *Gammadion*, and still prevalent on many of the decorative appliances of the Greek Church.



The foregoing notices may suffice to invite attention to the Proceedings of the kindred Society in the Northern metropolis. Through their friendly invitation the Institute will ere long cross the Border, on no hostile raid, as in times of olden jealousies and spoliation, now happily for ever passed away. On no former occasion, perhaps, since the establishment of the Institute, has a more advantageous opportunity been presented to us for the extension of friendly relations, and that mutual interchange of the fruits of toil in the field of Archaeological and Historical enquiry, to which we should ever look as the great benefit accruing from these periodical gatherings, in the systematic direction and impulse which they give to scientific enquiry.

Archaeological Intelligence.

Mr. AKERMAN announces an interesting sequel to his "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," recently completed. It will be entitled "Reliques of the Celtic, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon Periods," and is destined to comprise some of the choicest examples of ancient art of the three periods, selected from various public and private collections. The whole will be issued in 4to parts, at 2s. 6d. each, containing carefully coloured plates accompanied by letter-press descriptions. Subscribers are requested to send their names to Mr. J. Russell Smith, Soho-square.

The exquisite reproductions of carvings in ivory, frequently exhibited at meetings of the Institute by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, have aroused no slight interest in the examples of ancient art, of that class. We invited the attention of our readers on a former occasion to the advantageous arrangement through which these exquisite facsimiles in "Fictile Ivory" may be obtained from the Arundel Society. A catalogue has been recently published by the Society, comprising much important and critical information, and more especially in the valuable Dissertation on art, as exemplified by sculptures in ivory, contributed by Mr. Digby Wyatt.

The precious collection of ivories, heretofore known as the Fejérváry Collection, is known to many of our readers, especially as having been exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury Meeting. The spirited archaeologist, Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., of Liverpool, in whose museum these treasures of ancient art are now preserved, and to whose kind liberality we were indebted for their production at Shrewsbury, has prepared an interesting catalogue of the collection. It is accompanied by an essay on antique ivories, with detailed notices of consular diptychs, which range from the IIIrd to the VIth centuries, by M. Francis Pulszky.

Mr. RICHARD SIMS, compiler of the "Index to all the Pedigrees and arms in the Heraldic Visitations and other Genealogical MSS. in the British Museum," as also of the useful Handbook to the Library of that Institution, announces for immediate publication (by subscription) a Manual for the Genealogist, Topographer, and all who are engaged in antiquarian researches. It will comprise information regarding the depositories of public records, parochial and other registers, wills, heraldic collections in various public libraries, with lists of monastic cartularies, of county and family histories, and general notices of the chief sources of information, of the greatest utility in various researches to which the attention of many of our readers is devoted. Those persons who desire to encourage this useful undertaking, may address the author, 12 Grafton-street East, London University.

The Rev. J. JORDAN, Vicar of Enstone, Oxfordshire, proposes to publish (by subscription) a Parochial History of that Parish, with memorials of certain families of note anciently settled there, its connection with Winchcombe Abbey, with other particulars of interest to the general reader.

We hope on a future occasion to notice several recent publications by societies in various parts of England. The Surrey Archaeological Society has produced the first fasciculus of their Transactions, to which we invited attention in the last number of this Journal. The annual meeting has been lately held successfully at Croydon, and a very interesting assemblage of local antiquities was produced on that occasion. The Essex Archaeological Society has published the first instalment of their Proceedings, comprising an Inaugural Lecture by Professor Marsden; Memoirs on Roman remains discovered at Chelmsford, Colchester, and Coggeshall; on the Roman Sepulture of infants, and the singular usage of depositing their remains in the *suggrundaria*—under the eaves; this curious subject has been here brought before the society by their President, the Hon. Richard Neville, to whose indefatigable research we have frequently been indebted for valuable information regarding the sepulchral usages of the earlier periods. Mr. Ashurst Majendie has contributed notes on Hedingham Castle and the De Vere family, and amongst the illustrations will be found two elaborate woodcuts, representing very successfully the delicately sculptured details of the tomb of John, Earl of Oxford, in Castle Hedingham Church. The fine memorial of this earl, who died in 1539, was brought formerly under our notice through the kindness of Mr. Majendie, who exhibited at our meetings the beautiful drawings prepared by his direction. Amongst other subjects of interest, the Proceedings comprise remarks on the Round Church of Little Maplestead, by Mr. Buckler; on the recently discovered sepulchral brass at Bowers Gifford Church, by Mr. H. W. King (noticed in this Journal, p. 193, *ante*); on mural paintings at East Ham, &c. A representation of a remarkable urn of Castor ware, found at Colchester, is given by the Rev. B. Lodge. It bears inscriptions, with figures of gladiators engaged in combat, and subjects of the chase.

It may be interesting to many readers, who visited the church of Battlefield on the occasion of the generous hospitality with which the Society was welcomed by Mr. Corbett at Haughmond Abbey, during the meeting of the Institute at Shrewsbury, and saw with regret its ruinous condition, that an effort has been made for the conservation of that highly interesting memorial. The funds available for the purpose are inadequate, and any contributions in aid of the undertaking will be received with gratification.

We would invite the attention of members of our Society to the publication, by Mr. J. Russell Smith, of a Memorial of the Transactions at the Chichester Meeting, accompanied by a Catalogue of the temporary Museum, which has been prepared with considerable care and detail, in accordance with the frequent wish of our members, that a permanent record should be preserved of the instructive collections brought together at our annual meetings. The volume may be obtained through any bookseller.

The Annual Meeting of the CAMBRIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION will commence, at Welshpool, on August 18, and will continue throughout the week.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1856.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF PRIMEVAL RELICS.

THE study of that branch of archaeology which relates to the period of man's history, conventionally termed primeval, occupying, as it does, so prominent a place in the antiquarian literature of the age, engrossing, from its obvious importance, so large a share of the attention of many active investigators and societies throughout Europe, and having attained the rank of a substantive science, there is not only a sufficient warrant, but every satisfactory reason, why we should endeavour to trace the introduction of those principles which have advanced it to its present worthy position. For, as an eminent writer has observed, "It is a very great error to suppose that the truths of philosophy are alone important to be learnt by its students; that, provided these truths are taught, it signifies little when or by whom, or by what steps, they were discovered. The history of science, and of the stages by which its advances have been made, is of an importance far beyond its being subservient to the gratification even of an enlightened and learned curiosity."¹

It is true that this species of investigation seems more applicable, and calculated to educe more trenchant results in the case of sciences partaking of the nature of the exact, than when directed to discriminate the progress of any inductive system, which, from its nature as the growing offspring of constantly accumulating facts, is more likely to number among its most successful cultivators, not so much original discoverers in the more marked meaning of the name, as in the

¹ Brougham's *Lives of Men of Letters*, ii., p. 227.

sense of extracting the full significance of, and shaping into harmonious form by the exercise of a rare power of generalisation, the mass of materials which a hundred hands are daily adding to the structure. But although primeval archaeology partakes largely of this character, and, in later years at least, presents the constant and gradual enlarging of its base of operation, coupled with that diversity of theory incident to a speculative inquiry, rather than those distinctly defined stages of advancement which investigations involving the demonstration of absolute verity exhibit, still it so happens that, with respect to this science, it is customary to point to one grand stride, completely separating the old order of things from the new. Here, then, is a change which, as it is sometimes insisted on, is not less salient than the annals of any intellectual pursuit have recorded—a change implying a total revolution in an important inquiry—a change, therefore, of whose nature and origin it is due to ourselves, and to those who were instrumental in bringing it about, that we should possess a clear understanding.

It will be seen that I allude to the promulgation of the systematised classification of ancient relics, which began to be carried out vigorously about forty years ago, and has since given the tone to nearly all subsequent researches and deductions. I do not propose to discuss here the merits of this scheme, as it may be taken for granted that those who hold its doctrines to be stringently accurate, as most Scandinavian, besides some German, antiquaries, as Herr Lisch, continue to find their explorations to warrant, and those who perceive in it only the germs of truth too positively dogmatised, equally acknowledge its valuable influence,—the one recognising in it the advent of a trustworthy guide to the mystery of primeval ages—the other admitting that the method of inquiry which it enjoined, if not cramped by too servile an appeal to an assumed formula, was admirably adapted to bring them within reach of the truth.

Now if it is inquired whence came the dissemination of this system at the period named, it is usual to reply, with justice, from Denmark; and it is quite as frequently added, that it was then an independent creation, or rather a substantive and brilliant discovery of one of the most energetic archaeologists of the time, Privy-councillor C. J. Thomsen. Among others, my distinguished friend, Herr Worsaae, has

expressly attributed this achievement to him, in a communication to the Royal Irish Academy,² and again in his excellent work, "*Zur Alterthumskunde des Nordens*,"³ he explicitly mentions that the idea of classifying antiquities into three periods originated with Mr. Thomsen, and "was first pointed out by him."

I cannot help seeing, however, that in the tribute which is thus so commonly paid to that gentleman's acumen, there appears to be some confusion with regard to the nature of his great services, and that, as often happens, the line which distinguishes the originator of a system from him who first gives it practical effect, has been overlooked. In fact, I do not think there can be a doubt that it is in this latter capacity Mr. Thomsen is so well entitled to take rank, and that the notion of three archaeological periods had been distinctly enunciated long before he began to arrange the humble nucleus of the now magnificent collection at Copenhagen.

Although probably in some degree pertinent to the subject, it would be supererogatory to point to allusions, now so generally familiar, in the pages of some of the oldest extant literature of the world, where a successive development of the nature indicated is an hypothesis more or less minutely implied; but it would hardly be just to omit the compendious theory of progression propounded by Lucretius:—

*Arma antiqua, manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,
Et lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami—
Posterior ferri vis est, ærisque reperta;
Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.*—Lib. v., 1282.

It is true that to statements such as this it might be objected, that they are not always even the embodiment of traditions, much less inferences deduced from observed facts; and that, in the case of Lucretius, just as with other classical poets who sketched the early condition of the human race with more brilliant and fantastic embellishment, he too created an imaginary picture, drawn in harmony with more prosaic, but still purely speculative, views of man's history, and therefore, whether right or wrong, a mere baseless guess.

² Antiquities of Ireland and Denmark,
p. 8.

³ Es war der jetzige Etatsrath, C. J.

Thomsen der zuerst die Idee der Theilung
der Alterthümer in drei Perioden gab.
p. 6.

I do not stop to inquire whether this might not be treating with scant justice the intuitive common sense of a writer whose poem contains a considerable amount of wonderfully sound archaeology of the comprehensive kind, which Milton has so grandly introduced in the previsionary conversations between Adam and the angel Michael. But let us pass on to times when professed antiquarian disquisitions abounded, and when, from exhumed relics being brought into evidence, any ethnographical system advanced with reference to them is entitled to claim in its full significance what merit it may possess.

Looking along the prolific stream of antiquarian literature, it would exceed all reasonable bounds to record in detail the glimmerings of rational argument which occasionally break through the almost forgotten masses of conjecture and false induction ; but we must not omit to notice some of the more prominent earlier traces of a tripartite arrangement of primeval relics. A correspondent of Montfaucon's, Professor Iselin of Bâle, when discoursing of some stone celts in 1717, tends towards this division ; but his mode of expression is so vague, that it may be doubtful whether he contemplated any precise definition.⁴ In one of Eccard's volumes, however, "*De Origine et Moribus Germanorum*," published in 1750, the doctrine is stated in plain, succinct terms, while stone and bronze weapons are engraved to illustrate and support it. This writer ridicules the popular belief that the former were thunderbolts ; points out that similar objects were observed by Dampier in use among the wild tribes of America ; and classes them as the primordial means of defence, enjoining, elsewhere, that it must be held as common to all nations, while yet ignorant of metallurgy, that their first arms and implements were of stone. He then adds that these were succeeded by such weapons and ornaments of bronze as he delineates, and developes the same idea in a single sentence, to the effect, that implements of stone were, in ordinary cases, superseded by the manufacture of brass, which was in turn displaced by that of iron.⁵

I do not at present know whether Eccard may be regarded as the first specifically to demonstrate this system with direct reference to examples of primitive art, but he

⁴ *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, v., 198.

⁵ *Op. Cit.* p. 62, et pass.

certainly was not the only writer who, in the same century, adopted the same conclusion. A marked instance is the President Goguet, whose elaborate work, "De l'Origine des Lois," the first edition of which was printed in 1758, contains nearly a whole chapter to this effect. Then, again, two of the most diligent antiquaries of that period in England, Borlase⁶ and Pennant,⁷ indicate the same opinion, although their deductions were not always guided thereby; and a paper by Mr. W. Little, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1791, to a certain extent discusses this question with reference to flint weapons.⁸

It is thus apparent that at least a hundred years ago the weapons and implements of ancient Europe had been referred to three processional epochs, and although there were at the opening of the present century many dissentients, just as there are now on broader principles, and many who, without reference to the writings of predecessors, hazarded all sorts of conjectures, still the classification in question had not the less been distinctly asserted. No doubt Skule Thorlacius was discussing primeval relics, as *simulacra armorum*, typical of Thor's power over elves and evil spirits, while others still continued to view them as mere symbols of the warrior's profession, or the sacred instruments of sacrifice; and hence Mr. Worsaae may, with some reservation, be right in saying, that confused and chaotic opinions prevailed regarding those objects when Mr. Thomsen began his labours; but he is assuredly mistaken in supposing that Mr. Thomsen was the first to enunciate the idea of a subdivision into three periods.

It will, of course, be seen, that I do not advert to the subsequent graft upon this simple outline, the corresponding ascription of sepulchral usages, and still more comprehensive generalisations which, even if we admit their applicability to Scandinavia, in deference to native investigators, are quite untenable with us. It is not to these that I wish to allude, but only to the broad general classification, as being the germ whence so many results have sprung, and which is now never altogether lost sight of, even when strict adherence to axiomatic maxims is most resisted. In hesitating to recognise Mr. Thomsen as its originator, I would not

⁶ Antiquities of Cornwall, 289-90.

⁸ Archæologia Scotica, i. 389.

⁷ Tour in Scotland, passim.

wish for a moment to be regarded as desiring to detract from his just fame. Indeed, it is precisely because his reputation rests upon another foundation, that I have thought it well thus to point out what seems to be a misconception on the subject; for the truth of Lord Brougham's remark is sufficiently apparent, that "The mere panegyric of eminent men must remain wholly worthless at the best, and is capable of being mischievous, if it aims at praise without due discrimination, still more if it awards to one man the eulogy which belongs to another."⁹

If then we apportion to Mr. Thomsen the precise tribute which is so fairly his due, we shall find that modern archaeology has hardly benefited less by his labours than if he had possessed the clearest claims to priority in framing the doctrine whose precepts he so energetically carried out. For, whatever may be the fruit of future researches in confirming or modifying existing inductions, it will always be remembered, that to the Danish antiquary is mainly owing the impulsive movement which first gave just prominence to ancient relics themselves as the actual records of primeval ages, and awakened that more rational mode of investigation, which has since prevailed in nearly every civilised land where such vestiges occur.¹

A. HENRY RHIND.

⁹ Life of Lavoisier.

¹ Read at the Edinburgh Meeting, in July, 1856.

ON THE REMOVAL AND RELAYING OF ROMAN TESSELATED FLOORS.

BY PROFESSOR BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S.

THE remarkable mosaic pavements discovered at Cirencester, in 1849, were so striking in appearance as to lead all who saw them *in situ* to wish for their preservation. As they occurred, however, in the very midst of the most important thoroughfare of the town, it was evident this could not be effected without removal, a process attended with considerable expense, and requiring no little skill and address to take such a mass from its position, so that it might be removed to a more convenient spot, and be ultimately relaid in as perfect a state as at the time when the discovery had taken place. This too had to be achieved in a short time, as the road was inconveniently obstructed by delaying the sewerage works then in progress. In this emergency some gentlemen of the town, foremost among whom was the Rev. Canon Powell, applied to the Earl Bathurst for his counsel and assistance. The noble earl, with his usual generosity, directed that the pavements should be forthwith removed, with a view to their future preservation.

In the meantime, tracings of the floors, as they were gradually explored, were made by Mr. Cox, of Cirencester, assisted by the vicar and some of the professors of the Royal Agricultural College, and even a few of the students shared in the work. A busy scene it was, to see all these volunteers kneeling and patiently tracing, stone by stone, the complicated details, of which the colours in the fresh state were carefully matched by Mr. Cox.

This done, the two fine floors were removed piecemeal, and carefully conveyed to a temporary resting-place with the view of forming ultimately, as they do at this moment, the permanent pavements of a suitable building erected for them by the liberality of the Earl Bathurst, destined to form a Museum of the Roman Antiquities of *Corinium*.

The removal, and an equally important undertaking, the

relaying, of these pavements has been a matter of no small anxiety to those concerned, and as the result shows, has been satisfactorily accomplished, notwithstanding the little information that could be derived from precedents or written descriptions of the processes previously employed. It has been thought advisable that I should bring the subject under the attention of the Institute, detailing step by step the expedients to which we had recourse in accomplishing our object at Cirencester. In connection with these observations it may be advisable to direct attention to the following subjects :—

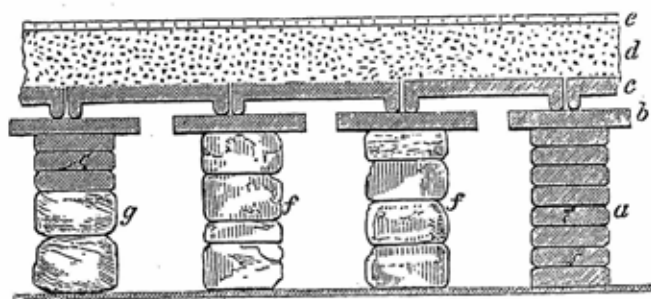
1st. The construction of different kinds of Roman tessellated pavements.

2nd. The operations connected with their removal dependant thereupon.

3rd. Relaying and reparations of removed floors.

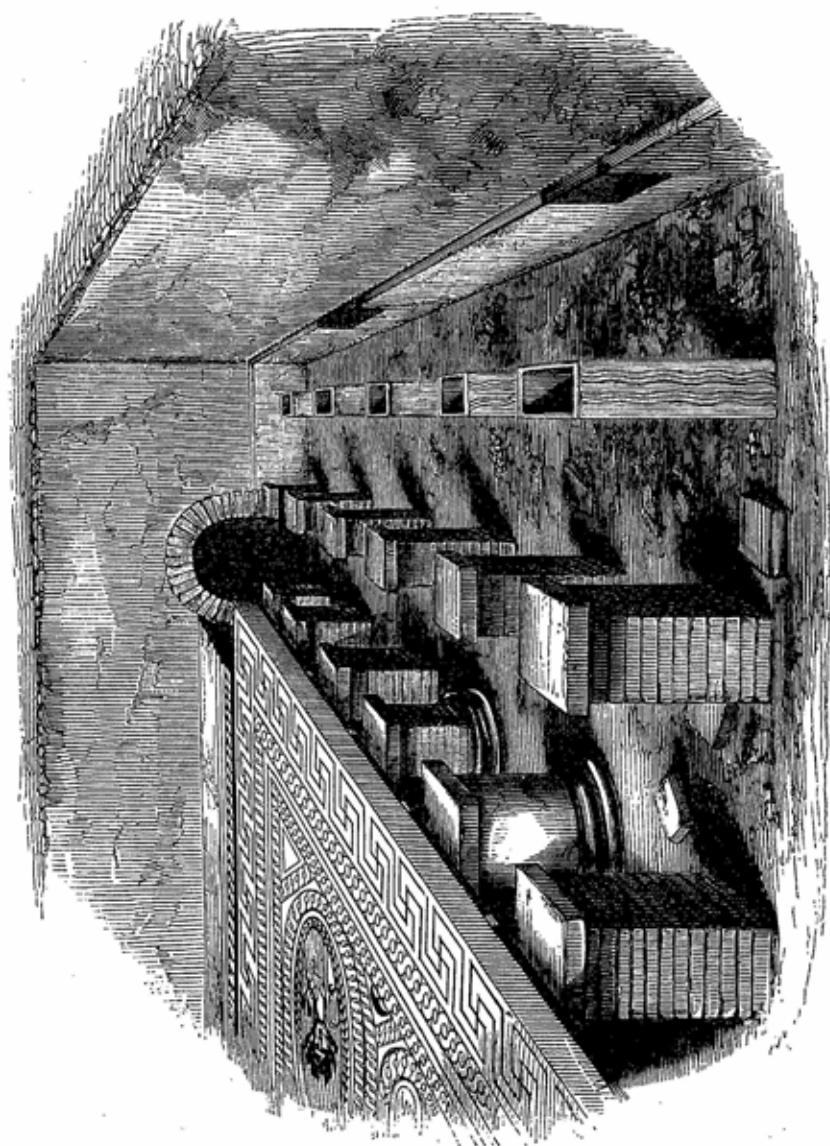
Roman pavements are usually of two descriptions. A finer kind, consisting of various borders and frets employed as a frame-work to pictorial subjects, and usually supported on *pilæ*. A coarser kind composed of frets without pictures, and resting on a solid base, without *pilæ*.

The first of these are designated as *suspensuræ*, being elevated on a number of small supports or pillars, called



Tessellated pavement, laid on flanged tiles. a. *Pilæ* of bricks; b. larger bricks; c. flanged tiles; d. concrete; e. tessellæ; f. *Pilæ* of squared blocks of stone; g. *Pilæ*, part stone and part bricks.

pilæ, composed of different materials, amongst which are hollow bricks, or flue-tiles; solid flat bricks or wall-tiles; blocks of stone, and bases of old columns. Upon these supports a continuous floor was formed, either of large flat tiles of considerable thickness, or of thinner flanged tiles, which are sometimes placed with the flanges upwards, sometimes in the other direction. Upon a floor so prepared was laid



Tessellated floor, laid on a *surgere*, supported on pile formed of different materials, as found at Circuensis.

a thick mass of a very hard concrete, composed of potsherds, gravel, and lime which was made into a smooth terras for the reception of the tessellæ.¹ The various kinds of *pila* found at Cirencester are shown in the accompanying woodcut.

The tessellæ themselves deserve careful attention in all processes connected with their removal, as it will be necessary to restore certain parts that must be displaced in dividing the floor into portions for convenience of transport. All the fragments so taken out, as indeed all loose tessellæ, should be carefully preserved for further use. But besides this, the examples of stone and other materials in our pavements were cautiously investigated by the geologist and the chemist, and their determinations of the kind and nature of the substances employed were found of great use in the restorations subsequently undertaken.

The list of these substances included, besides pottery and glass, stones from the following geological formations:—Chalk; Purbeck Marble; Oolitic stones of various shades of colour; Lias Limestone; New Red Sandstone, and Old Red Sandstone. Some of these, especially the oolites, had evidently been made suitable for different degrees of coloration by some curious processes. These and the preparation of the ruby glass have been more fully set forth in the "Illustrations of Ancient Corinium," by Mr. Newmarch and myself.

As respects the subjects usually pictured, they have reference mostly to mythology and objects connected with the chase. The story of Orpheus is one of those of frequent occurrence; no less than four times has this subject been repeated in different parts of Gloucestershire.

If I might venture a remark upon the construction of these pictures as an art, one would almost be led to think that designs were first made by tolerable artists, and that these in all probability were gradually worked by persons of inferior skill, or even members of the household. There is an unevenness in the working, apparently from having been done at different times, and by various hands. Some of the pavements at Cirencester, moreover, are found in an unfinished state, whilst others, and especially those which we have removed, are patched in several places in a way

¹ The method of constructing tessellated floors will be found more fully explained in the "Illustrations of the remains of

Roman Art, in Cirencester," by Prof. Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, 1850.

that marks reparation at various periods. It may therefore be possible, that these elaborate floors were the result of that kind of patience more recently expended on "Berlin work" and embroidery, a notion which seems in some measure confirmed by the delicate working of sprigs of flowers, endless knots, and intricate guilloches, which characterises the decorations of this class.

The common tessellated floors were formed by smoothing the earth, and upon this was then laid the concrete prepared as above described. Upon this, beautiful geometrical and other patterns were often laid, but seldom any designs comprising figures or subjects of the higher class of art.

Occasionally in excavations at Cirencester I have met with pavements constructed as just described, one over the other, in such a manner as to lead to the inference that the higher floor was formed to escape an inundation, which seems to have visited the valley once in about half a century. In 1833, there was a flood of this kind, when all the cellars in the town were filled with water, and I observed that while the upper of these double floors were beyond the limits of the flood, the lower floor would have been inundated.

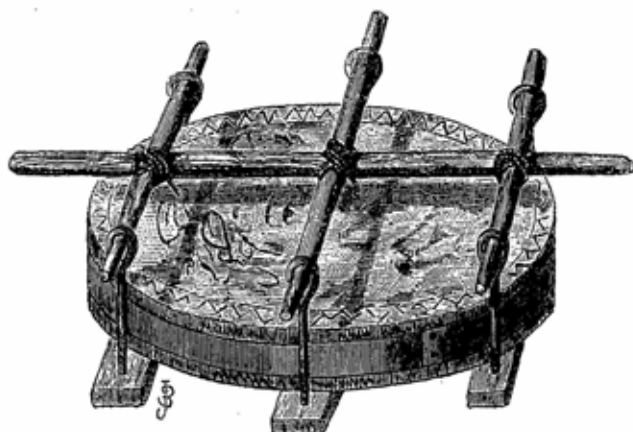
2nd. The two kinds of construction, to which I have briefly adverted, of course necessitated very different methods to be adopted in removal of the pavements. As regards pavements on *pila*, the following was the course pursued :—The first process was to cause the floor to be divided into smaller portions. This was done by removing the rows of white tessellæ from around the circles, semicircles, and quadrants of our two large pavements, and then with chisels and stone-saws cutting through the concrete to the very base of the terras. By these means the pavements were divided into portions of various weights and sizes, which had to be finally prepared for removal.

It is obvious that the edges of these large heavy blocks would be liable to break away, and some of the concrete would unavoidably crumble, in the jolting necessitated by the carriage from one place to another. To prevent the former, a thin coating of plaster of Paris was run over the outer surfaces of the designs, upon which were laid pieces of blue slate. This process, however, in several instances was omitted, but in its stead a hoop of iron was fastened around the edges, a plan which succeeded much better, as the

plaster, on its removal, tore away many of the looser tesserae of the design.

The next step was to pass under the block to be removed slabs of wood, consisting of two or more, according to the size of the portion of pavement. Into these were screwed long iron loop-screws, through the loops of which poles could be passed, and the whole might be lifted either by men or by pulleys, and placed on a truck to be conveyed away. The same mechanical means were resorted to to deposit the mass in the place of temporary rest, and then the screws were taken out to be employed in the same way for the other portions.

This apparatus of the boards and screws is very simple, as it was only necessary to readjust the screws in order to remove the blocks at any time to their final resting-



Portion of a tessellated floor, packed for removal. Weight, about 12 cwt.

place, and one set of screws sufficed for the whole. It should be borne in mind that some of the blocks were of great weight, and consequently much strength of apparatus had to be employed. The annexed diagram shows one of the blocks prepared as described.

Here then, in the case of a *suspensura*, it was tolerably easy to get to all sides so as to adjust the apparatus, as described; but where the pavement was laid on a solid ground the difficulties were increased, as not only had the soil to be gradually removed from below, so as to admit the packing for its support and removal, but pavements so constructed are usually not so well preserved as those placed

on *suspensuræ*; these mosaic floors have suffered more from damp, and consequently the tesserae are often much broken and displaced. If then such a pavement can be removed in divided blocks, like those before described, upon carefully working underneath them, that mode of proceeding is preferable, and we have then solid slabs for relaying; but if too broken or too fragile for this process, it is well to look only to the tesserae, and adopt a plan to remove it in pieces from the concrete substratum, which can be done in this as in all cases of loose tessellæ, by spreading a cement made of a mixture of resin and bees' wax on rough pieces of canvas, and applying it hot, carefully adjusting it to the floor to be removed. This enables the operator to remove all the tesserae in such a state as to be capable of being put away on any flat surface for future replacement. This plan is well adapted for all small portions of pavement, which it may be desired to preserve, as it can be readily adopted where every other expedient would be unsuccessful.

It may be well here to give the result of our experience as regards the temporary deposit of pieces of pavement so removed. Many of the slabs prepared as described were removed to one of the lateral chapels of the parish church, others to Earl Bathurst's coach-house, but the greater part were laid upon a lawn, and a temporary canvas building erected over them to protect them from the weather. Of these, the portions placed in the church were badly preserved; those in the coach-house proved to be in better condition, whilst the portions protected by the tent were in the best state; and, as they had to remain in these positions some time, while a building was in course of erection for their final reception, it is a matter of congratulation that the injury anticipated from atmospheric causes did not arise. The truth being that too dry a state of the air, whether from their sudden removal from the bed in which they have lain for so many centuries, or from whatever other cause, is injurious, as tending to crack and separate the tessellæ one from another, as also to split off masses of the concrete; and as the plaster of Paris had been applied to those in the church, in the manner previously described, its subsequent removal occasionally caused the breaking off of large portions of the design. That in the tent was never too dry, and consequently its liability to crack was not so great; and it may be mentioned with

respect to these pavements now they are relaid, that constant washing may be considered beneficial rather than prejudicial to their preservation.

3rd. On relaying and repairing Roman floors.—In the case before us, we have to congratulate ourselves upon the erection, through the Earl Bathurst's liberality, of a most suitable and substantial building for the reception of the two floors discovered in Dyer Street, in 1849.

In buildings for this purpose two circumstances ought to be provided for, a thorough ventilation, and a perfectly dry atmosphere. The first is secured by windows that can be readily opened. The second, we hope, has been accomplished, by making a deep drain around the outside of the building, to keep the walls dry at their foundations. The ground on which the pavement is laid was, at the recommendation of Mr. Digby Wyatt, prepared by a layer of concrete 2 feet thick, which has the effect, besides keeping the base dry, of forming a strong and immovable foundation for the reception of the pavement.

I would here express the thanks of all those interested in the preservation of these pavements, for the valuable suggestions kindly sent by Mr. Wyatt; at this time our pavements had been removed, but his instructions were of great use in facilitating the relaying of them, and were implicitly followed. To his valuable advice on this occasion, given in the most friendly manner at the request of Mr. Albert Way, we owe much of the success with which this difficult undertaking has been achieved.²

The building having been completed, the noble earl, on whose property it is placed, put the whole matter of relaying the pavements into the hands of the Rev. Canon Powell and myself, giving us in the most liberal manner every facility as to workmen, and all the requisite arrangements. At this stage of the proceeding, we deemed it advisable to apply to Mr. Minton, to recommend us a person expert in laying floors, and he sent us in Mr. Allen, a coadjutor in every way

² I must take this occasion to express my acknowledgment, and to offer the thanks of my Cirencester friends, to Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Albert Way, and other members of the Institute who have taken a cordial interest in the discoveries at Cirencester. Their sympathy and ready

aid on all occasions have had no slight influence in keeping alive amongst us a feeling which I hope may tend more and more to the preservation of the vestiges which illustrate the ancient condition and history of *Corinium*.

suiting to direct so difficult an operation. He entered upon the work in the spirit of one who was proud of being engaged on such an undertaking, and who had the taste and knowledge to appreciate the value of so remarkable a work of ancient art. Mr. Allen's first proceeding was to examine with great care the tracings of the floors, and when we had decided upon the positions they were to occupy in the room the work of relaying commenced in earnest.

The loop-screws previously described were screwed into the boards supporting the first portion to be removed. It was lifted on a spring-truck, so as to avoid injury from jolting, and from this it was moved to its future position, which having been accurately determined, the careful adjustment of the tessellated mass took place, by packing below with stones and bricks, and when perfectly levelled in its position a paste of Roman cement, made thin enough to run into every crevice, was carefully poured beneath the whole. By these means it was soon firmly established in its destined resting-place.

The other portions of the pavement followed one after another, and each upon being carefully adjusted to its fellow, was secured by the Roman cement, until the whole became joined together in a compact mass, which, from the manner of working, I conceive to be as smooth and secure as when the floor was originally formed. I would remark upon the adjustment of large pieces of work like that under consideration, ranging from half a cwt. to as much as a ton in weight, being all parts of a continuous pattern, that much patience and skill is required in fixing the first piece, and adapting the various portions one to the other afterwards. This was in our case rendered much easier by a careful study and admeasurement of our accurate tracings, which, to this end, were laid down in Earl Bathurst's hall, for constant study and reference during the progress of the work.

The various parts of the two pavements having been secured in position, in the manner described, then followed the gradual restoration of those portions which had been removed in dividing the floor into smaller masses. To this end, the variously-coloured tesserae were assorted and washed. These were then restored for the completion of the designs, and adjusted in their places by a strong cement sent for the purpose by Mr. Minton, the whole being pressed

evenly into their places by a flat block of wood. This, from the nature of the material, allowed considerable weight and pressure by blows or other means to be applied, without communicating a jar to the adjacent work. In some instances, great portions of a complicated guilloche or other border had to be replaced; in this case the pattern was arranged on a piece of board in the proper tessellæ, from which it was worked, bit by bit, into its appropriate place. In a few instances, owing to change from accident and other causes, the colours could not be matched, even by using the same geological materials as were originally employed, so that we had to seek the best substitutes for our purpose. In this case, a few of the coloured tessellæ manufactured by Minton were substituted for the fictile, and even some of the stone, tessellæ of the ancient designs. I cannot, however, recommend the use of these, as they proved objectionable from their being formed in a mould and of uniform size. This regularity in dimensions, though it might at first appear to advantage, nevertheless takes from that freedom of design and effect which the ancient pavements present, from the very fact that stones of all shapes and sizes were used to work out the intention of the operator.

In our restorations it should be understood that we have confined ourselves to the replacing what was unavoidably removed, in order to separate the floors into convenient pieces for carriage. An important question has been suggested upon which we are desirous of obtaining the opinion of archaeologists. Is it advisable in such operations to restore the broken designs? I confess, as the work progressed, I almost felt a wish to do this, but upon mature reflection, I was convinced that we could not carry out such a renovation without great disadvantage. It is true, we might have shown what the floor would have been if perfect, but it is a question whether the new work would not have essentially detracted from the archaic intent and authenticity of the pavement, and I cannot help thinking that such an example of the arts of antiquity, even in a fragmentary state, possesses a far higher interest and value as an instructive memorial of the past than the most skilful restoration.

As regards the relaying of floors of the second class, formed without *suspensura*, this of course must be done in the same manner, but the operation will require even more careful

packing with the cement. If the tesserae have been removed on the canvas by the adhesive process above mentioned, this must be pressed smoothly on a bed of prepared cement, and when set hard, the canvas and resin can be removed by gentle heat.

It now only remains to point out a difficulty which we experienced in keeping the surfaces of these floors sufficiently bright and clean. The tesserae seem to be affected by two causes, chemical change, and the growth of mosses and minute fungi upon the surface, by which the designs are very much dimmed. In order to prevent this, I have experimented in several ways; one method proposed is by scrubbing with silver sand; this polishes the surfaces, but it is a work of great time and labour; another is the use of a Bath brick; this certainly cleans the tessellated floor very well, but I fear the constant cleaning which any plan would entail, may tend to loosen the tessellæ, and we have not the ready means at hand to repair such casual injuries, as was the case with the original occupants of the buildings in which these elaborate decorations were displayed, and to which these very examples bear witness. Would it therefore be desirable, when once cleaned, to rub them well with oil, or by some other means to protect the surface from future decomposition, arising from any such cause as has been mentioned above?

Having now detailed the processes employed in the removal and replacing of the Cirencester pavements, I can only hope that these remarks may draw forth some further observations upon this subject, or produce the result greatly to be desired—the publication of plain directions for proceeding with the preservation of such examples of ancient art, when they may be brought to light. In our case, much time and trouble might have been saved, had we been in possession beforehand of the practical knowledge which we have gained by experience. Scarcely a year elapses without the announcement of some fresh discoveries of these interesting vestiges of Roman occupation in our country; from the peculiar nature of tessellated pavements, or the circumstances under which such discoveries mostly occur, it must frequently happen that valuable examples are destroyed or very imperfectly preserved, for the want of that very promptitude of action which the knowledge of the means most readily available would so essentially tend to ensure.

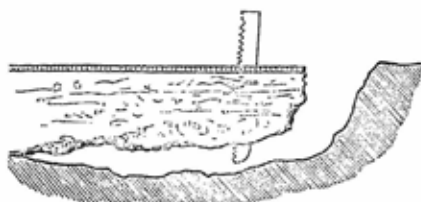
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE REMOVAL OF MOSAIC PAVEMENTS.

The following counsels, from one so accomplished in every subject connected with archaeology and art as Mr. Digby Wyatt, cannot fail to prove acceptable. Professor Buckman has already adverted to the kindness with which Mr. Wyatt aided the undertaking at *Corinium* by his valuable advice:—

"It is difficult (Mr. Wyatt observed) to advise about the removal of a mosaic pavement without seeing its condition, and more especially the condition of the cement upon which it has been bedded. Under average circumstances I should be inclined to adopt the following course. After removing all dust,—

"1. With strong bookbinders' paste cover the whole surface of the pavement with brown paper in large sheets, as a security against the displacement of the tesserae in the subsequent operations.

"2. Make a hole in the earth at the margin of the pavement at a point where a line of cutting may best be made without interfering with the best parts of the work, such as figures, &c., and then with a stonemason's hand-saw, or some such tool, cut through the pavement in one direction. Then,



starting from another hole in the ground, make a cutting in an opposite line, so as to free a slab of about four feet square,—as much as can be conveniently managed. Some consideration and care must be exercised in dividing the pavement, so as to preserve the more important portions of the

design uninjured; and it is obviously advisable to follow the leading divisions of the design, the borders, panels, &c. The joint lines of the tesserae may readily be found, after the pavement has been covered with paper, by rubbing down the paper, in the various directions in which the cuts have to be made.

"3. Each slab, as it is freed, should be carefully raised, and removed to a level floor, on which it should be laid face downwards. If the face of the tessellated slab is pretty true, and the old cement-backing in a good state, it will be enough for a mason to trim off the back to a rough face, so as to bring the slab to a uniform thickness of about four inches. If, on the contrary, the backing is friable and rotten, and has allowed the pavement to sink and lose its level, it will be necessary to remove it by flaking it away with a chisel, until the backs of the tesserae are reached. When they are laid bare, a fresh backing must be made with Portland cement, pure, next the tesserae (like a coat of whitewash) with sand, for about an inch in thickness, and then with gravel or fine concrete (lime and gravel) to the same thickness as the other slabs. I need not say that, when the tesserae have had their old cement taken away, they should be pressed down to a level face before the new backing is put on.

"4. When the slabs are all prepared, and are thoroughly set hard, they should be laid as ordinary paving slabs are laid in the best work, that is, on a good hard concrete bed.

"5. The brown paper may then be removed from the face of the pavement with hot water and a scrubbing brush.

"6. The action of the scrubbing brush should be continued after the brown paper and paste are wholly removed, so that the joints may be freed from dirt and loose fragments. A grouting of Portland cement should then be poured over the surface and rubbed into the joints, care being taken to wipe off with a dryish sponge all superfluous cement from the face of the pavement. Should any considerable inequalities remain, they may be rubbed down with a hard heavy stone and a little grit, till the whole is level and smooth. Then, when the floor is well washed and cleaned off, the operation, I doubt not, will prove to have been satisfactorily achieved.

"If the old backing is very good, I should endeavour to move the pavement in much larger pieces;—if it should be altogether rotten, and the tesserae loose, I should try strong glue and calico, instead of paste and brown paper, and endeavour to draw off all the tesserae adhering to the calico. I should then re-back them, as described above, much in the same manner as frescoes are removed from walls."

Very recently several valuable mosaic pavements discovered in Yorkshire have been successfully taken up by a skilful and ingenious manipulator, Mr. Baines, sub-curator of the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York. One of these pavements, found in 1853, near Micklegate Bar, York, has been laid down in the lower apartment of the Hospitium, the building in which the Museum of Antiquities is placed. In this instance a stratum of plaster of Paris was formed over the face of the pavement, which was by that means raised in portions of moderate dimensions. It was then backed with Roman cement and slates, and carefully laid down on a bed of sand. The application of the liquid cement to the reverse, it should be observed, caused the layer of plaster to detach itself so perfectly that a cast might be taken from it, and a coloured facsimile produced, if desired, showing all the interstices and arrangement of the tessellæ. The other pavements, which are of fine character, have not at present been laid down. They were obtained from a Roman villa discovered near Easingwold. In this instance, Mr. Baines states that he adopted a different process with great success. The face was first carefully cleansed from dust; the margins of the panels and chief divisions of the design were cut round, removing two rows of tesserae between each, and dividing the whole work into slabs of manageable dimensions. Strong canvas was then attached to the surface by bookbinders' glue, the glue being first applied to the tesserae, and the cloth then laid upon it. In parts where the damp state of the floor prevented the canvas becoming firmly attached, a hot iron was passed over it with advantage. The sub-stratum was then cut away, and the portion of the floor taken up. Mr. Baines then removed all the lime at the back, leaving the tesserae only adherent to the canvas. The mosaic work is then backed with slate, affixed by Roman cement. When firmly set, the various panels may then be laid in sand, the cloth removed by hot water, the interstices between the panels filled up by replacing the two rows of tesserae which had been removed, as before described, and any other defective portions made good. Mr. Baines proposes to make use of Roman cement for every purpose connected with relaying the pavement. By this mode of proceeding the face of the work may be rendered perfectly level, an advantage not to be attained where the plaster of Paris is used.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN SCOTLAND,
ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR, PREVIOUS TO THE UNION
WITH ENGLAND IN 1707.¹

BY JOSEPH ROBERTSON, F.S.A., Scot., Superintendent of Searches in the Literary and
Antiquarian Department of Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh.

IN compliance with a suggestion that such an outline, however rudely or feebly drawn, might not be wholly unacceptable to the Archaeological Institute, I venture on an attempt to sketch, as briefly as may be, the chief epochs in the annals of Scottish architecture, as well ecclesiastical as civil or secular, previous to our happy union with England, in the beginning of the XVIIIth century. If I am unable to produce pictorial illustrations—for which I must be content to refer to Mr. Billing's admirable volumes²—I shall not enter upon any consideration of details—which (so far as the first part of my subject is concerned) will be found copiously collected and classified in Mr. Thomas S. Muir's "Descriptive Notices of Scotch Collegiate and Parochial Churches,"³ and "Notes on Remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the South of Scotland."⁴

Taking no account of buildings of which no vestiges survive—such as the white-walled church, a marvel to the British tribes, which St. Ninian reared on the shores of Galloway by the hands of builders brought from Gaul, about the beginning of the Vth century; and "that church of stone after the Roman manner," for the construction of which as Bede tells us, architects were sent to the Pictish King from the venerable historian's own monastery in Northumberland in the first years of the VIIIth century;—passing over also such objects as those graven crosses and incised pillars of stone which belong rather to the department of sculpture than to the province of architecture; and those

¹ Communicated to the Architectural Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, July, 1856.

² Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiqui-

ties of Scotland. London, 1845-52. 4to, 4 vols.

³ London, 1848. 8vo.

⁴ Edinburgh, 1855. 8vo.

rocky caves for which nature had done so much that scarcely any art was needed to shape them into oratories or penance-cells for St. Ninian and St. Columba, St. Kentigern and St. Rule, St. Serf, St. Kieran, St. Maoliosa, St. Gernad, and many others of our early missionaries : dismissing these, I say, the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland may be distinguished into three great periods—one, the earliest, during which the influence of Ireland prevailed ; a second, by far the richest, during which we followed the footsteps of England ; a third, the last, during which we borrowed largely from France.

The First, or Scoto-Irish period, as it may be called, extends over more than five centuries, from about the middle of the VIth to near the end of the XIth ; from the landing of St. Columbkille on Iona, in the year 565, to the marriage of St. Margaret with King Malcolm at Dunfermline, in the year 1070. Of the few and scanty relics of this period, the best known are the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy. The Irish character of both is sufficiently obvious. Neither would seem to belong to the most ancient order of the class. The religious community which found shelter within the tower of Brechin, does not seem to have been founded until the end of the Xth century ; and there are features in the tower of Abernethy which appear to show that it is the younger of the two. It is amongst the distant Western Isles that we must seek for the oldest, if not the most instructive, edifices of this early age. On Eilean Naomh, an uninhabited rock midway between Scarba and Mull, are remains as well of those circular dome-roofed cells, which in Ireland are known as "bee-hive houses," as of a building, probably a chapel, of which the walls are without cement, and the doors and windows are square-headed. The skilled glance of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Reeves of Ballymena, author of the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," at once recognised in these ruins the characteristics of the Irish architecture of the VIIth or VIIIth century. The same very learned and accurate antiquary has kindly placed in my hands a proof-sheet of his forthcoming edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, in which he gives an account from his own observation of a "cyclopean cashel," and of a chapel built without mortar, in the Isle of Skye, which may be contemporary, he believes, if not with the great Apostle

of Scotland, at least with the first or second generation of his disciples. On the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, are still to be seen the ruins of an oratory of the same type, if not of the same remote age, as the oratories of St. Senan and Gallerus in Ireland—the *capellula* in which, in 1123, the shipwrecked king of the Scots found a hermit serving St. Columbkille. When I mention some almost obliterated traces at Iona, some doubtful relics near the ancient sanctuary of St. Blane in Bute, and what would seem to be a “bee-hive house” in the rarely-visited island of St. Kilda, I believe that I nearly exhaust the meagre catalogue of the ascertained monuments of the Celtic or Scoto-Irish age of our architecture.

The Second, or Anglo-Scottish era, embraces three centuries, reaching from about the end of the XIth to about the end of the XIVth, from the accession of St. Margaret in 1070 to the accession of the Stewarts in 1371. This was emphatically the great age of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland, the noontide at once of the spiritual glory and earthly grandeur of the Medieval Church in the north. As it was an English Princess, the saintly niece of the meek Confessor, who laid the foundations—who laid the foundations as well of our social and political civilisation—so it was by English hands that the fabric was built up. English monks peopled our monasteries, English priests served our parochial cures, English bishops ruled our episcopal sees. Our cathedrals framed their constitutions after the English models of Salisbury and Lincoln; our provincial councils copied their canons from the English synods of Oxford and Durham; the language and rites of our liturgy were the language and rites of the English use of Sarum. When such was the character of the Scottish Church, it need scarcely be added that her architecture was English too. Throughout the three centuries which I have named, the ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland, except in their humbler dimensions, their smaller number, and their less copious and less costly decoration, differ from those of England only as the churches of one English shire may differ from those of another, or as the constructive art of one French province varies from that of another French province. The Norman, or Romanesque, the First Pointed or Early English, and the Second Pointed or Decorated, are substantially the same on both banks of Tweed; the same

in their general features, nearly the same in their date and duration.

Of our Romanesque buildings, the earliest is the nave of the conventual church of Dunfermline, begun, it would seem, in the last years of the XIth century, and consecrated in the middle of the XIIth. Its foundations were laid by the same King of Scots who about the same time laid the foundations of Durham; and looking to the close resemblance between the two, it seems not improbable that they may have been planned by the same head, if not executed by the same hands. Of our other Romanesque structures—such as the noble cathedral of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall (if a work built when the Orkneys were part of Norway, may fairly be claimed as Scottish), the conventual minsters of Kelso and Jedburgh, the parish churches of Dalmeny, Leuchars, and Tynninghame—all are of a comparatively late order, some of them indeed bordering on the Transition to First Pointed. One Romanesque building—the old church of St. Rule, the elder of the two cathedrals at St. Andrews—shows a feature to which, so far as I know, there is no existing parallel in England—a square central tower, more than a hundred feet high, and, so, wholly disproportioned to the diminutive choir from which it springs. There is sufficient evidence that it was built between the years 1127 and 1144, by an Austin Canon from the English monastery of St. Oswald near Pontefract, who then filled the primatial see of the Scots. The object of the builder, as I think I could show from some inedited documents, may have been to surpass the neighbouring and rival church of the Culdees of the Heugh (that is the Rock); and could we be sure that the Culdee canons of St. Andrews had a round tower like their Culdee brethren of Abernethy and Brechin, it would be easy to conjecture why Bishop Robert carried his rectangular tower to such an unusual altitude.

The choir of the later and larger cathedral at St. Andrews, begun in 1162, shows how the Romanesque was at that date passing into First Pointed. In the conventual church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Arbroath, founded in 1178, we see the Transition almost or altogether consummated. In the matchless crypt of the cathedral of Glasgow, founded in 1181 and consecrated in 1197, we have the First Pointed completely developed. In the cathedral church of Iona, on

the other hand, Romanesque presents itself after the year 1200 ; but Irish hands were at work there, and the building is anomalous in other respects. One Romanesque feature, the semi-circular arch, lingered with us through every order to the last.

To the First Pointed or Early English style—including under that name as well the more advanced stages of Transition from the Romanesque as the earlier stages of Transition to Second Pointed—to the First Pointed style, extending over little more than one busy century from the accession of King William the Lion in 1165 to the death of Alexander III. in 1286—belong the chief portions of the cathedrals of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, Caithness, Elgin and Brechin, and of the conventual churches of Coldingham, Holyrood, Arbroath, Dryburgh, Paisley, Kilwinning, Inchcolm, Restennet, Dundrennan, New Ferne, Cambuskenneth, Inchmahome, Sweet Heart or New Abbey, and Pluscardine. They who are familiar with the architectural remains of Scotland, will at once perceive how many of our finest structures are included in this list.

If the Second Pointed style in England be held to extend from the accession of King Edward I. in 1272 to the accession of King Richard II. in 1377, we may affirm that up to its close—which nearly coincides with the accession of the house of Stewart to the Scottish throne—the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland continued upon the whole to maintain its conformity with the contemporary ecclesiastical architecture of England. But the long and sanguinary wars of the Scotch Succession had now at length fixed the two countries in a position of antagonism—antagonism political, social, and even ecclesiastical. For, when the Papal schism broke out in 1378, England adhered to Urban VI. and Boniface IX., while Scotland followed Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. The point of difference was of consequence enough to affect the laity, and so to add the gall and bitterness of sectarian strife to the many causes which, on one hand, led Scotsmen to speak, even in the solemn language of the statute-book, of their “auld enemies of England”—and, on the other hand, led English fathers, in the northern counties, to declare, in their last wills, that their daughters should be disinherited if they married Scotchmen. Thus effectually estranged from her nearest and natural neighbour, Scotland

was gradually drawn into close connection with France ; and one fruit of this fellowship was that, from about the middle of the XVth to the beginning of the XVIIIth century, French influence prevailed more or less in every department of Scottish art.

The Second Pointed style, which, in England, came to a close about the year 1377, may be regarded as extending itself, in Scotland, to the Reformation, with this distinction, that, soon after the appearance of the Third Pointed or Perpendicular style on the southern side of Tweed, Scottish churches began to show the flamboyant window-tracery, the double doorways with flattened heads under one pointed arch, the large, richly-crocketed pinnacles, the polygonal apses or many-sided eastern terminations, and other characteristics of the contemporary architecture of France, of which you will hear more from my learned friend Mr. Burton, in the paper on the " Analogy of French and Scottish Architecture " with which he is to favour this section of the Archaeological Institute. Our Scotch Second Pointed style thus falls to be divided into two nearly equal portions, both comparatively barren (for sixty years of war with England had spent the strength and exhausted the resources of the country), the earlier portion belonging to what I have termed the Anglo-Scottish period, the latter to what, I hope, we may be allowed to call simply the Scottish period. To the former are to be assigned the greater part of the beautiful cathedral church of Fortrose, and great part of the still more beautiful conventual church of Melrose—the latter dating from about the middle of the XIVth to about the middle of the XVth century, during most of which time Melrose stood on the English side of the Border, and its Cistercians gave their allegiance to the English Edwards, Richards, and Henrys. To this circumstance, perhaps, we may owe the tracery of Third Pointed character, which fills the great eastern window of Melrose. It is the only example of the Perpendicular style which is to be found in Scotland, with the exception of the four centred arches in the crypt of St. Triduan's chapel at Restalrig, built about 1486 by King James III., from a design, we may be allowed to conjecture, of some of his English favourites.

We can boast of no such temple as Melrose, in that later order of our Second Pointed style, which—extending from the accession of the first Stewart in 1371, to the accession

of the sixth of our Jameses in 1567—fills the whole of the Third and last period of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture. To this age of decline, we are indebted for one cathedral church, that of St. Machar at Aberdeen, and for portions of five or six others, such as the choir of Lismore, the eight-sided chapter-house of Elgin, the tower and western window of Brechin, the tower, nave, and chapter-house of Dunkeld, and the spire, nave, chapter-house, and transept-crypt of Glasgow. We are indebted to it also for the conventual churches of St. Monan's in Fife, the Black Friars at St. Andrews, the Greyfriars at Aberdeen and Stirling, for the gateway and refectory at Dunfermline, and the doorway and buttresses of the north isle of the nave of Holyrood. But its chief works were collegiate or parochial churches—such as those of Linlithgow, Corstorphine, Dalkeith, Seton, and Haddington, in this neighbourhood; St. Mary's at Dundee, St. Saviour's at St. Andrews, St. John's at Perth, and King's College at Aberdeen. It is in this class of edifices—built chiefly during the second half of the XVth, or the first half of the XVIth centuries—that French features are most conspicuous. Some of these Continental characteristics may still be discerned in St. Giles' Church in this city, in spite of the restoration to which it has been subjected. A still finer example of the style, was that Trinity College Church, which was so barbarously taken down a few years ago, and the rebuilding of which, to the deep disgrace of our Scottish capital, has not yet been begun. Nearly contemporary with Trinity College Church and St. Giles, is the collegiate chapel of Roslin, begun in 1446, and so wholly anomalous that it would be quite inexplicable were we not told that its founder brought the builders from abroad. It was these foreign masons, doubtless, who introduced into this little Scottish chapel the first features of Renaissance that are to be found perhaps within the British Islands.

If the Reformation was not so destructive of our ancient churches as has been commonly supposed, it was at least fatal for a time to the progress of ecclesiastical architecture. The sacred edifices which were built during the last hundred and fifty years of Scotland's existence as an independent realm, were as few in number as they were worthless in art. If we except one or two—such as Dairsie in Fife, Auchterhouse in Angus, and Ogston in Murray—which aspired to

imitate English models of an earlier age, I believe that I name the best, when I point to the Tron Church in Edinburgh, as an example of that incongruous mixture of Gothic and Italian, Middle Age and Renaissance, which obtained in Scotland in the XVIIth century.

In beginning to speak of the Civil or Secular buildings of Scotland, I pass over—as works of engineering rather than of architecture—our many hill-forts, whether ramparts of earth or stone, or walls more or less perfectly cemented by vitrification. I pass over, too, the numerous caves, cut like pigeon-holes in the face of precipitous cliffs, which served as places of refuge to our forefathers, so late even as the English invasions in the reign of King Henry VIII. Nor shall I do more than mention the low under-ground dens, called *weems*, Earth-houses, or Picts Houses, where one long stone successively overlapping another, served as a substitute for the arch, and so roofed in a hole in which the wild Scot, or barbarian Pict might find concealment and shelter for his family, with their few scraps of dried deer's flesh, their scanty heap of oats, and their little quern or hand-mill. In the Orkneys, and a few other northern counties, these subterranean or semi-subterranean chambers attain much larger dimensions, and show both greater resources, and more skill in construction. It is in the same district that we find the perplexing edifices called Burls or Duns—circular erections of no great height, built of unhewn stones without cement, enclosing an open space in the centre, and having in the gradually diminishing thickness of the wall a succession of gradually diminishing chambers. It is very difficult to determine either the use or the era of these singular structures. The subject has engaged the attention of an accomplished member of the Institute, Mr. A. H. Rhind, from whose pen, we may be assured, it will receive all the elucidation of which it is capable.

With abundance of Norman work still surviving in our churches, it is somewhat remarkable that we have now so little of Norman work to show in our castles. I cannot speak of any from my own observation, and do not remember to have read of any, except two Norman doorways at Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire, drawn and described by Cardonnel and Grose. Yet that many fortresses were built in Scotland during the

prevalence of the Romanesque style, is not to be questioned. The castles raised by St. David, who reigned from 1124 to 1153, are expressly commemorated by his friend, servant, and biographer, St. Ailred; and the intimations of the Abbot of Rievaulx are abundantly confirmed by chronicle, charter, and capitulary. But the son of St. Margaret planted his Norman keeps, for the most part, upon the Border; and not only their ruins, but every vestige of the prosperous towns that grew up around their walls, have been swept from that unstable soil, by the frequent ebb and flow of the desolating tide of war. A few green mounds and shapeless heaps of stones are almost all that now remain of the Roxburgh of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries; its castle, mint, churches, chapels, hospitals, mills, and streets of trading booths. The other strongholds reared by St. David and his successors stood, with scarcely an exception, within burghs; and these, overspreading their ancient limits, have long obliterated the last traces of the feudal towers to which they owed their birth. At a still earlier period, the Wars of the Succession proved more fatal to Scottish castles than ever the Reformation was to Scottish churches. In the first six years of his reign, King Robert Bruce destroyed no fewer than a hundred and thirty-seven towers, castles, and fortalices, "*Quia, sicut communiter adhuc dicitur,*" says the Cistercian annalist of Cupar, "*nisi castra et turres exterminasset, regnum nequamquam in libertate gubernasset.*" We must keep in mind, too, that of the secular as well as of the ecclesiastical edifices of the north in the Middle Ages, many were of timber. Thus, it is recorded, that when the Wild Scots poured down from the hills, or swarmed across the firths, in 1228, to ravage the rich corn-lands of Murray, it was by wooden castles that they found the country defended. We have still in the Peel-bog of Lumphanan, the Bass of Inverury, the Doune of Invernochty, and elsewhere, the remains of the formidable earthworks, partly natural, partly artificial, on which such wooden towers were erected.

Setting aside mere fragments of ruin without any architectural expression—such as Dunbar, the seat of the great March Earls, or Lochmaben and Turnberry, Buittle, Dalswinton and Kyneddar, Coull, Duffus and Boharm, ancient holds of the Bruces, Balliols, Cumyns, Durwards, and Murrays—I can recall at this moment only one castle in Scotland, which can be proved

from record to be of so old a date as the middle of the XIIIth century. "In the year 1267," says John of Fordun, "died Hugh Giffard of Yester, whose castle, at least its pit and donjon, were, according to old legends, built by demoniac art: for there is a wonderful cave beneath the ground, of admirable construction, stretching far into the earth, and commonly called Bohall." The Bohall, or Hall of Goblins, still remains in the Marquess of Tweeddale's park at Yester, to attest the accuracy of description of the Father of our Scottish Chroniclers. The Lord of Yester chose for the site of his stronghold a steep peninsular mound, washed by the Hopes burn on the one hand, and by a tributary of that streamlet on the other. The situation had every advantage except one, water within the precincts of the castle; and it was to obtain this that the subterranean passage was hewn, which excited the terrors of the East Lothian peasantry in the XIIIth century. From a vaulted hall, which is itself below the natural surface of the soil, a vaulted staircase of six-and-thirty steps winds downwards into the bowels of the earth, until at the level of the neighbouring brooks a never-failing supply of water is reached. The masonry of the work is not surpassed by any railway tunnel which I have had an opportunity of seeing. In other respects the edifice is too much ruined to be very instructive; but enough remains to show that the style was First Pointed, and that the decoration was of the same character as the ornamentation of the Scottish churches of the same time. For this conformity between our secular and ecclesiastical architecture we are prepared, both by the example of other countries, and by what is recorded of the only Medieval architect of Scotland whose name and works have descended to our day. The Scottish Breviary tells us how St. Gilbert of Murray—who built the cathedral of Dornoch in the XIIIth century, and filled its windows with glass made by himself on the coast of Sutherland—built also, and fortified many royal castles in the north.

The oldest fortresses now existing in Scotland, in anything like an entire shape, are what in England would be called Edwardian—a name which there are no reasons for rejecting in Scotland. It is in the Scotch wars of the first three Edwards, extending from 1296 to 1357, that these castles emerge into notice, if, indeed, as is much more probable, it

was not that terrible struggle which called them into existence. The chief of them are Caerlaveroc on the Solway, Dirlton in East Lothain, which you will have an opportunity of visiting an hour or two hence, Bothwell on the Clyde, Kil-drummy in Aberdeenshire, and Lochindorb in Murray. They have all the same general character—long curtain walls, flanked at the angles with lofty circular towers which are vaulted throughout—the entrance being by a drawbridge and gateway defended by a portcullis, and guarded on either side by a round tower. With the exception of Lochindorb—which trusted not in vain for defence to the lake in which it stands—the walls are of great strength, and the area (generally of an irregular shape) which they enclose is of considerable size; that is, when measured by our Scotch standard, for I should think that one of the great Edwardian castles of the Welsh marches—Conway, Caernarvon, or Caerphilly—might hold two of our Scotch examples. In every instance which I know, the circular towers spring from their foundations in that bell-like shape with which we are all familiar, through representations of the Eddystone lighthouse. The absence of this peculiarity makes me hesitate to include Tantallon among the Edwardian castles, which it otherwise resembles, and to which it can be shown to approximate in point of date.

Of the next class of our northern castles—dating from the end of the XIVth to the middle of the XVIth centuries—the primitive form is the square or oblong tower. In its simplest or humblest shape this was of no more than two storeys, both vaulted, the lower containing the kitchen, a well, and store-rooms, the upper occupied by the hall; the sleeping apartments, if there were any, being closets within the thickness of the wall. But it was seldom that the square tower had fewer than three storeys—there are instances of four and even five—the hall being still, for obvious considerations of safety, next the roof, while the lower, or underground chamber, accessible by a trap-door, which was the only opening, for there was neither chimney, airhole, nor window, served as the prison, or “pit,” as it was called. The walls are for the most part very thick, measuring from ten to fifteen feet at the foundation, and containing within them newel staircases and one or two small chambers. The windows, except in the topmost storey, are

mere slits, only a few inches wide at the exterior, but deeply splayed within. The entrance, as in the Irish Round Towers and in some of the Anglo-Norman keeps, was by a doorway (closed by an iron grate) in the second storey, to which there was access either by a ladder, or by a stone stair, built at some little distance from the tower, with which it communicated by a drawbridge. or more often, it would seem, by a moveable plank or two. Little more than a century has passed since at least one of these towers might have been seen in Scotland, inhabited, in almost every respect, as when it was first built, three hundred years before. James Ferguson, the self-taught astronomer, who lived for some months with Simon Lord Lovat in 1740, found his Lordship occupying the hall of Castle Downie, for all the purposes of drawing-room, parlour, dining-room, and bed-chamber. "His own constant residence," we are told, "and the place where he received company, and even dined constantly with them, was just one room only, and that the very room in which he lodged. And his lady's sole apartment was also her own bed-chamber; and the only provision made for lodging either of the domestic servants or of the numerous herd of retainers was a quantity of straw which was spread over night on the floors of the four lower rooms of this sort of tower-like structure. Sometimes about 400 persons attending this petty court, were kennelled here."

Of these oblong towers—which were often allowed to remain in their original shape, as a refuge in emergency, long after their owners had begun to make their usual abode in lower and more commodious houses, "the laigh bigging," as our Scotch phrase ran—under the shadow of the old keep—of these rectangular towers, one of the earliest and best examples is that of Drum in Aberdeenshire. Merchiston in the suburb of this city, and Cawdor and Kilravock in Nairnshire, are excellent examples of the later style of the second half of the XVth century. Borthwick, about ten miles to the south of Edinburgh, is, without question, by far the noblest structure of this class which we possess. Built of ashlar within and without, it soars to the height of more than a hundred feet, and presents to the eye the appearance of two huge contiguous square towers. Differing in this regard from most others of the same style and age, its lofty, well-proportioned hall is in the second storey, an arrange-

ment which may have been considered safe in this instance, where the tower was defended by an outer wall. At Craigmillar, within sight of Edinburgh, the rectangular tower has, as it were, an oblong block notched out of the south-west corner, where the doorway was so placed, at the top of a flight of steps, as to be protected by portholes commanding the approach at once in flank and front. Craigmillar boasts, perhaps, the finest specimen which we now possess of the *antemurale*, or barmkin, a defence which gradually became of more and more importance, as the use of fire-arms increased, until, in the beginning of the XVIth century, we find its presence expressly stipulated for among other appointments of the fortresses which crown vassals were taken bound to build. "A tower, with a barmkin, of stone and lime, a hall, a chamber, a kitchen, a pantry, a bake-house, a brew-house, a barn, a byre, a cot, a pigeon-house, an orchard, and hedge-rows,"—so the enumeration runs in a charter of King James IV. in the year 1509. We are able to compare this catalogue of the requirements of a castle on the shores of Loch Ness with a contemporary list of the apartments of a mansion in the capital. The Edinburgh house of the Napiers of Merchiston, in 1495, contained "a hall, a chamber, a kitchen with a loft above, a pantry with a loft above, a chapel, three cellars, and a little house called the prison." At a somewhat later period, the barmkin seems to have fallen into disuse, its place being supplied by two circular towers, which being attached, one to each of the two opposite corners of the great rectangular tower, effectually flanked its walls on every side. Of this class of Scotch fortified houses, Drochil in Tweeddale, built by the Regent Morton in the minority of King James VI., is an instructive example.

In the middle of the XVth century, Scottish architecture, fostered by the love of art which the ill-starred King James III. transmitted to so many of his ill-starred descendants, began to recover from a long season of depression. But its progress was slow, and it is not until near the beginning of the XVIth century that we can be said to reach a new era. As one of its earliest fruits, I may mention the older portions of the Bog o' Gight, "our Palace of New Wark upon Spey," as it is proudly styled in the charters of its founder, George, second Earl of Huntly, who died in 1501. The building is

now buried in the modern mass of Gordon Castle, so that we know it only in an engraving of the XVIIth century, which by a mistake in the lettering, calls it Inverary. The chivalrous King James IV. was, in the latter years of his reign, an energetic builder; but it is not easy always to distinguish between what he built and what was built by his son, King James V. It is important to know from our records that both princes employed Continental masons. In the reign of the former, an Italian was at work upon Holyrood—in the reign of the latter, Frenchmen were busy at Stirling, at Falkland, at Holyrood, and at Linlithgow. Of this last edifice, the finest altogether of our Scotch Palaces, the larger and better part belongs to the first half of the XVIth century. What it possesses of foreign aspect is doubtless due, along with the foreign features of Stirling and Falkland, to their foreign builders. In Linlithgow, I may add, the ornamentation partook of the spirit of allegory which runs through the contemporary poetry of Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, and Sir David Lindsay. The now empty niches above the grand gateway in the eastern side of the quadrangle, were filled with statues of a pope, to represent the church, a knight, to indicate the gentry, and a labouring man, to symbolise the commons, each having a scroll above his head on which were inscribed a few words of legend, now irretrievably lost. All this I learn from records of the year 1535, which further show that this group, together with the group of the Salutation of the Virgin upon the other side of the quadrangle, and certain unicorns and a lion upon the outer gateway, were brilliantly painted. This external use of gaudy colour survived in Scotland to a comparatively late date. In the records of the year 1629, for instance, I find a sum of 266*l.* charged for “painting his Maiesties haill rowmes in the Pallace of Linlithgow, both in sylringis, wallis, doris, windowis, bordaris above the hingingis; and for furnishing all sortis of cullouris and gold belonging thairto; and lykwayes for painting and laying ouer with oyle cullour and for getting with gold the haill foir face of the new wark—[that is the north side of the quadrangle, built by King James VI.]—with the timber windowis and window brodis, staine windowis and crownellis, with ane brod for the Kingis armes and houssing gilt and set of; and lykwyse for getting and laying ouer with oyle cullour the Four Orderis—[that is the

Garter, the Thistle, St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, all held by King James V.]—above the vtter yett, and furnishing all sortes of gold, oyle, and warkmanschip thairto, and for laying ouer the tuo vnicornes and getling of thame." Metal work—cresting the tops of our buildings sometimes with a ballustrade, more often with figures of the cross, the thistle, the lion, and the like—was in general use in Scotch buildings—here again following the fashion of France—during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries; and we have proof that it was liberally painted and gilded. I have trespassed too far in this digression on the external use of colour to say anything of its internal application, except that this must have been very general. The vestiges of brilliant colouring are yet perceptible in the crypt of Glasgow; and dim outlines of once resplendent forms are still to be discerned on the walls of the castle halls of Borthwick and Craigmillar.

If I give way to the temptation of saying something upon painted glass, it shall be but a sentence or two. In each of the five windows of the chapel in Linlithgow Palace was a figure or image of what the records of 1535 call "made work," that is, pieced work or mosaic. The price of this was 6s. 8d. a foot—the price of the white or common glass being 1s. 1d. a foot—both sums, of course, being Scotch money. The five images cost altogether less than 10*l.*, the plain glass in which they were set costing 15*l.* The painted glass of the five windows of the Lion Chamber of Linlithgow, executed in the same year, 1535, cost 7*l.*; the common glass costing less than 4*l.*

To the same age with most part of the quadrangle of Linlithgow, the finest of our Palatial courts, belongs most part of the quadrangle of Crichton, the finest of our Castle courts. Here, again, we meet the marks of foreign taste. The peculiar ornament of the structure is in the sharp four-sided facets into which the stones are cut.

" Above its cornice, row on row
Of fair hewn facets richly show
Their pointed diamond form."

And this kind of decorated masonry is found in France, according to M. de Caumont, at an early period. Thirty or forty years later, perhaps, than the best portions of

Crichton, the archiepiscopal castle of St. Andrews may be named as a favourable type of Scottish architecture in the middle of the XVIth century.

I now reach the last, the most prolific, and, as I think, the best age of Scotch secular architecture. King James V. was still busy with his buildings at Holyrood and Linlithgow, at Stirling and Falkland, when the fatal rout of Solway broke his heart in 1542. The tumults and wars of the Reformation—extending through the distracted minority, and still more calamitous reign of his hapless daughter—were fatal to all the arts; and when at length they began to revive under the peaceful rule of King James VI., about 1570, it was to show how vital a change had been wrought in architectural form and feeling during an interval of thirty years. Tendencies towards Renaissance may be found in all the buildings of King James V.; but when the unfinished works were resumed by his grandson, Renaissance, established in principle, was beginning to advance towards supremacy. Its progress, however, was so slow that it can scarcely be said, perhaps, to have completed its development until the reign of King Charles II. It is to the century preceding his death, from about 1570 to 1685, that we owe what we may emphatically call the Scotch Castellated Style—that style which (still obviously deriving much from France) produced Strathbogie and Edzell, Fyvie and Castle Fraser, Crathes and Craigievar, Midmar and Craigston, Pinkie and Glammis. In almost all these, I think, as in most other instances, the architect was set to work on the square tower of the XVth century as the nucleus of his composition; and it is impossible not to admire the skill with which the old rectangular blocks are grouped into harmony with the new buildings to which they give dignity, vastness, and variety.

It is not unworthy of remark that in one or two cases where the history of the building has been ascertained, the owner would seem to have been his own architect. Pinkie and Fyvie assumed their present shape under the eye of Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline, who died in 1622, at the age of sixty-seven. His education, begun at Rome, was completed in France, where, doubtless, he acquired that "great skill in architecture" for which he is praised by his contemporaries. Glammis, again, became what it is, under the eye of Patrick, third Earl of Kinghorn and first Earl of

Strathmore, who died in 1695, at the age of fifty-two, leaving a memoir of what he did for his castle, in which he takes blame to himself for not consulting "any who in this age were known and reputed to be the best judges and contrivers."

While one development of our Scottish architecture of the XVIIth century was into these princely chateaux, another development—congenial, at once, and contemporary—gave us such edifices as the Parliament House of Edinburgh, Moray House in the same city, Glasgow College, Winton House, Innes House, Argyll House at Stirling, one front of the courtyard at Falkland, and one of the courtyard at Caerlaverock—reaching its proudest triumph in Heriot's Hospital. Only a few years after the genius of Wallace, of Aytoun, and of Mylne had brought that noble pile to completion, Sir William Bruce of Kinross was commissioned to build a palace for our Scottish Kings. The result was Holyrood, almost the last edifice of mark built in Scotland before the Union. That event opened new fields for the display of the architectural taste and talents of our countrymen—but my task is done. It is beyond my province either to advert to what Gibbs, and Mylne, and the Adamsons achieved during the last century on the other side of the Tweed, or to trace the fortunes on this, of that modern school of Scottish architecture which has never been adorned by more names of eminence, or by more works of merit, than at this hour.

KING EDWARD'S SPOILIATIONS IN SCOTLAND IN A.D. 1296—THE
CORONATION STONE—ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED EVIDENCE.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH HUNTER, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries
of London, and an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

THE first northern campaign of King Edward, in which he reduced John Balliol, King of Scotland, to submission, is marked by two circumstances, both of which, though but of the underwood of history, are of singular interest to both nations. These are, first, the seizure of the royal treasures in the castle of Edinburgh; and secondly, the removal to Westminster, from the Abbey of Scone, near Perth, of the chair in which the Kings of Scotland had been accustomed to sit when crowned, and the "fatal" or sacred stone which was inclosed within it.

The historical evidence which we now possess on this campaign is not of that minute and particular kind which the antiquarian mind requires: and concerning the two incidents above named, little is authentically told. Not but that in the main the historians have reported the facts truly, as far as they go. What I propose is a little to extend the information they have given us: and I rely upon the Institute not forgetting that as antiquaries or archaeologists we are solicitous about mere facts and dates, content to leave the nobler province to the historian and philosopher.

When the King of England had formed the resolution to reduce by force of arms the realm of Scotland to the submission to which he had already brought the Welsh princes, his policy being that the whole population of the isle of Britain should be under one sovereignty, he moved rapidly in the winter through Yorkshire and Northumberland to the town of Berwick. It is unnecessary that I should trouble the Institute with the dates of these movements. About the 28th of March, he was before Berwick. This was in 1296, the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Berwick soon

surrendered, and the king remained there during the greater part of the month of April, towards the close of which was fought the battle of Dunbar, which broke for that time the power of Scotland. The king did not, as might have been expected, advance immediately upon Edinburgh, but spent the month of May in marches and countermarches in the country about Haddington, Jedworth, Roxborough, and Castleton "in valle Lydd." This is gathered from the testes of his writs, and is supported by the diary of this campaign printed in the *Archaeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxi. p. 498. It may be observed by the way, that this diary is evidently the work of a contemporary, and is worthy to be received as an authentic account of the king's movements, being so well supported by dates of the king's writs. At the beginning of June he arrived at Edinburgh. The Castle was bravely defended; but at length it yielded, and with the loss of this fortress, ensuing on the battle of Dunbar, the military operations may be said to have ceased, and the further progress of Edward was little less than a triumphal march of a conqueror.

He remained at Edinburgh till the 14th of June: and in those few days it appears to have been, that, being completely master of the place, he forced his way into the treasuries of the Kings of Scotland, and selected such things as he thought proper to be removed as *spolia opima*, partly to enrich his own treasury, and partly to break the spirit of a brave people struggling to maintain their ancient independence.

That he removed or destroyed the ancient records of the kingdom is asserted, and the document which I shall first adduce will show that some things of this nature were at this time taken by him, beside those which a few years before had been exhibited at Norham, and perhaps never returned. That he took away the ancient crown and sceptre, and other insignia of sovereignty, is also asserted; and of this act of rapine there seems to be sufficient proof, though it receives no support from the inventories, as far as they are known to me, of his choicer possessions in the later years of his reign. Things which he actually removed will appear from a schedule entitled "*Inventa in Castro de Edeneburgh*," one of a collection of such schedules, forming together an inventory of the cups, jewels, &c.,

belonging to the king : everything indeed which fell under the head *Jocalia*. This list was compiled very soon after his return from this expedition.

INVENTA IN CASTRO DE EDENEBURGH.

I. IN COFFRO CUM CRUCE SUNT INFRA SCRIPTA :

Primo. Unum forcerium¹ pulerum in quo sunt hæc :

unum pulvinarium² de armis, fractum.

unus morsus³ deauratus.

una crux stangnea

unum pulvinarium cum griffonibus

duo panni de arista⁴

una alba de armis Regis Angliæ.

una stola et unum fanum.⁵

Item unum pulvinarium de armis Regis Scotiæ coopertum sindone rubro.

una crocia⁶ deaurata quæ fuit Episcopi Rossensis.

una nux cum pede et cooperculo argento deaurato munito.

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede deaurata.

unus ciphus totum cristallo argento munitus.

tria cornua eburnea harnessiata cum serico et argento

unum cornu de bugle

duo parvi costelli⁷ de tammari⁸ muniti argento

unus parvus ciphus argenteus deauratus cum pede de mazer⁹

unus ciphus de tammari cum pede argentea

una nux cum pede argentea deaurata, fracta.

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede argentea deaurata, fractus.

II. IN COFFRO CUM L.

Primo. duo costelli de cristallo argento ligati.

unus mazerus¹ cum pede et cooperculo argento munito deaurato.

unus ciphus de ovo griffini² fracto in toto argento munitus³

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede argenti deaurati.

unus ciphus cum cooperculo de mugetto⁴ et una pede argenti deaurati

unus piccherus de mugetto argento deaurato munitus.

unus mazerus sine pede parvi valoris.

[The three entries which follow are cancelled, and the reason is given in the margin :—*Intrantur in Libro.*]

una navis argenti ponderis ix^{li}.

unum par pelvium argenti, ponderis vii^{li}.

unum par pelvium argenti ponderis cxvii^{sol}. vi^{li}.

¹ A small chest.

² A small shrine or perhaps altar, adapted to fit a travelling chapel.

³ Clasp.

⁴ Hair—a hair cloth for penance.

⁵ Albe, stole, and maniple. ⁶ Crozier.

⁷ Costelli is written by mistake for costrelli, as in the corresponding entry in another inventory of the twenty-ninth year. The costrelli were drinking-cups. See Ducange.

⁸ Tamarisk-wood.

⁹ Maple. This entry is cancelled.

¹ A maple bowl.

² A griffin's egg, really an egg of the ostrich, if not rather a cocoa-nut.

³ Cancelled.

⁴ This word is not in the original Ducange, or in his Continuator, nor in other glossaries where it might be expected to appear.

III. IN COFFRO DE N.

[The whole of the following entries are cancelled, and for the reason given in the former case. But it is added—'Restituantur postea in garderobera.']

Ciphus magnus argenteus deauratus cum pede et cooperculo pond. vi marc ii^s. vi^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. lviii^s. ix^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. xlvii^s. viii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. l^s. minus iii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. xxxviii^s. vi^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede et cooperculo pond. lii^s. xi^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et sine cooperculo pond. xxxv^s. iii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo. li^s. v^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede et cooperculo pond. i. marc xvii^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xxxviii^s. iiiii^d.

Ciphus argenti albus cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xx^s. minus v^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xxiii^s.

Ciphus argenti platus pond. xxiii^s. vi^d.

Pieherus argenti cum cooperculo pond. xli^s. iiiii^d.

Pieherus ad aquam albus pond. xxvi^s.

Unum lavatorium ad aquam argenti album pond. xxii^s.

Pieherus argenti ad aquam albus pond. xx^s. viiii^d.

On the dorse of this part of the inventory is the following important notice.

Et memorandum quod xvii die Septembris, anno xxiii^{to} omnia Jocalia infra scripta mittebantur de Berewico usque London per Johannem Candelarium in tribus Cofris cum signis ut infra. Et unum magnum Cofrum et ii. parvos Cofros cum diversis scriptis et memorandis inventis in Castro de Edeneburgh: et unum Cofrum cum reliquiis inventis ibidem: et xix cornua de Buele, et unum cornu griffone; quæ liberata fuerunt in Garderoba per Dominum Robertum Giffard et Dominum Hugonem de Roburo quæ inventa fuerunt in quodam Prioratu juxta Forfare: et unum fardellum cum diversis rebus quæ fuerunt Episcopi Sancti Andrei liberatum in Garderoba per Dominum J. de Swineborn militem et custodem ejusdem Episcopatus mense Septembris in principio: et unum discum magnum argenteum pro elemosyna.

Et omnia ista liberavit dictus Johannes Domino Johanni de Drokensford: quæ idem dominus Johannes deposuit in Garderoba Westmonasterium.

It will not be out of place if we add that in another inventory of the king's "Jocalia," formed in the 31st year of his reign, we find:

una pix cum impressione sigilli regni Scociæ.

unus panerius coopertus corio nigro ferro ligatus, in quo continentur scripta magnatum et aliorum regni Scociæ facta Regi de fidelitatis suis et homagiis post guerram Scociæ anno xxiii^{to}.

duo pallia ad pendenda in ecclesia quæ venerunt de Scocia, cooperta de viridi baud.

unus costrellus ligneus involutus panno lineo sigillatus sigillis diversis.

unus Cofrus rubeus in quo continentur Litera et Argumenta tangencia regnum et dominium Scociæ et fidelitatem homagii Regis et Magnatum Scociæ.

We left the King of England at Edinburgh. He marched on to Stirling, where his writs are dated from the 16th to the 20th of June. On the 21st he was at Ughtrahurdur (Auchterarder), and on the 22nd he arrived at Perth. He halted there for a few days, as afterwards at Cluny and Forfar, and on the 7th or 8th he arrived at Montrose. There he remained till the 11th, and during the time received the submission of Balliol and many of the magnates. He then passed on to Aberdeen, Kyntore, and "Elgin in Moravia," so designated in the writs, confirming so far the statement in the old chroniclers, through whose orthography we should hardly, without assistance, recognise the name of this ancient town.

He advanced no farther north. On the 2nd of August he was at "Kyncardine in Neel," from whence he passed to Brechin, Dundee, and Perth. That he visited Perth on his return from Elgin, a fact which we find in the Itinerary, is a confirmation, worthy regard, of the statement of the English chroniclers Walsingham and Hemingford, that it was on his return southward that he visited the Abbey of Scone, for Scone is situated very near to Perth. The ancient kings of Scotland had been crowned at Scone, and in the Abbey there was kept the fatal stone inclosed in a chair in which the kings had been accustomed to sit when the crown was placed upon their heads. For this stone they claimed what appears to be a fabulous antiquity. It was no less than one of the stones in the stony region of Beth-El, nay, the very stone on which the head of the patriarch Jacob rested when he saw the vision of angels; and there was a story belonging to it of its having been brought by way of Egypt into Spain, of its resting in Galicia, of its being carried from thence to Ireland, of its removal to Argyleshire, where it was placed in the royal castle of Dunstaffnag, from whence it was removed to this Abbey of Scone. History finds it there, though it may know nothing of its previous wanderings, and may repudiate entirely the names and the dates, which are not wanting in the traditions respecting it.

Whatever amount of credit may be given to its earlier

conditions, there is no doubt that when at Scone it was regarded with superstitious reverence, and that a large amount of affection and patriotism was gathered around it. But it was looked upon with other feelings. It was regarded as assuring secure possession to the kings of Scotland of whatever land in which it was found, and it is alleged, perhaps on somewhat doubtful authority, that before it had left Scone these verses were inscribed upon it or near to it :—

*Ni fallat Fatum, Scotia hunc quocunque locatum
Inveniunt lapidem, regnare, tenentur ibidem.*

It was, therefore, strictly in accordance with the line of King Edward's policy to get possession of this ancient and venerable relique, and to remove it far from the sight of a people whose spirit of independence it so directly tended to foster. He spent only one day at Perth, and we can hardly doubt that he then personally visited the Abbey of Scone, and that under his immediate inspection the stone was removed, and the chair perhaps destroyed, as we hear no more of it in documents in which the stone itself is mentioned.

The king, on returning to Berwick, where he proposed to remain for some weeks, passed through Edinburgh, where he arrived on Friday, the 17th of August. There is some slight reason for thinking that he might deposit the stone for a time in the Castle; for in one of the royal inventories—that which was made in his thirty-fifth year, the year in which he died at Burgh on the Sands—it is said to have been found in the Castle of Edinburgh. But this is so contrary to much other evidence, that unless we regard it as referring to a temporary abode there after its removal from Scone, we must look upon it as an error.

Its removal to Westminster ensued very speedily on its being taken from Scone. It occurs in several inventories of the choice possessions of the king, where it is described simply thus : *Una petra magna super quam Reges Scociæ solebant coronari.* The king treated it with the highest respect. We have the testimony of his epitaph that he was a devout prince :

Filius ipse Dei, quem corde colebat, et ore ;

and indeed the whole course of his history shows it, especially his expedition to Palestine. We may call him a

superstitious prince, even with all his fine qualities and admirable abilities as a temporal ruler, carrying about with him, as he did, sacred reliques, and storing among his choicer possessions, two pieces of the rock of Calvary, which were presented to him by one Robert Ailward. It is, perhaps, not going beyond the limit of legitimate conjecture to suppose that he gave credit to the ancient traditions, and seriously regarded it, if not the very stone on which the head of the Patriarch had rested, yet, as at least, a stone from the plain of Beth-El, which had once formed part of the piece of Cyclopean architecture, which the Pentateuch informs us the Patriarch had there erected in memory of so remarkable a vision. In accordance with this, its religious character, he determined to give it a place in the chapel at Westminster, recently erected by his father, inclosing the shrine of King Edward the Confessor. There, also, the remains of his father and of his own Queen Eleanor were deposited, and there he himself intended to lie. No place more sacred than this could have been chosen. There was an altar opposite the shrine. It stood where are now the two Coronation Chairs. The stone was deposited near this altar, where it may be presumed daily services were performed. In contemplating it in its place, which we may now do, to feel the full effect of the scene, we should for the moment restore, in imagination, the altar and its appendages, and lay aside for the time the low esteem in which reliques, however sacred, are in these times held.

But the king had a further purpose respecting it. He prided himself on having brought his affairs in Scotland to a successful issue. He is described on his monument as "*Malleus Scotorum*," and here was the proof—the stone on which the fate of Scotland might be said to hang.

Further, he determined that it should be devoted to the same purpose to which it had been devoted while in the possession of the Scots. It had formed part of the Coronation Chair of Scotland: it was now to be the seat on which future sovereigns of England should be seated when they were anointed with the sacred oil, had the diadem placed upon their brow, and the sceptre in their hand. And with this intention he ordered a chair to be constructed, and the stone to be placed immediately beneath the seat. That this was done with a view to its future use as the throne on which

the sovereign was to sit on the day of the coronation, appears from the following entry by a contemporary hand in the Inventory of the last year of his reign:—"Mittebatur per preceptum Regis usque Abbathiam de Westmonasterio ad assedendum ibidem juxta feretrum Sancti Edwardi, in quadam cathedra lignea deaurata quam Rex fieri precepit [ut Reges Angliæ et Scociæ infra sederent die Coronationis eorundem] ad perpetuam rei memoriam." This may be set against what Walsingham states, "jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." I ought to add, however, that the words inclosed in brackets have a line drawn through them; but still they may be taken as good proof, with other circumstances, and the subsequent usage, that the chair was, as to its original purpose, the Coronation Chair.

The king's first intention was that the chair should be of bronze, and Adam, his goldsmith, had made considerable progress in the work, when the king changed his purpose, and directed that a chair of wood should be constructed, and he called in the assistance of Master Walter, his painter, to decorate it with his art. We learn these particulars from a piece of evidence of a character remarkably authentic, the bill of Adam the goldsmith of expenses for which he claimed payment. This bill is entitled—"Compotus Adæ aurifabri Regis de jocalibus emptis ad opus Regis; et de aurifabria diversa facta per eundem anno xxvii^o et anno xxviii^o usque xxvii diem Marci." An extract from this account of so much as relates to the chair, is the second piece of original evidence which I proposed to lay before the Institute.

Eidem [id est Adæ] pro diversis custibus per ipsum factis circa quandam cathedram de cupro quam Rex prius fieri preceperat anno xxv^o post reditum suum de Scocia, pro petra super quam Reges Scociæ solebant coronari inventa apud Scone anno xxiii^o superponenda juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbathiæ Westmonasterii: et nunc eadem petra in quadam cathedra de ligno facta per Magistrum Walterum pictorem Regis loco dictæ Cathedræ quæ prius ordinata fuit de cupro est assessa: videlicet pro una Cathedra de ligno facta ad exemplar alterius cathedræ fundenda de cupro—c sol.—Et pro mⁱ d lib. cupri emptis una cum stagno empto ad idem cuprum allaiandum xii lib. v sol.—Et pro vadiis et stipendiis unius operarii fundentis eandem cathedram et preparantis pecios ejusdem una cum formis ad hoc inveniendum et faciendum; per certam conventionem factam cum eodem, x lib.—Et pro stipendiis diversorum operancium in metallo predicto post formationem ejusdem cathedræ mensibus Junii et Julii ante primum diem Augusti anno xxv^o quo die dictæ operationes cessarunt ex toto per preceptum Regis ratione passagii sui versus Flandriam,

ix lib. vii sol. xi den.—Et pro ustilementis emptis pro operationibus predictis et emendacione aliorum per vices, xl sol.—Et pro duobus leopardis parvis de ligno faciendis depingendis et deaurandis, et liberatis Magistro Waltero pictori ad assidendis super cathedram de ligno factam per dictum Magistrum Walterum per utrasque costas, xiii sol. iiii den. per computum factum cum eodem apud Westmonasterium xxvii die Marcii anno xxviii^o.

Summa xxxix lib., vi sol. iiii den.

There is another notice of work performed on this chair, in the Wardrobe Account of the 29th of the reign, published from the original in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

Magistro Waltero pictori, pro custibus et expensis per ipsum factis circa unum gradum faciendum ad pedem novæ cathedræ in qua petra Scociæ reponitur juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbatie Westmonaster' juxta ordinationem Regis, mense Martii, et in stipendiis carpentariorum et pictorum eundem gradum depingendum, et pro auro et coloribus diversis emptis pro eadem depingenda; una cum factura unius cassi pro dicta cathedra cooperianda, sicut patet per particulas inde in garderoba liberatas, i lib. xix sol. vii den.

The position in the Chapel of Saint Edward the Confessor occasioned the chair to be called Saint Edward's chair, by which name it is usually spoken of, when people had become familiar with it. Now, when called into use, it is covered with cloth of gold; but when Queen Elizabeth sat in it, we find the following entry of decorations for what is called the Siege Royal: "Cloth of silver incarnate, for covering Saint Edward's Chair, 18½ yards. Fringe of red silk and silver, 7lbs. and 3½ oz. Bawdekyn crimson and green and other mean silk, for covering the steps going up into the Mount, 149 yards. Says of the largest size, 12 pieces. Says of the lesser size for the Siege Royal, 17 pieces. Cushions out of the wardrobe."

When the fortune of war turned against England, and a less vigorous successor lost all that King Edward had gained in Scotland, it is stated that there were negotiations for the return of this stone; and it is even alleged that the return of it was one of the articles of the Treaty at Northampton in the second year of King Edward the Third. No such clause is found in the copy of the treaty in the *Foedera*; but that such an act was contemplated seems to be implied in the terms of a Royal Writ, of the date of July 1, 1328, addressed to the Abbot and Monks of Westminster, setting forth that the Council had come to the resolution of giving up the

stone, and requiring them to deliver it to the Sheriff of London, to be carried to the Queen Mother. This writ, it will be observed, is for its delivery to the Queen Mother, meaning Isabella. Her influence was then beginning to be looked upon with jealousy by the English nobles, who may have in some way not now known, frustrated in this particular the Queen's policy.

However, it is manifest that it was not returned ; for the Scottish historians do not claim the recovery of it among the good deeds done to their nation by Robert Bruce, and the stone and the chair in which it was enclosed may still be seen in the chapel at Westminster.

One word more respecting the alleged antiquity of the stone, which Toland does not hesitate to call "the ancientest respected monument in the world." In considering this question we are to try its claims to be what the traditions of the middle ages claimed for it, by the same tests by which other reliques of high antiquity are tested. We are not to expect written evidence as we do for transactions of a time when the art of writing was extensively used, but *early traditionary belief supported by parallel usages or incidents, and free from gross improbabilities*. Few in this instance will contend for the dates, or for the existence even of the person who is said to have brought it from Egypt ; but there is nothing which violently shocks the sense of probability and the regard which all must cherish for maintaining the truth of history, in supposing that some Christian devotee, in perhaps the second, third, or fourth century, brought this stone from the stony territory of the plain of Luz, having persuaded himself that it was the very stone on which the head of the patriarch had rested when he saw the vision of Angels ; or had even become possessed of the very stone which is said to have been preserved in the Holy of Holies of the second Temple at Jerusalem, with the tradition that it had been Jacob's pillow. Where is the improbability that when the Temple was destroyed, this stone should pass into the hands of a devotee, to be preserved by him, as the altar of the church of Doncaster was preserved by Thridwulf in the wood of Elmete, when the church was burnt by the Pagans. Once in the possession of such a person, it would be cherished by him as King Edward cherished the portions of the rock of Calvary which were presented to him, or as his

uncle the King of the Romans cherished the Christian reliques of the most sacred character which he brought to England. Once preserved and venerated, nothing is more probable than that it should at length be found in Galicia, where Christianity took deep root in the very earliest ages of the Church. There is no natural impossibility in its passing from thence into Ireland, the land of Saints, and where races of people have claimed a Spanish origin, and from thence to Scotland. That it there became allied to Royalty is but in accordance with what appears to have been the usages of the island,—the stone at Kingston upon Thames being connected in popular tradition with the coronation of Saxon Kings known to have been performed there.

The stone is said to be a calcareous sandstone, and may one day be shown to be of the same formation with those of which Dr. Clarke speaks as found on the site of Beth-El.

NOTICES OF THE BRANK, OR SCOLDS' BRIDLE.

BY F. A. CARRINGTON, Esq.

THIS instrument, used for the punishment of scolds, of which a specimen, now in my possession, was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Institute, appears to have been in use in this country from the time of the Commonwealth to the reign of King William the Third.

As far as I am aware, it never was a legal punishment ; indeed, in the year 1655, Mr. Gardiner, in his work hereafter cited, complains of it as illegal and improper. The punishment for scolds was, and is still, by the laws of England, the Cucking-stool, of which, in its two forms, representations have been given in illustration of a memoir in the Wiltshire "Archæological Magazine." The fixed Cucking-stool was found in a perfect state, near Worthing, by my late friend Mr. Curwood, the barrister ; and the movable one was noticed in a state equally perfect at Wootton Bassett, by Mrs. Hains of that place, who is still living.

I know of the existence of branks in several places, and no doubt there are other examples ; the punishment must, therefore, have been quite a common one.

There was, in the year 1655, a brank at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and it possibly exists there still. Dr. Plot mentions branks at Newcastle-under-Lyme and at Walsall, in the reign of King James II. These, however, are a little different in form from that at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

There is a brank in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford ; and, about seven years ago, there was another in the magistrates' room in the Shire-hall at Shrewsbury, but the latter has since that time been taken away. The branks at Oxford and Shrewsbury were both similar to that figured by Dr. Plot ; except that each of them had only one staple, and not different staples to suit persons of different sizes.

A brank, from Lichfield, was formerly shown at a meeting

¹ On Certain Ancient Wiltshire Customs. 1. The Cucking-stool. "Wiltshire Magazine," vol. i., p. 68, where notices of

other examples may be found. See also Mr. Wright's "Archæological Album," p. 48.

of the Institute, and I am told that another exists at the church of Walton-on-Thames ; and Mr. Noake, in his " Worcester in the Olden Time," gives an entry in the corporation books of that city, relating to the repair of this species of instrument, under the date of 1658.

The brank in my possession is of the-reign of William III., if a stamp of the letter W, crowned, may be considered as denoting that date. Of this brank I can give no account. The person from whom I had it knew nothing of its history, not even for what purpose it was intended.



Brank, in the possession of Mr. F. A. Carrington.

The Venerable Archdeacon Hale, on seeing this example of the brank, when it was produced for the inspection of the Institute, remarked, that from so many cucking-stools and branks having existed from the reign of Charles II. to that of Queen Anne, and from so many entries and memoranda being found respecting them, they must have been then in frequent use ; and yet now there seemed no occasion for either. He suggested, that in those times, there being few lunatic asylums, and insanity being a disease little understood, it was probable that many insane women were violent, and punished as scolds, who would be now treated as lunatics.

It was also stated by the Archdeacon, that, in addition to cucking-stools and branks, the scolds of former days had the terrors of the ecclesiastical courts before their eyes, and that the ecclesiastical records of the diocese of London contained many entries respecting scolds ; and it is stated by Mr. Noake, in his " Notes and Queries for Worcestershire,"² that " in 1614, Margaret, wife of John Bache, of Chaddeley, was prosecuted at the sessions as a ' comon skould, and a sower of strife amongste her neyghboures, and hath bynn presented

² P. 106. This is an admirable little work. It contains much information, in a cheap and popular form, and is in effect

326 pages of addenda to " Brand's Popular Antiquities."

for a skoulde at the leete houlden for the manour of Chadsley, and for misbehaving her tonge towards her mother-in-law at a visytacon at Bromsgrove, and was excommunicated therefore.'

"In 1617, Elinor Nichols was presented as 'a great scold and mischief-maker,' who is said to have been excommunicated, and had never applied to make her peace with the Church."

I should observe, that this instrument is in some instances called "a brank;" in others, "the branks;" "a pair of branks;" and "the scolds'-bridle;" but it is worthy of remark, that the word "brank" does not occur in any dictionary that I have seen, although the instrument itself appears to be so frequently met with.

The brank is mentioned in the works of Mr. Brand, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Sykes, Dr. Plot, and Mr. Noake, in the following passages.

Mr. Brand, in his "History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," says,—"In the time of the Commonwealth, it appears that the magistrates of Newcastle-upon-Tyne punished scolds with the branks, and drunkards by making them carry a tub, called the Drunkard's Cloak, through the streets of that town. We shall presume that there is no longer any occasion for the former; but why has the latter been laid aside?"³

"A pair of branks are still preserved in the Town-court of Newcastle. See an account of them, with a plate, in Plot's 'Staffordshire.' Vide Gardiner's 'English Grievance of the Coal-trade.' The representation in this work is a fac-simile from his."⁴

Mr. Gardiner's work, here cited, is a small quarto volume, thus entitled:

"England's Grievance Discovered in relation to the Coal-trade, with a Map of the River Tine, and situation of the Town and Corporation of Newcastle; the tyrannical oppression of their Magistrates; their Charters and Grants; the several Tryals, Depositions, and Judgements obtained against them; with a Breviate of several Statutes proving repugnant to their actions, with proposals for reducing the excessive

³ For representations of both, see the plate of "Miscellaneous Antiquities," No. 2 and 3, "Brand's History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 47.

⁴ "History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 192. The representation is not very accurate as regards the dress.

Rates of Coals for the future, and the rise of their Grants appearing in this Book.

"By *Ralph Gardiner*, of *Chriton*, in the county of *Northumberland*, Gent. London, printed for *R. Ibbitson*, in *Smithfield*; and *P. Stent*, at the *White Horse* in *Giltspur Street* without *Newgate*. 1655."⁵

The work commences with an Epistle dedicatory to "His Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.," in which the writer states several public grievances, and makes ten suggestions for their remedy; the tenth suggestion being as follows:—

"X. And that a law be created for death to such as shall commit perjury, forgery, or accept of bribery."

Against this some one has written in the margin of the British Museum copy—"The author suffer'd death for forging of guineas."⁶ The handwriting of this piece of interesting information being apparently of the reign of Queen Anne or George I.

The work contains Forty-six Depositions of witnesses in support of the Allegations—at the commencement of six of these are engravings; and the work concludes with an Abstract of Statutes from *Magna Charta* to 17 Charles I., and Ordinances of Parliament relating to Municipal matters from 1640 to 1653.—Chap. LV. At p. 110 the following Depositions occur, to which is prefixed the well-known engraving, which has been frequently copied, representing a female wearing the branks.

"(A.) *John Willis*, of *Ipswich*, upon his oath said, that he, this Depo-
nent, was in *Newcastle* six months ago, and there he saw one *Ann Bidle-*
stone drove through the streets by an officer of the same corporation
holding a rope in his hand, the other end fastned to an engine called the
Branks, which is like a Crown, it being of Iron, which was musled over the
head and face, with a great gap or tongue of Iron forced into her mouth,
which forced the blood out. And that is the punishment which the Magis-
trates do inflict upon chiding and scoulding women, and that he hath
often seen the like done to others.

⁵ In Mr. Hargrave's copy of this work, now in the British Museum, is the following note, written by that learned gentleman:—"19th May, 1783. This book is extremely scarce. This copy of it, though without the map mentioned in the title, was sold at the sale of Mr. Gulston's books for one guinea, to Mr. King, book-

seller in Lower Moor Fields. I bought it of Mr. King, and paid him one guinea and a half for it.—F. Hargrave."

⁶ Counterfeiting gold or silver coin was a capital offence in the reign of Charles II., but no forgery of any document was so till the reign of George I.

"(B.) He, this Deponent, further affirms that he hath seen men drove up and down the streets with a great Tub or Barrel opened in the sides, with a hole in one end to put through their heads and so cover their shoulders and bodies down to the small of their legs, and then close the same, called the new-fashioned Cloak, and so make them wear it to the view of all beholders, and this is their punishment for drunkards and the like.

"(C.) This Deponent further testifies that the Merchants and Shoemakers of the said Corporation will not take any Apprentice under ten years' servitude, and knoweth many bound for the same terme, and cannot obtain freedome without." 5 *Eliz.* 4.

"(D.) Drunkards are to pay a fine of five shillings to the poor, to be paid within one week, or be set in the Stocks six hours; for the second offence to be bound to the Good Behaviour. I. K. *James*, 9, 21, 7.

"(E.) Scoulds are to be Duckt over head and ears into the water in a Ducking-stool.

"(F.) And Apprentices are to serve but seven years. 5 *Eliz.* 4."

Mr. John Sykes, in his "Local Records of Northumberland," under the date of Sept. 14, 1649, says—"Two ancient punishments of Newcastle, inflicted on disturbers of the peace, appear as being practised *about this time*," a Newcastle cloak for drunkards, and "the scold wore an iron engine called 'the branks,' in the form of a crown; it covered the head, but left the face exposed, and having a tongue of iron which went into the mouth constrained silence from the most violent brawler." Mr. Sykes gives a copy of Mr. Gardiner's engraving of Ann Bidlestone wearing the brank, and adds—"the branks are still preserved in the town's court."

Why Mr. Sykes should have inserted his notice of the brank under the date of 1649 I know not. He derived his information apparently from Mr. Gardiner's volume, printed in 1655, and the only dates which occur in that work are of the year 1653, viz.:—

Mr. Gardiner's Petition to Parliament, Sept. 29, 1653.

It is referred to the Committee of Trade and Corporations, Oct. 5, 1653.

And, on the 18th of Oct., 1653, that Committee directs that it shall be taken into consideration on the 15th of November then next.

After this Mr. Gardiner exhibits charges against the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, dated 1653 (no month or day), and at the end of them he says—"The Committee drew up and signed a Report against the Corporation, and

would have presented the same to his Highnesse the Lord Protector, but I conceived that a narration was better."

Then follow the depositions—one of which, relating to scolds, drunkards, and apprentices, has been given above.

Dr. Plot, in his "Natural History of Staffordshire," chap. ix., s. 97, says—"We come to the *Arts* that respect *Mankind*, amongst which, as elsewhere, the civility of precedence must be allowed to the *women*, and that as well in punishments as favours. For the former whereof, they have such a peculiar *artifice* at *New-Castle* [under Lyme] and *Walsall*, for correcting of *scolds*, which it does too so effectually, and so very safely, that I look upon it as much to be preferred to the *Cucking-stoole*, which not only endangers the *health* of the *party*, but also gives the *tongue* liberty 'twixt every dipp; to neither of which is this at all lyable; it being such a *bridle* for the *tongue*, as not only quite deprives them of *speech*, but brings shame for the transgression, and humility thereupon, before 'tis taken off. Which being an *instrument* scarce heard of, much less seen, I have here presented it to the reader's view, tab. 32, fig. 9, as it was taken from the original one, made of *iron*, at *New-Castle* under *Lyme*, wherein the letter *a* shows the joynted collar that comes round the neck; *b*, *c*, the *loops* and *staples* to let it out and in, according to the bigness and slenderness of the *neck*; *d*, the joynted semicircle that comes over the *head*, made forked at one end to let through the *nose*; and *e*, the *plate* of *iron* that is put into the *mouth*, and keeps down the *tongue*. Which, being put upon the *offender* by order of the *magistrate*, and fastened with a *padlock* behind, she is lead through the towne by an *officer* to her shame, nor is it taken off, till after the party begins to show all external signes imaginable of humiliation and amendment."

Dr. Plot was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and professor of chemistry in that university; this work was printed at Oxford in 1686, and dedicated to King James II.

Mr. Noake, in his "Worcester in the Olden Time,"^s gives the following entry from the corporation books of that city.

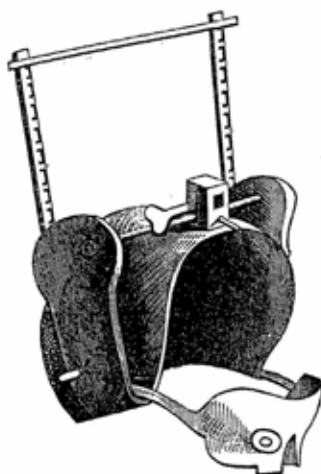
"1658. Paid for mending the bridle for bridleinge of scoulds, and two cords for the same. js. ijd."

It would seem that the brank or "bridle for bridleinge of scoulds" must have been a good deal used in the city of Worcester, from its requiring so considerable a repair in 1658; and it further appears that, within thirty-five years before, the cucking-stool had not fallen into desuetude in that city, as Mr. Noake gives the following entries from the corporation books there respecting its use:—

"1623. Allowed the money for whipping of one Rogeres, and for carrying several women upon the gum-stoole.

"1625. For mending the stocks at the Grass-crosse, for whipping of divers persons, and carting of other some, and for halling the goome-stoole to the houses of divers scouldinge people."

Mr. Noake adds—"A curious instrument of punishment, probably used for a similar purpose, may still be seen hung up with some armour in the Worcester Guildhall. The following is from a sketch taken by me a few months ago. The head was inserted in this helmet, and the visor, which is here represented as hanging down, being connected with the toothed uprights, was drawn up and down by means of a key winding up the end of the rod which passes immediately across the top of the helmet, and which rod is furnished with cogs at the end, to fit into the teeth of the



uprights. The visor was thus drawn up so as to completely darken the eyes and cover the nose. The little square box with a hole, to which a screw is affixed at the side, was probably intended to receive the end of a pole fixed in a wall, from which the patient was thus made to stand out, though certainly not 'in relief.'

"These instruments [branks], as well as cucking-stools, were in use in nearly all towns. The present specimen is probably *temp.* Henry VII."

In the museum at Ludlow, according to information for which I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, another example is preserved of an iron cap, probably for branding offenders, much resembling that at Worcester, but perhaps

more complicated. It is furnished with a similar rack and side wheels for compression. [See page 269, *infra*.]

Dr. Ormerod, in his "History of Cheshire,"⁹ after mentioning that a cucking-stool was in existence at Macclesfield in the last century, adds—"and *there* is also yet preserved an iron brank or bridle for scolds, which has been used within the memory of the author's informant, Mr. Browne, and which is mentioned as 'a brydle for a curste queane,' among the articles delivered by the serjeant to Sir Urian Legh, Knt., on his being elected mayor, Oct. 3, 21 Jac. I. An iron bridle was used at Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, a few years ago, as a punishment for prostitutes. The bridle was fixed in their mouths and tied at the back of the head with ribbons, and, so attired, they were paraded from the cross to the church steps and back again by the beadles."

F. A. CARRINGTON.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF THE BRANK, OR SCOLDS'-BRIDLE.

THE origin of the grotesque implement of punishment, forming the subject of the foregoing observations, as also the period of its earliest use in Great Britain, remain in considerable obscurity. No example of the Scolds'-Bridle has been noticed of greater antiquity than that preserved in the church of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, which bears the date 1633, with the distich,—

CHESTER presents WALTON with a Bridle,
To Curb Women's Tongues that talk to Idle.

Tradition alleges that it was given for the use of that parish by a neighbouring gentleman who lost an estate, through the indiscreet babbling of a mischievous woman to the kinsman from whom he had considerable expectations.¹ Some have conjectured, from the occurrence of several examples of the Branks in the Palatinate, one more especially being still kept in the Jail at Chester, that this implement of discipline "for a curste queane," had been actually presented by the city of Chester; it may however seem probable that the name of an individual is implied, and not that of a city so remote from Walton. Another dated example is in the possession of Sir John Walsham, Bart., of Bury St. Edmunds; it was found in Old Chesterfield Poor-house, Derbyshire, where it is supposed to have been used, and it was given to Lady Walsham by Mr. Weale, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. This Brank has an iron chain attached to it with a ring at the end; it bears the date and the initials—

⁹ Vol. iii., p. 385 n. Published in 1819.

¹ Brayley's Hist. of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 331, where a representation of the "Gossip's Bridle" is given.

1688, T. C. It was produced at a meeting of the West Suffolk Archæological Institute, according to information for which I am indebted to the secretary of that Society, Mr. Tymms, the historian of Bury.

It is probable that at a more remote period the inconvenience attending the use of so cumbrous an apparatus as the cucking-stool,—the proper and legal engine of punishment for female offenders, whether for indecent brawling or for brewing bad beer,—may have led to the substitution of some more convenient and not less disgraceful penalty. In some parishes in the West country, cages were provided for scolds; and the ancient Customal of Sandwich ordained that any woman guilty of brawling should carry a large mortar round the town with a piper or minstrel preceding her, and pay the piper a penny for his pains. This practice was established prior to the year 1518, and a representation of the mortar may be seen in Boys' History of Sandwich. The suggestion of Mr. Fairholt, in his notice of a grotesque iron mask of punishment obtained in the Castle of Nuremberg, that the Branks originated in certain barbarous implements of torture of that description, seems well deserving of consideration. The example which he has described and figured in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii. p. 61, is now in Lord Londesborough's collection at Grimston Park; it is a frame of iron made to fit the head like the scolds'-bridle; it was attached by a collar under the chin, and has a pair of grotesque spectacles and ass's ears. There are

other examples in various collections; one of wood, in the Goodrich Court Armory, was assigned by the late Sir S. Meyrick to the times of Henry VIII.

The fashion and construction of the brank varies considerably, and a few specimens may deserve particular notice. The most simple form consisted of a single hoop which passed round the head, opening by means of hinges at the sides, and closed by a staple with a padlock at the back: a plate



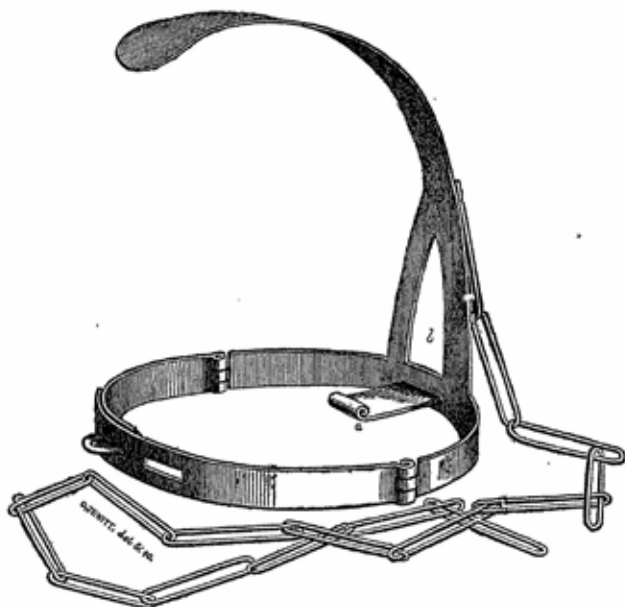
The Witches' Bridle, Forfar.

within the hoop projecting inwards pressed upon the tongue, and formed an effectual gag. I am indebted to the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington, Lincolnshire, for a sketch of this simple kind of bridle, and he informed me that an object of similar construction had been in use amongst the Spaniards in the West Indies for the punishment of refractory slaves. The "Witches' Branks, or Bridle," preserved some years since in the steeple at Forfar, North Britain, is of this form, but in place of a flat plate, a sharply-pointed gag, furnished with three spikes, entering the mouth, gives to this example a fearfully savage aspect. The date, 1661, is punched upon the hoop. In the old statistical account of the parish of Forfar, it is described as the bridle with which victims condemned for witchcraft were led to execution.² The facility, however, with which the single hoop might be slipped off the head, led to the addition of a curved band of iron passing

² This relique of cruelty has been carried away from Forfar, and it was in the collection of the late Mr. Deuchar of

Edinburgh. See Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 693, and Sir J. Dalrymple's Darker Superstitions of Scotland, p. 686.

over the forehead, with an aperture for the nose, and so formed as to clip the crown of the head, rendering escape from the bridle scarcely practicable. Of this variety the specimen preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford supplies an example. (See Woodcut). It is not stated in the catalogue of that collection, by whom it was presented, or where it was previously used; it is described as "a Gag, or Brank, formerly used with the ducking-stool, as a punishment for scolds."³ In this instance, it will be observed that the chain by which the offender was led is attached in front, immediately over the nose, instead of the back of the head, the more



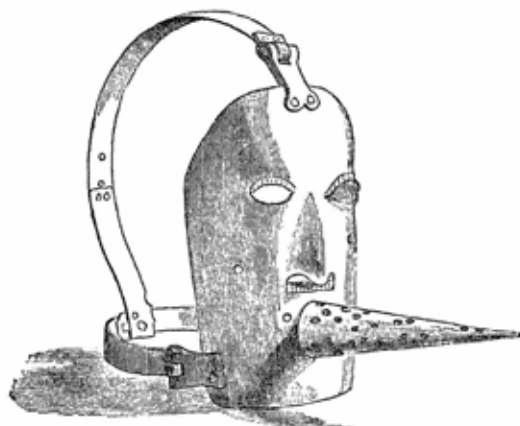
Brank in the Ashmolean Museum.

usual adjustment of the leading chain. For greater security, the transverse band was in other examples prolonged, and attached to the collar by a hinge or staple, as shown by the brank figured in Plot's *Staffordshire*, and those existing at Macclesfield, Newcastle under Line, and Walton on Thames. A very grotesque variety was exhibited by the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington Park, Lincolnshire, in the Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Lincoln. It has an iron mask entirely covering the face, with apertures for the eyes and nostrils, the plate being hammered out to fit the nose, and a long conical peak affixed before the mouth, bearing some resemblance to the peculiar long-snouted visor of the bascinets occasionally worn in the time of Richard II. (See Woodcut, next page). No account of the previous history of this singular object could be obtained.

A brank, actually in the possession of Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, is figured in the *Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, session ii. p. 25, plate 5. A cross is affixed to the band which

³ Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum, *Miscellaneous Curiosities*, No. 517, p. 148.

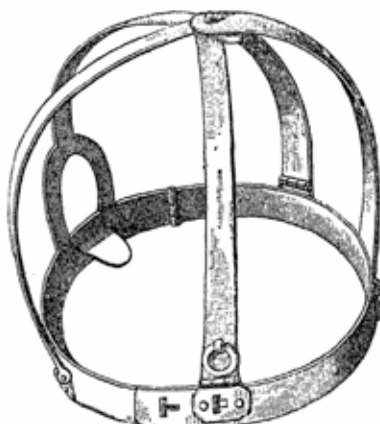
passed over the head, and a curved piece on either side clipped the crown of the head, and kept the brank more firmly in position. In other examples



Brank at Doddington Park, Lincolnshire.

we find in place of these recurved appendages, two bands of iron plate, crossing each other at right angles on the crown of the head, their extremities being riveted to the horizontal hoop or collar; in that preserved at the Guildhall, Lichfield, and exhibited by kind permission of the mayor at one of the meetings of the Institute, a more complete framework or skeleton head-piece is formed by five pieces of iron hoop, which meet on the crown of the head, where they are conjoined by a single rivet.⁴ (See Woodcut.) Lastly, a more complicated arrangement is shown in the brank preserved at Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, in the ancient manor-house in the possession of Lord Leigh, described in Shaw's History of that county. It bears resemblance to a lantern of conical form, presenting in front a grotesque mask pierced for eyes, nose, and mouth, and opening with a door behind. The construction of this singular engine of punishment is sufficiently shown by the accompanying Woodcuts, prepared from drawings for which we are indebted to Mr. Hewett.

There was a brank at Beaudesert, Staffordshire, as also at Walsall, and at Holme, Lancashire. There was one in the town-hall at Leicester, now in private hands in that town. That which is recorded in 1623 as existing at Macclesfield, and is still seen in the town-hall,⁵ had been actually used, as I was assured by a friendly correspondent, within the memory of an aged official of the municipal



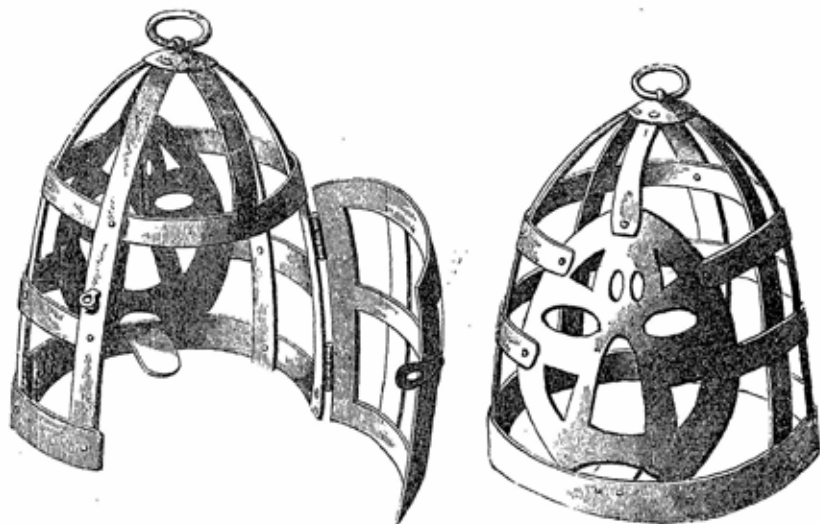
Brank belonging to the Town Council, Lichfield.

⁴ It is believed that this is the same which Shaw mentions as formerly in Greene's Museum at Lichfield.

⁵ Ormerod mentions this brank at Macclesfield, and within memory of his informant, Mr. Browne. It is described as a "brydle for a curste queane" in

the delivery of articles to Sir Urian Legh, Knight, on his election as mayor, in 1623. The ducking-pool also, with the tumbrel post, remained at Macclesfield in the last century. Hist. of Cheshire, vol. iii., p. 385.

authorities in that town. The hideous "brydle for a curste queane" remains suspended, with an iron straight-waistcoat, hand-cuffs and bilboes, and other obsolete appliances of discipline. To the same curious observer of olden usages I owe the fact, that within comparatively recent memory the brank was used for punishing disorderly females at Manchester. At Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, the iron bridle was still in use, not many years since, for the correction of immorality. It was fixed in the female's mouth, and tied at the back of the head with ribands, and, thus attired, the offender was paraded from the cross to the church steps and back again. Mr. Greene, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in 1849, accompanying the exhibition of the branks from Lichfield and Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, advanced the supposition that the punishment of the scolds'-bridle had been peculiar to that county ;⁶ its use was, however, even more frequent in the Palatinate, as also in the northern counties and



Brank at the Manor-House, Hamstall Ridware.

in Scotland. Pennant, in his Northern Tour in 1772, records its use at Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, where the local magistrates had it always in readiness ; it had been actually used a month previous to his visit, till the blood gushed from the mouth of the victim.⁷ Several other examples of the brank have been noticed in North Britain ; it is indeed mentioned, with the joughs, by Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," as a Scottish instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, for the coercion of scolds and slanderous gossips. The use of such bridles for unruly tongues occurs in the Burgh Records of Glasgow, as early as 1574, when two quarrelsome females were bound to keep the peace, or on further offending—"to be brankit." In the records of the Kirk Session, Stirling, for 1600, "the brankes" are mentioned as the punishment for a shrew. In St. Mary's church, at St. Andrews, a memorable specimen still exists, displayed for

⁶ Proceedings of Soc. Ant., vol. ii., p. 8.

⁷ Tour in Scotland, vol. ii., p. 91.

the edification of all zealous Presbyterians, on a table in the elders' pew. It is known as the "Bishop's Branks," but whether so styled from the alleged use of such torment by Cardinal Beaton, in the sufferings of Patrick Hamilton and other Scottish martyrs who perished at the stake in the times of James V., or rather, in much later times, by Archbishop Sharp, to silence the scandal which an unruly dame promulgated against him before



Brank found in Moray House, Edinburgh.

the congregation, popular tradition seems to be unable to determine.⁸ A representation of the "Bishop's Branks" is given in the Abbotsford edition of "The Monastery," where it is noticed. It precisely resembles the specimen found in 1848 behind the oak panelling, in the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, in the Canongate, Edinburgh. Of this, through the kindness of Mr. Constable, I am enabled to offer the accompanying representation.

In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland another specimen may be seen, thus described by Dr. Wilson in the

Synopsis of that Collection.—"The branks, an ancient Scottish instrument. Its most frequent and effectual application was as a corrector of incorrigible scolds.—Presented by J. M. Brown, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. 1848."

The term brank is found in old Scottish writers in a more general sense, denoting a kind of bridle. Jamieson gives the verb, to Brank, to bridle, to restrain; and he states that Branks, explained by Lord Hales as signifying the collars of work-horses, "properly denotes a sort of bridle, often used by the country people in riding. Instead of leather, it has on each side a piece of wood joined to a halter, to which a bit is sometimes added; but more frequently a kind of wooden noose resembling a muzzle. Anciently, this seems to have been the common word for a bridle" (in the North of Scotland).⁹ In regard to the etymology of the word, Jamieson observes, "Gael. *brancas* is mentioned by Shaw, as signifying a halter; *brans* is also said to denote a kind of bridle. But our word seems originally the same with Teut. *pranghe*, which is defined so as to exhibit an exact description of our branks; *b.* and *p.* being often interchanged, and in Germ. used indifferently in many instances. *Pranghe*, *myyl-pranghe*, *postomis*, *pastomis*, *confibula*: instrumentum quod naribus equorum imponitur. Kilian. Wachter gives *prang-er*—*premere*, *coactare*. Hence, he says, the pillory is vulgarly called *pranger*, Belg. *pranghe*, from the yoke or collar in which the neck of the culprit is held."¹

In a copy of Dr. Plot's "History of Staffordshire," in the British Museum Library, the following marginal note occurs on his description of

⁸ The incident is related in the Life of Archbishop Sharp. See also Howie's Judgment on Persecutors, p. 30, Biographia Scotiana, as cited by Jamieson v. Branks.

⁹ Compare Brockett's explanation of the word branks used on the Borders. North Country Words.

¹ Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, and Supp. *in voce*.

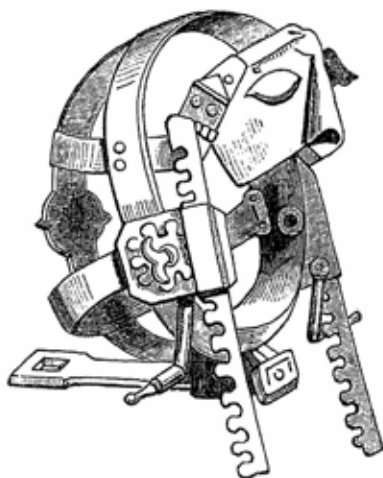
the Brank. It has been supposed to be in his own handwriting.—“This Bridle for the Tongue seems to be very ancient, being mentioned by an ancient English poet, I think Chaucer, *quem vide* :—

“But for my daughter Julian,
I would she were well bolted with a Bridle,
That leaves her work to play the clack,
And lets her wheel stand idle.
For it serves not for she-ministers,
Farriers nor Furriers,
Cobblers nor Button-makers
To descant on the Bille.”

Whilst these observations were in the printer's hands, I have received, through the kindness of Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, a drawing of the horrible engine preserved in the Museum at Ludlow, to which allusion had been made in the foregoing memoir by Mr. Carrington. It appears to be analogous to that described by Mr. Noake as existing at Worcester, and of which he has very kindly supplied the representation accompanying these notices. (See p. 262, *ante*.) Of the example at Ludlow, Mr. Bernhard Smith gives the following account :—

“I think you will find these iron head-pieces to belong to a class of engines of far more formidable character than the Branks. Their powerful screwing apparatus seems calculated to force the iron mask with torturing effect upon the brow of the victim ; there are no eye-holes, but concavities in their places, as though to allow for the starting of the eye-balls under violent pressure. There is a strong bar with a square hole, evidently intended to fasten the criminal against a wall, or perhaps to the pillory ; for I have heard it said that these instruments were used to keep the head steady during the infliction of branding. Another cruel engine in the Ludlow Museum appears to have been intended to dislocate the arm, and to cramp or crush the fingers at the same time. It is so much mutilated as to render its mode of application very difficult to make out.”

In conclusion, it may be said of these antique reliques of a cruel discipline, as well observed of the Brank by Mr. Fairholt,²—“as rare examples of ancient manners, they are worthy the attention of all who study what are frequently termed the good old times, and who may, by that study, have to be thankful that they did not live in them.”



Engine of torture in the Ludlow Museum.

ALBERT WAY.

² Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii., p. 64.

Original Documents.

LETTER FROM JAMES V., KING OF SCOTLAND, ADDRESSED TO
HENRY VIII., DATED AUGUST 24, A.D. 1526.

FROM THE ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE PRESERVED IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE.

By the fate of the chivalrous James IV. upon the field of Flodden, Scotland had to pass through one of the severest trials to which—next perhaps to a civil war—a kingdom can be subjected, viz., a long minority of the sovereign. Joined to the many occasions for disputes which perhaps must always exist among a high spirited and brave people, and which had prevailed from a very early period among the nobility of Scotland, the accession of the infant nephew of the wealthy and powerful sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom introduced many fresh elements of difference. The violence of the “National” and “French” parties was only moderated to be directed with greater force against the rising power of the “English” party. The Duke of Albany, opposed by the influence of Henry VIII., had great difficulty in maintaining his position as Regent. His difficulties were increased by the fact of his being the heir presumptive to the kingdom. Schemes and plots of various kinds were entered into—professedly to give the juvenile sovereign greater liberty of action—but really only to transfer the direction of that action to other hands.

After the forced retirement of Albany, James V. was in the power of that influential party of nobles, of whom Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, the great opponent of the Regent and the husband of the queen-mother, was the chief. So matters continued for a short time. In the year 1524 the result of such a state of things appears by some correspondence given by David Scott, who tells us that Angus got the king to write publicly “That his mother and her friends need not be solicitous about him,” as he was well satisfied with the treatment he received from Angus—while in secret he wrote letters to the queen of quite an opposite purport.

An opportunity, afforded by the absence of Angus, enabled the queen to place her son upon the throne two years before the time appointed. Presuming perhaps too much upon this stroke of policy, the demands of Margaret upon her brother became immoderate, and her now divorced husband was again in secret confederacy with the English monarch. By his aid the Earl of Angus succeeded, in the year 1526, in once more overthrowing all opposition, and wielding all the power of the country to the advantage of the Douglasses and the dismay of their enemies.

To the critical period of Scotland's history, which I have thus slightly adverted to, belongs a collection of original correspondence, numbering between fifty and sixty letters, written (or signed) by the king himself, his mother Margaret, the Earl of Angus, and other nobles, to Henry VIII., Wolsey, and the Earl of Northumberland, which has been very lately transferred to the State Paper Office, from one of the branch Record

Offices, where they have long lain comparatively unknown. That these letters have been equally unused, is apparent from their having escaped the diligence of the late Mr. Tytler, who in his excellent history has turned to so good an account the contents of the State Paper Office itself. That some of those letters are full of interest to the historical student of Scotland, the following copy of one of them will show.

It has been already seen how the king had been obliged to practice the completest deception in the letters issuing from his hand. Henry VIII. doubtless always kept open means of communication with the leaders of all parties. The present letter was written to him while James V. was under such duress by the Douglasses that he was obliged to borrow his mother's signet ring to seal the letter—"because oure selis and signettis ar witholding,"—and it will be seen how the actions of the queen and the Bishop of St. Andrews are defended and excused, and that he complains loudly of the restraint he was kept under, and the deception he had been made to practice by the uncontrolled authority of the Earl of Angus.

A small fragment of the wax of the seal remains attached to this interesting letter, but no portion of the impression can be discerned. An impression from the signet of Queen Margaret has been found by Mr. Henry Laing, impressed on a paper document amongst the Philliphaugh Charters, bearing date the same year as the following letter. The seal displays, as described in Mr. Laing's useful "Catalogue of Scottish Seals," the arms of Scotland impaling England and France quarterly. Above the shield is an arched crown, and on a scroll under it—IN GOD IS MY TRAIST.¹

JOSEPH BURTT.

"Richte hie Right excelleng and Right michtie prince, oure derrest uncle and bruther, We commend we unto zou in oure maist hartlie and tendre manere, quhilk emplesit to remembre. We wrait lettres unto zou of before making mencione hou ane maist Reverend fader, oure traist counsaloure and cristin fader, James Archiebischop of Sanctiandres, witht certane oure liegis his assisteres and part takaris, maid conspiracioun and confederacioun till oure displesoure, and contrare ye commoun wele of oure realme, quhilkis writtingis procedit no^t of oure awin mynde, bot thro^t sollistacioun of certane oure liegis, and in speciall Archibald erle of Angus, We no^t being at oure awin liberte and kinglie fredome, bot abandonnit in sure keping and nychtlie awaiting of ye said Archibald, his assisteris and part takaris, lyke as we ar zit presentlie : Declaring zou maist intrelly, oure belovit uncle and brudre, yat ye said maist Reverend fader, at ye instance of oure derrest moder zoure luffing sister, lauborit yat tyme allanerly for oure fredome and liberte, and to have ws out of parciale keping, yat We my^t resort amangis oure trew liegis universalie, to the wele of oure hale realme, as yai zit, with assistence of oure belovit counsaloure and cousing Johune erle of Levnax and utheris oure trew liegis, labouris and procuris ye samyne. Quharfore We exhort and prayis zou oure derrest uncle and bruder, yat ze fortife and manteine oure derrest moder and all utheris takand hir opinioun to ye uptenyng of oure fredome and liberte. Thankand yame specialy for yare cure and lauboris takin tharupoun, praying yame

¹ Facsimile casts in sulphur from this, may be obtained, at moderate cost, from as also from a large series of Royal, Mr. H. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Baronial, and Ecclesiastical Scottish Seals, Edinburgh.

for continuance, and promitting yam̄ zour fortificacioune : And yat it will plese zou to writ to ye papis halynes certifeing of ye premisses, and in favouris of oure derrest moder and oure counsaloure Archiebischop of Sanctiandres forsaid, thare causis and materis for the graciouse expedicioune of ye samyn : nocht withstanding ony writtingis send at oure Instance in yare contrare, quhilkis procedit be Inductione of ye said Archibald allanerlie. Richt hie, Richt excelleng and Richt michtie prince, oure derrest uncle and bruder, almy^{tie} gode conserve zou in maist prosperous stait. Subscrivit with oure hand, and closit with the Signet of oure derrest moder, becaus oure selis and Signettis ar withholding : At Edinburgh, ye xxiiij. day of August. The zere of god I^m v^c xxvj zeris.

Zoure loving nepheu and bruther

King of Scottis

(Signed)

James R.

(Addressed) To the Richt hie Richt excelleng and
Richt michtie prince, oure derrest uncle
and bruder, The king of Ingland."

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

APRIL 4, 1856.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A DISCOVERY of remarkable interest was brought under the notice of the Institute by Mr. M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM. In June, 1854, a bronze helmet, of unique form and in remarkable preservation, was found, according to the account given by Mr. Bloxam, in the bed of the river Tigris, near Tilley. It is at that part of the stream that the ten thousand Greeks in their memorable retreat from the province of Babylon, B.C. 401, are supposed to have effected the crossing of the Tigris. This very curious head-piece is wholly dissimilar in its contour and general character to any relique of the kind hitherto noticed. The form bears some analogy to the ancient *Petasis*, and a type of helmet, in certain respects to be compared with it, occurs on Macedonian coins.¹ It was presented to the present possessor, through whose kindness it was produced on the present occasion, by Mr. R. B. Oakley, of Oswaldkirk, Yorkshire, who fortunately was present at the time when this interesting relique was obtained from the channel of the Tigris.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE gave a dissertation on a singular feature of occasional occurrence in the interments of an early age,—the use of mortuary urns in the form of houses, or, as they have been termed by German antiquaries, “house-urns.” The idea, Mr. Kemble observed, of giving to the tomb some resemblance to the house, is natural, especially where there is some belief that the dead continue to inhabit the tomb. A striking illustration is presented by the magnificent Etruscan sepulchres, where scenes of festivity are depicted on the walls, and costly vases, furniture and appliances of daily life are found in profusion. Amongst the Greeks and other nations of antiquity, a similar practice seems to have prevailed. The “house-urns” found in Germany and the North of Europe probably originated in a similar feeling. They are of comparatively small size, being intended only to enclose the ashes of the dead; and they are of rare occurrence, five examples only having fallen under Mr. Kemble’s observation, in the museums of Germany and Denmark. A fine example in form of a tent exists in the British Museum; it was found at Vulci, and some others have been noticed in Italy. The peculiarity in the “house-urns,” which differ materially in their form, is that each has a door or window in the roof or the side, through which the contents were introduced. This aperture was closed by a separate piece of baked clay, which may be termed a shutter,

¹ Compare also forms of the *petasis*, in some degree analogous, Hope’s Costume of the Ancients, vol. I., pl. 74, 136.

fastened by a bolt or bar. The greater number of these urns are round in form, like the huts represented on the column of Antoninus; one preserved at Berlin is oblong, exactly representing the peasant's hut of the present time, the roof also being marked to represent the thatch. A remarkable example in a collection at Lüneburg presents the peculiarity of being provided with two apertures, one at the side, the other in the bottom of the urn, glazed with small pieces of green glass, supposed to be of Roman manufacture. In regard to the "house-urns" discovered in Mecklenburg, Thuringia, and other localities in the north of Europe, Mr. Kemble expressed the opinion that their age may be assigned to the later period, conventionally designated "the Age of Iron." He concluded his discourse with some important suggestions in regard to the question of Etruscan influence in Northern Europe, and the probability that the bronze weapons of the earlier period may be connected with an ancient traffic established by the Etruscans with Scandinavia and other parts of the North.

Mr. W. IMPEY communicated the following notice of ancient reliques recently brought to light in London.

"In excavating for the buildings now in course of erection by Messrs. Arthur Capel and Co., in Dunster Court, Mincing Lane, Mr. I. J. Cole, the architect, found an accumulation of rubbish from 12 to 15 feet deep, among which were the Dutch and encaustic tiles, of which specimens are exhibited, with a silver coin of Henry VII. From that depth to 25 feet were found chalk, ragstone, and brick earth, the last in four layers, supposed to be the remains of ancient dwellings, formed with "cob" walls. In connection with these, fragments of Roman pottery were discovered, together with human bones, and under these remains, at a depth of about 20 feet, Mr. Cole found a well, and leading to the well a curved foot pathway paved with pieces of tile, or tesserae put together with some care in lime. In the well a small earthen jar was found with green glaze on the upper part, and possibly of mediæval manufacture.

"The average depth to which it is necessary to excavate, to obtain a good foundation, shews an accumulation of about 20 feet of soil above the natural surface in this part of London. Mr. Cole informs me that in excavating in Throgmorton Street, near the Auction Mart, he found the accumulation considerably less, the gravel being reached at little more than 12 feet from the present surface. In Throgmorton Street several interesting discoveries were made. A deep ditch crossed the north-east angle, in which remains of cask-hoops had become petrified: the springs through the gravel of the site generally were strong, and had been made available by means of oaken wells, like large casks without top or bottom, and on removing the soil the water rose in them. There was discovered besides these a Roman well, built of squared chalk, very neatly constructed, and containing about 3 feet in depth of charred twigs, probably for filtering. In digging were found a large early English pitcher, a considerable quantity of human bones, Samian ware, with well-executed ornamentation, some of the designs being very obscene, Roman glass bottles, &c.; and in the well lay a small and perfect Roman fibula of bronze which had assumed almost the colour of gold."

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, jun., offered some observations on the remarkable painted glass existing in the church of Fairford, Gloucestershire, the finest existing example, possibly, of its age in this country. Such is the perfection, indeed, of the design, that some have regarded that fine series of

windows as produced under the immediate influence of Italian art.² Mr. Scharf produced, through the kindness of Miss Kymer, of Reading, a portfolio of drawings executed by that lady, in illustration of the painted glass, the sculptured misereres, and various architectural details in Fairford church.

Mr. CHARLES WINSTON made the following communication, being desirous to bring under the notice of the Institute the lamentable state of the East window of the Chantry, on the south side of the chancel of North Moreton church, Berks.

"The window consists of five lower openings and a head of tracery. The greater part of the glazing has been lost from the tracery, but by means of the fragments, and a drawing made some thirty years ago by Mr. Ward of Frith Street, when the window was more perfect, it is possible to make out the original design. It consisted of ornamentation and three shields of arms, part of one of which remains, displaying the sable lion of the Stapleton family, who were said to have founded the chantry.

"The lower lights represent incidents in the lives of St. Nicholas, St. Peter, Our Lord, St. Paul, and the Virgin Mary; each light being devoted to a series of three subjects, beginning from the bottom of the light.

"In the easternmost light are the following subjects:—

"The consecration of St. Nicholas, as a Bishop; St. Nicholas restoring the Children to Life; St. Nicholas relieving the poor Nobleman's Daughters by throwing his purse in at the window of the house at night.

"In the next light appear—the Call of Peter, Our Lord delivering the Keys to Peter, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter.

"In the centre light are to be seen—the Passion of Our Lord, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection.

"In the West light are—the Conversion of St. Paul, Paul before Felix (?), and the Martyrdom of St. Paul.

"And in the next light—the Death of the Virgin, the Burial of the Virgin, with the Jew who attempted to overthrow the Bier, and the Assumption of the Virgin.

"The glass has suffered much damage, especially within the last few years, by pieces dropping out of the decayed leads; and it is surprising that it stands at all. Nothing can save it from certain destruction except careful releading. This will cost, according to Mr. Ward's estimate, 50*l.*, and the only chance of raising that amount is by private subscription. The parish, a very poor one, is already sufficiently taxed with the necessary repairs of the church, which is in a very dilapidated state, and the lessors of the great tithes are likewise compelled to repair the chancel. The living, worth 83*l.* a year, a vicarage in the gift of the Archdeacon of Berks, will have to be charged with the building of a vicarage-house. There is no endowment whatever for the repair of the chantry or glass; and it is doubtful whether the parishioners are bound to repair it at all. Certainly they could not be compelled to do more than substitute plain glazing for the remains of the old glass. The old glass is tolerably perfect, enough remains of all the subjects to enable them to be distinctly made out, and the date of the glass is between 1300 and 1310, or thereabouts. It is a very fine specimen of the period. The colours are magnificent.

² An account of the windows in Fairford Church was published at Cirencester, in 1765, 12mo. The description, written on parchment, and formerly kept in the town chest, has been published by

Hearne, *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 273. The glass has been sometimes supposed to have been executed after the designs Francesco Francia.

"The Society of Antiquaries has offered to give 10*l.* towards the repair of the glass, and some other contributions in aid have been promised, inadequate, however, to secure the preservation of an example of considerable artistic and antiquarian interest."³

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A silver Roman Family coin, recently found at Red Hill, near Reigate, by a cottager in digging in his garden. It is of the *Gens Carisia*, and although a coin of no great rarity, it is of interest as occurring in a locality where few Roman vestiges have occurred. *Obv.*—A fine female head, with the hair bound up by a fillet: it has been regarded as the effigy of the Gergithian Sibyl. *Rev.*—T. CARISIVS. On the exergue—III.VI(R), a sitting winged sphynx. Titus Carisius was monetary triumvir to Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44, the period to which the coin may be assigned. A similar coin is figured in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Roman and Greek Biography, &c., under Carisius. This and the other coins of the *Gens Carisia* are described in Admiral Smyth's valuable "Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman family Coins, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland."

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—A tall one-handled jar of mediæval ware, found under the foundations of an old house in Fleet Street, opposite to St. Bride's church. This specimen, which resembles those found at Trinity College, Oxford, and figured in this Journal, Vol. III., p. 62, has subsequently been presented to the British Museum. Its date may be as early as the XIVth century.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Several ancient documents, relating chiefly to the counties of Dorset and Somerset. Some of the seals appended to them are of considerable interest, especially the seal of the mayoralty of the staple of Westminster, an impression in fine preservation.⁵

We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. S. WALFORD for the following description of these documents:—

1. Undated. Inspecimus and confirmation by Philip de Columbariis the 5th, son of Philip de Columbariis, of a deed (*carta*) of Egelina, his mother, whereby she (being described as Egelina de Columbariis, formerly the wife of Philip de Columbariis the 4th), granted to Reginald de Mere, and Alicia his wife, the tenement, land, and meadow, which she had of the gift of Philip de Columbariis, son of William de Columbariis of Stocklande; which land and tenement Julianna, the relict of the said William de Columbariis, formerly held in dower, in the vill of Lytlestone in the manor of Dundene; to hold, of her (Egelina) and her heirs, to the said Reginald and Alicia, or one of them, and the heirs of Alicia, or to the heirs and assigns of Reginald, if Alicia died without heirs of her (body); doing therefore to Philip de Columbariis of Nutherestawe, chief lord of the fee, and to his heirs, the services due and accustomed; viz., that due to the king (*regale*),

³ Contributions are received by Mr. Winston, 2, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, or by Mr. J. H. Parker, Oxford.

⁴ Printed for private circulation, 1856, 4to. See pp. 32, 33.

⁵ Facsimiles in gutta-percha, from these beautiful seals, may be obtained from Mr. R. Ready, Princes Street, Shrewsbury.

so far as pertained to the 3rd part of the tenement, which the aforesaid Philip of Stocklande held of the Lords of Staweye, in the same vill of Lytlestone, for all services, &c. For which grant the said Reginald and Alicia gave to the said Egelina 100 marks of silver.—Witnesses to the grant, Michael le Goyz, Roger le Touk, Robert de Wottone, Robert de Bartone, Thomas de Iuethorne, William de Iuethorne, and Richard le Deneyz de Hybroke: Witnesses to the confirmation by Philip de Columbariis, Galfrid de Stawelle, John son of Galfrid, Alan de Waltone, knights; Walter de Shapewike, Thomas Whyteng, William de Bere, Robert Burty de Hamma, Nicholas de Sow, and Philip le Kniht de Somertone.

On a label a round seal of dark green wax, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; device a flower, resembling a fleur-de-lis, above which is a dove; legend—* s' PH'I DE COLVMBARIIS, in capitals.

NOTE.—This deed extends our knowledge of the family of De Columbariis, and adds another Philip in the direct line to the generally received account of them; for those above respectively designated as the fourth and fifth would, according to Dugdale and others, have been the third and fourth. Egelina is said by some to have been a daughter of Robert de Courtenay; but she does not appear in the Courtenay pedigree by Dr. Oliver and Mr. P. Jones. As her husband died in 1256, the confirmation was between that date and 1276, when her son Philip died.

2. Undated. Feoffment.—William, son of Robert de Canneswelle, granted to Sir William de Canneswelle (and) Joan his wife, for their lives, and the life of the survivor, and to Alianora their daughter, and the heirs of her body, the manor of *Luttiwode*,⁶ with the demesnes, &c., [then follow the names of several tenants, viz., Roger de Canneswelle, Galfrid de Wolastone, Elias de Wolastone, John de la Hoke, John de Morlond, and Adam son of Nicholas de Luttiwode], with a windmill and the suit of his tenants of Luttiwode; and he also gave to the said William, Lord of Canneswelle and Joan his wife, and Alianora their daughter, in like manner the homage, suits, and services of William de la Doune, and also a moiety of the mill of the "Dohne," called Glenwemulne, and a moiety of the pool or fish-pond (vivarium); and if Alianora should die without heirs of her body, the premises should revert to William son of Richard de Canneswelle and his heirs. Witnesses, Sir Reginald de Lega, Robert Corbet de Mortone (then sheriff of Salop and Stafford), William Bagot, William de Stafford, William Wythere, William de Mere, Robert de Knyeteleye, knights; Richard Spygurnel, Stephen de Wolaston, William Godefrey of Wylintone, and William de Fuleford, clerk.

On a label is a seal of green wax, escutcheon-shaped with rounded base, 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ at the top; device a gloved hand holding a hawk, the jesses pendant; legend—* s' WILL'I FIL' ROBERTI, in capitals.

3. 39 Edw. III. Lease.—John Sonynghulle, of the county of Berks,—after reciting that he had granted to William le Venour, citizen of London, the manor of Styntesforde and Frome Bonuylestone,⁷ in the county of Dorset, for his life, at a rent of twenty marks a year, as appeared in a certain fine thereof levied,—granted the same to the said William, his heirs, assigns, and executors, for the term of the lives of him and Mabilla his wife, and ten years after the death of the survivor; rendering yearly a rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. One part of

⁶ This reading is somewhat uncertain.

⁷ Sic. possibly U for V—Bonuylestone!

the deed is stated to have the seal of the said John appended, the other that of the said William. No witness. Dated at London on Thursday next before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, 39 Edw. III. On a label is a round seal of dark brown wax within red, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diam.; device on a diapered ground a lion sitting, with a heaume on its head, ensigned with a crown, out of which issues a fan-shaped object resembling a plume of feathers, the body of the lion being covered with mantling charged with three castles; no legend. (Compare the seal of the next deed.)

By an indorsement the deed appears to have been enrolled in Chancery in February in the same year.

4. 40 Edw. III. Grant and Release.—John Sonynghulle granted and released to William le Venour, citizen and merchant of London, his heirs and assigns, all his right and claim in the manor of Styntesforde and Frome Bonuilestone; and because his seal was unknown to many persons, he had procured the seal of the mayoralty of the Staple at Westminster to be appended to the deed in testimony of the premises. Witnesses—John Not, John Aubrey, Nicholas Chaucer, John Warde, and Thomas Thorney, citizens of London. Dated at London on Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, 40 Edw. III.

On labels are two round seals of red wax; the first is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diam.; device, within a quatre-foiled panel, an escutcheon charged with five castles, triple towered 2 · 2 · 1, and a label of three points; legend—* s' DROGONIS. DE. WARCIES: in capitals; the other seal is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diam.; device between two keys in saltire four pellets and as many wool-packs, and between the pellets and wool-packs on each side of the keys a rose; legend—* s' OFFICI: MAIORATVS: STAPVLE: WESTM'.

An indorsement states that this deed was enrolled in the King's Bench (coram domino rege) in Michaelmas term, 40 Edw. III.

NOTE.—In all probability the first of these two seals belonged to the same person as that on the preceding deed, and that in fact neither of them was made for John Sonynghulle. They have a foreign appearance, and are probably Flemish. I have not met with the name of Warcies in Flanders or elsewhere, but the sitting lion with heaume and mantling resembles in design some seals of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, engraved by Vredius. They seem to have been appropriated by John Sonynghulle without any regard to their fitness or unfitness, and it is not surprising that there were some misgivings as to their being recognised as his seals. It is not improbable the witness, Nicholas Chaucer, was a relation of the poet. He seems to have been a merchant. See Rot. Parl. ii. p. 457a.

5. 22 Rich. II. Lease.—John Syward and Joan his wife granted to William Canyngtone, Robert Penne, clerks, Ralph Bryt, Thomas Hobbes, and John Jurdane, the manor of Wynterborn West, with Bokhampton and Swanwych, with the advowson of the church of the same manor, in the county of Dorset, and also all their lands, &c., in Crekkelade, Chelworthe, and Colcote, and their mill of Panchet, in the county of Wilts; to hold to the said William, Robert, Ralph, Thomas, and John, and their assigns, for the life of the said John Syward. In witness whereof the said John and Joan had attached their seals, and as their seals were unknown to many persons, they had procured the seal of Ivo Fytz Wareyn, Knight, to be also attached. Witnesses—Ivo Fytz Waryn, John Moigne, Knights; John

Gonytz, William Peuerelle, and John Duddille. Dated at Wynterborne, 20th May, 22 Rich. II.

On a label is the seal of Sir Ivo Fitz Waryn, which is of red wax, round, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; device a shield, with his arms, viz., quarterly, per fess indented ermine and [gules], hanging on a tree between two storks (?); legend, s':IUVONIS : FYWARYN : in black letter. On another label are the remains of two small seals of red wax; on one is an escutcheon charged with probably three mullets, and, as part of the legend, WOLASTON, in black letter; on the other is a small figure of a Palmer (?), but no legend.

6. 37 Edw. III. Feoffment.—Robert de Sanbourne, late parson of the church of Meryet, and John de Forde, granted and confirmed to Sir John de Meryet, Knight, and Matildis his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the said John de Meryet, the Manor of Lopne and Stratton, in the County of Somerset; to hold to them of the chief lords of the fees by the accustomed services. Witnesses, Sir John de Chydyok, Sir John Beuchamp, de Lillisdone, Sir John atte Hale, Knights; William Byngham, John Frysle, Robert Loughe, and John Benyn de Hentone. Dated at Lopne on Thursday next after the feast of St. Hilary, 37 Edw. III.

On labels are two round seals of red wax: one an inch in diameter; device two figures, a saint not identified and St. Katherine, under canopies, and below an ecclesiastic kneeling in devotion; legend, s'.ROB'TI. DE SAMBORN, in capitals. The other is seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; device, within an eight-cusped panel, an escutcheon charged with a fess engrailed between three crescents; no legend.

7. 47 Edw. III. Feoffment.—John de Meryet, Knight, granted and confirmed to Richard Palmere, John Hayward, and Nicholas Beke, Chaplains, the Manors of Comptone, Dundene, and Brodemersstone, in the County of Somerset, except the fees and services of the tenants that held by knight service; to hold to them and their heirs of the chief lords, and by the accustomed services. Witnesses, Giles Daubene, William Boneuyle, John Beauchampe, Walter Romeseye, Thomas Marchal, Knights, John Iuethorne, John Panes, Robert Wyke, Thomas Knoel, and Peter Voce. Dated 26th day of May, 47 Edw. III.

On a label a round seal of red wax, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; device, partly within an elongated panel, a shield of arms with helmet and crest, the helmet occupying the centre, the shield couché and passing out of the panel, so as to interrupt the legend; the arms are quarterly, 1 and 4, barry of six, 2 and 3 vair or vaire; the helmet is mantled and ensigned with a chapeau, on which is a talbot (?) statant for a crest. Legend, SIGIL' : IOHANNIS : MERYOT, in black letter.

8. 21 Rich. II. Release.—John de Chidioko "consanguineus" and heir of John de Chidioko the elder, Knight, released to Matill', who was the wife of Thomas de Boukland, Knight, Humphry de Stafford, Knight, and Elizabeth his wife, and William de Boneuille, Knight, and Margat' his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the said Elizabeth and Margat', all his right in the Manors of Great Lopene and Great Stratton, in the County of Somerset. Witnesses—Ivo Fitz-Wareyn, John Berkele, John Lorty, Knights; John Keynes, John Denebande, John Mannyngforde, John Fytlone, and John Benyn. Dated the 18th day of July, 21 Rich. II.

On a label a round seal of dark green wax, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; device, within a curvilinear triangle, an escutcheon charged with an inescutcheon

in a bordure of eight martlets ; legend, SIGILLV̄ IOHANNIS CHIDYOK, in black letter.

9. Same date. Duplicate of preceding deed, except that William de Boneville, and Margar' his wife, are named before Humphry de Stafford and Elizabeth his wife. The same seal is attached, but it has been mutilated.

Mr. STRANGWAYS brought also for inspection several drawings of architectural subjects in the West of England ;—the George Inn, a picturesque structure of the XVth century, at Norton St. Philip, Somerset ; a view of a building at Compton Dundon, in the same county ; and a representation of "the Abbey," at Chew Magna, supposed to have been connected with some monastic or ecclesiastical foundation.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A portable day and night dial, made by Humfrey Cole, 1575. It has the following motto—

"As Time and houres pasith awaye
So doeth the life of Man decay :
As Time can be redeemed with no coste,
Bestow it well and let no hour be lost."

Mr. Morgan exhibited also a portable sun-dial and pedometer, made by Johan Melchior Landeck, of Nuremburg, some time in the XVIIth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Two Saxon rapier-blades, one of them engraved with figures of the Apostles ; the other engraved and gilded, and bearing a coat of arms surmounted by a coronet. A cut-and-thrust two-edged blade, engraved with grotesque designs on each side, and a single fleur-de-lys, inlaid in copper. On one side near the tang, has been a coat of arms, of four quarterings, inlaid in silver ; two of them only are now distinguishable—a chevron and a cross (in sinister chief, and sinister base). On the other side of the blade appear traces of a figure of St. Michael, XVIth cent.—A rapier of the time of James II., with hilt of russet steel inlaid with silver. An early example of the bayonet-shaped blade, which is engraved throughout its length with figures of the twelve Apostles, and on each side the profile of an emperor.—A bayonet-shaped rapier-blade, of the time of George II., bearing the forge-mark of Solingen, and inscribed GOD BLES THE KING.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—Impression from a privy-seal of silver, set with an antique intaglio, found in January last at Ashwicken, Norfolk, and now in the possession of the Rev. J. Freeman, Rector of that place. The loop, which had been affixed to the back of the seal, has been broken off ; an elegantly formed ornament of foliage remains ; the intaglio (chalcedony ?) represents a warrior resting on a kind of pedestal. The surface of the gem has been much injured.

By Mr. ALBERT WAX.—Impressions from a small brass seal, of circular form, found at Great Barford, Bedfordshire, in 1854. It bears a singular device,—a tree, apparently a pear-tree charged with fruit, hanging over water, on the surface of which is a fish. The legend is, ✠ s' HENRICI DE SHORNE. XIVth cent.

By Mr. READY.—Impressions in gutta-percha from a matrix of jet, preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge, with several ancient matrices of seals, of considerable interest. This seal, of pointed-oval form, bears a device on both its sides. *Obv.* a large fleur-de-lys. ✠ SIGILL' WILL' DE WALD. *Rev.* a hand holding a stem or branch erect, with the legend—✠ SIGNVM . PAOIS . PORTO. XIIIth cent.

May 2, 1856.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. H. RHIND communicated a Memoir on the present condition of the Monuments of Egypt and Nubia. (Printed in this volume, p. 154.)

Professor BUCKMAN communicated the following note of certain vestiges of early occupation in Gloucestershire, near Lidney:—

“On the west side of the River Severn, not far from the village of Lidney, is a small estate known as the Warren, in the occupation of its present proprietor, R. Addison, Esq. It looks down upon the river at a distance of more than two miles, and occupies a semi-circular hollow on the east side of the Forest Hills. The whole estate is situate on the Conglomerate of the Old Red Sandstone, masses of which project through the heather and furze with which the broken ground is mostly occupied.

Much of the estate has been recently levelled and brought into cultivation, and it was while pursuing this work that Mr. Addison's attention was frequently arrested by some roughly hewn circular stones of the Conglomerate of the hill. Some of these flat disks, rudely fashioned, and in form very similar to a cheese, were shown to me by Mr. Addison, one of which measured 16 inches in diameter, and was 4 inches thick; another 14 inches by 4. Afterwards, in taking a walk on Mr. Bathurst's estate at Lidney, I saw by a hedge a stone disk similar to these both in form and size, and Mr. Addison informed me they are frequently found about the district. Now, as in my excavations in *Corinium*, amongst other millstones I have met with portions of *molars* of Old Red Conglomerate, it struck me as not improbable that the stones at Lidney may have been intended for *molars*, of which these were the rough outlines of the first process of manufacture. In that case, may we not suppose that the workman rudely fashioned these out of suitable stones upon the open common, perhaps taking them to a more convenient place for their final preparation: this indeed would be much like what I recently saw on the Cornish coast, between St. Just and St. Ives, where the granite which lies scattered over wide open commons, is rudely fashioned on the ground, in blocks for various purposes, before finding its way to the mason's workshop.

It should be remarked that an old British trackway runs through the estate down to the river, and this track was doubtless connected with the roads leading from the Cotteswold to the Forest of Dean, from whence, as the *Corinium* remains testify, were obtained molars of Old Red Conglomerate, and also of Millstone Grit; and it is more than probable that iron ore was brought from the forest to be smelted in the Cotteswold district, as close to Cirencester are found quantities of old slags, but there is no ore in the neighbourhood.”

The objects noticed by Professor Buckman may possibly be vestiges of the Roman period, numerous remains of that age having occurred in that locality.

Mr. FRANKS communicated the following account of a Roman relique of rare occurrence discovered in the same district:—

“A Roman oculist's stamp was discovered a few years since at Lidney in Gloucestershire, which has not I believe been hitherto engraved, although an account of the inscriptions have been given by Dr. Simpson in the Monthly Journal of Medical Science, (vol. xii. p. 338.)

This interesting object is in the possession of Mr. Bathurst, of Lidney Park, to whose kindness I am indebted for the impressions from which the accompanying woodcuts have been prepared.

"The stone is of the usual greenish grey colour, and is inscribed on three of its sides. The inscriptions mention three salves of the Roman oculist, Julius Jucundus, viz. his *Collyrium Melinum*, a salve that derives its name from its colour of honey, and which appears to have contained



Ceruse and Calamine; *Collyrium Stactum*, which was to be applied in drops, and *Collyrium Penicillum*, which was to be used with a soft sponge or *penicillum*. The names of these three drugs are well known; the first occurs on six stamps, the second on twelve, and the last on six stamps. I am indebted for these details to Dr. Simpson's valuable Memoir already quoted.

The chief peculiarity in the example found at Lidney is the introduction of the word *collyrium*, which appears to have been generally considered superfluous. It occurs on two stamps only of those hitherto recorded: one of them is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale* at Paris; the other is in the British Museum. In the latter example the word could not well be dispensed with, as the name of any particular salve is not mentioned.

Many interesting objects have been discovered at Lidney Park, some of which are engraved in Lysons' 'Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ.' From a curious inscription on silver discovered there it would appear that there was a temple on that spot dedicated to the healing god Nodeus, no doubt a local form of the Roman *Æsculapius*."

Notices of various stamps used by Roman oculists or empirics have been communicated on several occasions at the meetings of the Institute. In the course of the year 1855, a remarkable discovery has been made at Rheims, connected with these vestiges of the Roman empirics. Amongst some remains of buildings were found a bronze ewer with the basin belonging to it, a pair of scales and a stilyard, seventeen instruments used by oculists, pincers, scalpels, cauterising instruments, spatulæ, &c., the whole of bronze and of fine workmanship. With these were brought to light remains which appeared by careful examination and analysis to have been dry *collyria* in small cakes, and an iron vial which contained a similar compound to that of which the cakes or tablets were formed. An oculist's stamp was found with these reliques, and bronze bowls, in one of which were two first brass coins of Antoninus. These curious objects in connection with the history of medicine amongst the Romans are in the possession of M. Duquenelle, who has formed an extensive collection of local antiquities at Rheims.¹

¹ Revue Archéologique, Oct. 1855, tome xii. p. 435.

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER, Local Secretary in Yorkshire, sent the following account of a recent discovery at York.

"At the end of February last some workmen engaged in making a sewer in Walmgate, York, threw out a quantity of soil into the middle of the street during the night. Next morning this soil was found to be full of small silver coins, which were picked up by children and others, to the number, as nearly as I can learn, of about a hundred. All the coins thus discovered which I have seen, with five exceptions only, bear the name of St. Peter, and were struck at York, as it is probable, about the year 950. All the fifteen pennies in my own possession and all the others which I have seen, with one exception, resemble type No. 4, described in Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, but they exhibit numerous small differences. In fact, very few seem to be struck from the same die. The differences consist in variations in the shape of the cross on the reverse, and in the spelling of the names of the saint and the city. The exceptional penny alluded to above, seems to be of a new and unpublished type: it belongs to Mr. W. Procter, of York. The five other coins found with those of St. Peter are all in my own collection. They comprise two pennies of St. Edmund, a halfpenny of St. Edmund, and two halfpennies of St. Peter. This discovery of coins bearing the name of St. Edmund with those of St. Peter confirms the opinion expressed in Mr. Hawkins's work, that they should be consigned to the same period. The halfpence of St. Peter were previously to this find altogether unknown. One of them which is in excellent preservation reads, *Obv*:—SCIII TRIII, (Sancti Petri) a small cross above and below and two dots between the lines: *Rev*: ✠ EPORACECI round a cross resembling that on the pence. [See woodcut.] The other halfpenny is far more imperfect, but though struck from a different die, it also, I believe, may be assigned to St. Peter. Compare Ruding, pl. 12.



Halfpenny struck at York.

This interesting hoard of coins was probably in the first instance deposited in a wooden box, now decayed. I gather this from the statement of one of the labourers, who informed me that some of the coins were found stuck together one on the other—'like heaps of change on a counter.' The coins were found at the depth of between three and four feet from the surface, in a deposit of black earth: many of them were much corroded and fell to pieces on attempts being made to clean them, but others are in a fine state of preservation.

A large stone bead, or spindle-stone for the distaff, flat below and round above, with three annular grooves upon the upper surface, was thrown out of the same excavation."

Mr. SALVIN reported the satisfactory progress of the restorations at Lindisfarne, which have been carried out under his directions. At a former meeting the attention of the Society had been called by Mr. Way to the neglected condition of the Abbey Church, and the rapid progress of decay, urgently demanding some conservative precautions. The matter having been subsequently brought under the consideration of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Public Works, the sum of 500*l.* had been appropriated to that desirable object, and the work had been entrusted to the able direction of Mr. Salvin. The site of the abbey, with great part of Holy Island, form part of the possessions of the Crown.

"A liberal grant of money (Mr. Salvin observed) having been made by

the Crown for the preservation of the ruins of Lindisfarne Abbey, on Holy Island, the repairs were commenced in the latter part of 1855, and happily all those portions in the greatest danger were made secure before the winter. Visitors to Holy Island will remember the remarkable arcade over the west door; this with a considerable portion of that end fell for want of timely precaution, in the winter of 1851 or '52. The stones have all been collected and replaced, and the west end has now the same appearance it has had for at least the present century. In searching for stone the rubbish has been cleared from the walls, and the base discovered in a very perfect condition all round the building. The arches have been made secure. The loose stones on the top of the walls are fixed, and holes and broken portions of piers filled up to prevent the action of the winds, which crumble and hollow out cavities in a singular manner. It is also intended to cover the walls with asphalt to prevent the rain from penetrating and increasing the injurious effects frost has on ruins. Many curious fragments which had been carried away have been rescued from walls and fences in the island, and a check has, it is hoped, been at length effectually put to the wanton injuries and decay which have of late years been viewed with so much regret by visitors to Lindisfarne. This most interesting fabric will now be preserved for many years from further dilapidation."

Mr. W. S. WALFORD gave an account of a small silver casket preserved at Goodrich Court. (Printed in this volume, p. 134.)

Mr. J. POLLARD communicated the following statement relating to the discovery of early interments, at Lincoln, in which the corpses had been wrapped in hair-cloth garments.

"In the year 1840 a stone coffin was found on the outside of Lincoln cathedral, not many inches below the surface of the ground, near to the south-east angle of the south arm of the upper transept. It was covered with a lid of the same material in one piece. The bones of the corpse, which had been deposited in the coffin, were when first discovered in a perfect state, but shortly fell to dust after exposure to the air. What excited much curiosity was the circumstance of the body having been enveloped in a dress composed of the hair of some animal, which appeared to have been woven to the proper shape for the purpose.

In 1842, in lowering the ground near the same spot, four other stone coffins were discovered, some of them still nearer to the surface than that before referred to. In one of these, evidently containing the remains of an ecclesiastic, was found a small latten or pewter cup; the bones were perfect, and enveloped in a similar habit to that before described, wove to fit the body, thighs, legs, and feet. Three other similar coffins were soon after laid bare; the remains of two of these were covered with similar hair shirts or shrouds. A piece of the tissue is sent for examination.

The opinion entertained is, that these bodies were interred in the XIIIth century. The coffin discovered in 1840, and one of those in 1842, were taken up and removed into the cloisters, as they could not well be lowered so as to be below the surface of the ground so altered."

The use of the *cilicium*, or under garment of hair-cloth, appears to have been frequently adopted, as by Becket, for penance or mortification of the flesh.—See Fosbrooke's *Monachism*, p. 31. Even hedge-hog skins (*pelles hericiti*) were worn for this purpose; the practice is forbidden in the "Ancient Rite," p. 419; see also p. 383. The remains of such tissue of hair have occasionally been noticed in mediæval interments.

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT read the following particulars, connected with the early commercial importance of Bristol; they throw fresh light on certain interesting facts communicated by him on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute in that city in 1851:—

“To the volume which the meeting of the Institute at Bristol contributed in illustration of the antiquities of that city, I furnished a few particulars of some proceedings taken by the mayor and commonalty to be released from the exercise of a privilege which, in early times, must have been very seldom appealed against.

“Without the opportunity of holding *fairs*, the advantages resulting from the productions of handicrafts and the wealth of commerce were exceedingly limited. They became, accordingly, the occasions of frequent and bitter disputes; and, in the history of most cities of high commercial rank, we find accounts similar to those which record the struggles of the Corporation of London with the sovereigns of this country, when they found a profit in supporting the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of St. Bartholomew, or some other neighbouring soke-lord, in their claims to a fair, against which nothing but the ready cash of the city had any weight.

“But there must have been something peculiar in the circumstances of the holder of such a privilege, either corporate or individual, who had to complain that what had been eagerly sought for as a benefit a few years before, had become disadvantageous and a burden. And the tracing the fluctuations of mercantile prosperity in so important a commercial mart as Bristol—the Liverpool of its day,—or rather, I would say, the rescue of facts relating thereto from utter oblivion, will, I am sure, be considered a subject in every way worthy the attention of the Institute.

“The few introductory remarks I prefixed to the documents printed in the ‘Bristol Volume’ were made in the hope that they would lead the way to the discovery of other particulars relating to that subject, most probably among the archives of the city itself. But nothing was met with in that quarter. This passage in the history of their commerce was entirely a new one to the merchants of Bristol; and it is only very lately that I have myself met with some further evidence which now enables me pretty clearly to trace out, if not entirely to supply the missing portions that were wanting to complete this page in their commercial annals.

“What I have already brought forward was a copy of the original petition of the mayor and principal inhabitants of Bristol to the Lord Privy Seal, setting out in very plaintive terms the ill effects upon the trade of the town produced by the fair held at Candlemas [Feb. 2]. I have now to bring before you some interrogatories and depositions upon the subject, which I have found with some proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber, but to which court I do not consider they belong. They are, doubtless, the result of proceedings consequent upon the petition already printed, and they contain many references to facts and other particulars which do not appear in that instrument, though they also comprise its principal statements. A commission, directed by the Bishop of Bristol, Sir John Seyntlow, and John Key, Esq., had been issued (probably out of the Court of Requests), under whose authority witnesses were examined at Bristol in the 35th year of King Henry VIII. (A.D. 1544). By the answers of the witnesses, who comprised the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city, it appears that fourteen years previously the then mayor had been induced to obtain a royal grant of the fair in question, and I was thus guided to the

Patent Roll, upon which that document would be recorded. Accordingly, I found the Letters Patent: they are dated 20th of September, in the 21st year of the king (A.D. 1530), and they give to the mayor, &c. of Bristol the right to them and their successors for ever of holding an annual fair within the bounds of the parish of St. Mary of Redcliff for the space of eight days; viz., from the 2nd to the 9th day of February in each year, with the right of taking tolls, &c. The grant itself is cancelled, and in the margin the occasion of its being so is clearly referred to the proceedings which I have now brought forward.

“It there says, ‘These Letters patent, with their enrolment, were vacated because the Mayor, &c., of Bristol, on the 10th of June, in the 35th year of the reign, by John Willy, their attorney, duly authorised under the common seal of the town, personally appeared in our Chancery, and surrendered these Letters there according to the form and effect of a certain order made by our Council on the 27th of May last. Therefore the said Letters Patent, together with their enrolment, are cancelled and annulled, as appears in the said surrender.’

“This fair it was proposed to sub-grant to the Master of St. John of Jerusalem and the Vicar of Redcliff, in whose district it was to be held, under conditions that it was not to prejudice the town. These parties appear to have been the prime movers in inducing the Mayor to obtain the grant. It appears the sub-grant was made, but without the condition annexed. In answer to the enquiries as to the effect of the fair upon the trade of the town, they allege that it had been unprofitable in the extreme, and fully confirm all the allegations contained in the petition, some of which are almost literally expressed. The great objection to the fair was that strangers and other buyers were enabled there to meet and deal with those who had wares to dispose of, without the intervention of the inhabitants; and the decay of the ‘great shippis wherein is reised and maynteyned many good mariners’ is pronounced as very imminent, and involving with it the fate of numerous dependents and chapmen. From one portion of the depositions we gather that the burgesses had long wished to get rid of the fair.

“The relation of William Popley, gentleman, aged fifty, and a native of Bristol, sets out that he being servant to the Earl of Essex, Master of the Rolls, was visited—then about seven years since—by some of his acquaintances, burgesses of the City, who showed him how the commonalty sustained much loss by the fair at Candlemas, and that greater decay was like to ensue if it continued; so they desired him to intercede with his master to annul the fair, whereon he, ‘considerynge he had fryndly acqeeuntaunce with the parochians of Redclyffe, who had procured to have the said Faire, sent woord unto them of the said request made to him by the said burgesses; whereupon they sent unto hym one Peers Cheritie, one of the head or cheiff of the Parisshe of Radcliff, and he said in dede iff itt be losse to the towne, itt is litle profit to the Churche; and to prove the same shewed to the said Popley certain bokes of accompt to declare the same; and fether said iff the Mayor and his brethren wold restore them to the money they had paid for the charges of the Faire they were contented to surrender their interest therein;’ but the suit was not followed up. Popley concludes by remarking that being born in Bristol, ‘and seeing that the occupiers of the said city do not so well encrease as they have done before the said faire was kept, by reson that all strangers that were wont wikelly to

repayre with many kindes of merchandise, espically with fische, they tary now, and come all at once to the faire where other straungers have the choyse and most part thereof at their pleasure—yea, and rather better chepe than the comons shall have, bycawse they take and bye great quantitie at ones; and fewe of them that moost desier to have the faire (if itt be trewly enserchid) be the better therby at the yeres end one peny.

"Some details are then given of certain profits belonging to the church of Redcliffe, but apparently not in connection with the fair.

"I will conclude by referring to another petition relating to the condition of Bristol, which, though undated, may perhaps have some reference to the effects of the fair. It asserts that upwards of nine hundred houses had fallen down, and speaks of the general decay of the town. As the means of raising its condition it prays that it may be released from paying prisage of wines, and from the payment to the Castle, 'which is now in utter ruin, and serveth for no purpose but for idle persons to play there at the bowles and other unlawful games.' It prays also that religious and other persons might be allowed to subscribe for the purchase of the King's fee farm, and then the tolls and duties taken from merchant strangers would be entirely remitted by the Corporation."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A Roman die, of bone, found in ploughing at Arbor Banks, in the parish of Ashwell, Herts, about 1820. Roman pottery, coins, &c., were discovered at the same place: the spot is situated on the property of Mr. Nash, Fordham, of Royston. Each side of the cube measures about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch; the pips are marked by two concentric circles, with a central point. The die had been placed in a vessel of Roman ware, in which it was found. Two diminutive bone dice, in the Faussett Collections, found in Kent, are figured in Mr. Roach Smith's "Inventorium Sepulchrale," p. 7. Several Roman dice are figured in Tersan (*Arts et Métiers*, pl. 18); they are of ivory, bone, agate, rock-crystal, and basalt: the bone die is perforated through the middle in one direction.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—A small four-footed stand of bronze, like a diminutive model of a stool, the upper part enamelled: it belongs to the same rare class of Roman reliques of which two specimens, found on Farley Heath, and presented to the British Museum by Henry Drummond, Esq., M.P., are figured in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 27.—A looped enamelled ornament, formed for suspension to horse-trappings, or for some similar purpose: diam. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. It is charged with an escutcheon, quarterly, Toulouse, and France, semé. It is figured in the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. v., p. 161, with a notice by Mr. Planché, who is inclined to assign it to John, King of France, taken prisoner at Poitiers, 1356, supposing it to bear his arms as Count of Toulouse.—A proof-piece, struck in a thick piece of lead from dies for coining pennies of the reign of King Alfred, the type resembling that of fig. 176, pl. xiii., of Mr. Hawkins' Silver Coins. It is evidently a trial-piece of the engraver. Figured in *Gent. Mag.*, 1842, part. ii., p. 498, and in the catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith's Museum of London Antiquities, p. 107. It was found in St. Paul's Churchyard.—A large collection of pilgrims' signs, or *signacula*, of lead or pewter, found in London, comprising several "Canterbury Bells," one of them bearing the

name of St. Thomas ; a mitred head, similarly inscribed (figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. ii., pl. xvii.) ; a figure of a bishop on horse-back, possibly intended to represent Becket ; two *ampullæ* ; a sword scabbard, with an escutcheon affixed behind it ; the lid of an hexagonal pyx, inscribed with the names of the three Kings of the East : it was found in the Thames, (figured, *Collectanea*, vol. i., pl. xliii.) These curious reliques have subsequently been deposited, with Mr. Roach Smith's collection, in the British Museum.

By Mr. COLE.—A bronze fibula, probably of late Roman workmans'hip, plated with tin or some white metal : it was found a considerable depth in Throgmorton Street, City, as related at the previous meeting. Also, a small globular money-pot, or *tirelire*, of green glazed ware, found in Dunster Court.

By the Rev. EDWARD HARSTON, Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset.—Photographic representations of a remarkable sculptured fragment, found in June, 1854, in digging a grave near the south porch of the Abbey Church. It lay ten feet below the surface, and portions of mosaic pavement, and tiles with impressed patterns, were brought to light at the same time. Careful search was made, but in vain, for any other fragments of sculpture. During recent "restorations" of the church, portions of old monuments of similar description, one of them with a crosier and inscription, were found in much better preservation than that under consideration ; but, according to the account given by the sexton, the workmen always threw them in again amongst the rubbish. A notice of the discovery in 1854 had been sent to Professor Willis by the Rev. J. Williamson, and Mr. Harston, who had shortly after been presented to the living, supplied further information. At his request Mr. Bergman, of Sherborne, had, in the most obliging manner, given the aid of his skill in the art of photography. Through his kindness we are enabled to present to our readers the accompanying representation, a fresh example of the great value of the photographic art as an auxiliary to antiquarian research. The sculptured fragment, described as of granite, is evidently part of a monumental effigy, chiselled on the lid of a stone coffin, or low altar tomb, of greater width at the head than at the foot. The tonsure is distinctly shown, the hair and the beard are arranged in locks with singular conventional regularity, similar to that shown in the remarkable sculptures in Chichester Cathedral, figured in this Journal, vol. xii., p. 409. The stone measures about 27 inches at top, 25 inches at the bottom ; the length of either side about 22 inches ; thickness, 8 inches. The inscription, running round the circular arch over the head of the effigy, is to be read thus, the numerous contractions being given in *extenso*,—

CLEMENS : CLEMENTEM : SIBI : SENTIAT : OMNIPOTENTEM :

QVO : DUM : VIVEBAT : DOMVS : HEC : DOMINANTE : VIGEBAT.

This Leonine distich may be thus rendered :—May Clement find the Omnipotent clement to him ; under whose rule, (namely, the Abbot Clement's,) throughout his life, this house flourished.

There seems good reason to regard this curious sculpture as part of the memorial of Clement, Abbot of Sherborne, about the middle of the XIIth century. Peter was abbot about 1142, and Clement occurs in 1163, but the precise date of his succession, as also of his decease, is not known. He may have been living as late as 1189, when William de Stoke was elected abbot.¹

¹ Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset. Willis, "Mitred Abbeys," vol. ii. p. 71.

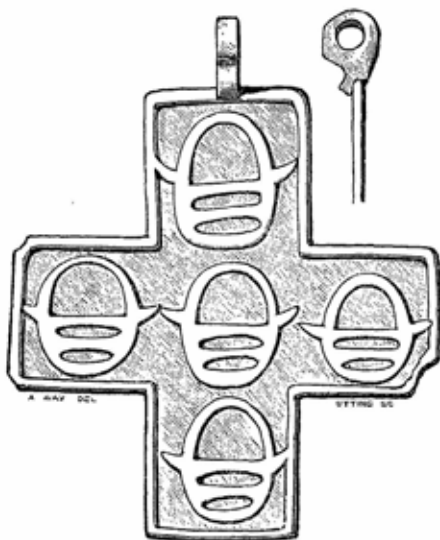


FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURED EFFIGY DISCOVERED AT THE
 ABBEY CHURCH, SHERBORNE, DORSET.

[Supposed to be part of the Sepulchral Memorial of Clement, Abbot of Sherborne,
 about A.D. 1163.]

CLEMENS CLEMENTEM SIBI SENTIAT OMNIPOTENTEM.
 QUO DUM VIVEBAT DOMUS HEC DOMINANTE VIGEBAT.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—Four glass beads, stated to have been found in Berkshire; a metal figure of St. George and the Dragon, found in Oxfordshire; and an ornament of copper, originally enamelled (*champlevé*), described as found near the Beacon Hill, Kent. The latter is an unusual example of the looped enamelled ornaments formed for suspension, as supposed, to horse-trappings and harness, of which numerous specimens, in form of escutcheons, have been produced at the meetings of the Institute. This cruciform ornament (see woodcut, orig. size) is charged with five caldrons, probably taken from the armorial bearing of some Spanish family (De Lara?). Palliot gives the following coat,—“De Lara en Espagne



Enamelled Cross. Orig. size. Date, XIVth cent.

porte de gueules à deux chaudieres fascées d'or et de sable, en chacun 8 serpens de sinople issans des costés de l'ance." The caldrons appear here to be *fascées*, but the colours, which were expressed by enamel, have unfortunately disappeared. Some trace, however, of *gules* may be seen in the field.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—An enamelled ornament of copper, chased in relief, partly gilt, and preserving portions of rich colouring: it is probably of early mediæval date, and had been recently purchased in London by Mr. C. Roach Smith.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Transcript of a fragment found in the binding of a volume of old MS. collections in his possession, containing medical receipts, physical charms, a treatise on astrology, the virtue of herbs, &c. It is a copy of the oath and homage of John Balliol for the Kingdom of Scotland, done before Edward I., at Norham Castle, Nov. 20, 1292, and printed in the series of documents given in Rymer, vol. i., p. 781 (new edit.). This transcript, probably of contemporary date, is closely conformable to the text as there printed.—Two plates, architectural subjects, from the last number of Heideloff's 'Deutsche Ornamentik,' representations

of windows in the Castle of Rotenburg, called the Palace of the Dukes of Franconia, and of a modern house built at Nuremberg.

By Mr. W. TITE, M.P.—Two illuminated service books, Italian MSS. of the XVth century.—Two *viatoria*, or portable dials; and an elaborately sculptured ivory comb, probably of the work of Goa, in the times of Portuguese occupation.

By Mr. F. A. CARRINGTON.—A massive gold ring, found in a gravel pit on the Bansted Downs, Surrey, and bearing the initials—W. T.—Date, XVI. cent.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A massive Papal ring, of Pope Paul II. Pietro Barbo, a Venetian of good family, was elected Pope under this name in 1464. He projected an expedition against the Turks, and Ferdinand, King of Naples, promised him aid, if he would remit a debt due from him to the Holy See. He achieved the union of all the Princes of Italy, and received with great state the Emperor Frederick III., to whom he gave a consecrated sword. He died in 1471, having been found dead in his bed, as it was supposed from apoplexy, having eaten two large melons for supper. The ring is of large size, and has for a stone a piece of rich crystal, with red foil under it. It is ornamented with emblematical figures of the four evangelists, and has on one side the family arms of Barbo, surmounted by the Papal tiara, and on the other the arms of Arragon, which were also those of Ferdinand, King of Naples, who was of the Arragon family; these are surmounted by a pointed crown or coronet of fine points. The ring bears the inscription,—PAULUS P.P. SECUNDUS.

By Miss J. M. BOCKETT.—A large silver medal (Schaumunze) of John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, called the Magnanimous. He succeeded in 1532, and died in 1554. Obv., the bust of the elector, seen nearly full face, a drawn sword upraised in his right hand, with his left he holds his hat, placed before him. IOANNIS. FRIDERICI. ELECTOR. DVX. SAXONIE. FIERI. FECIT. ETATIS. SVÆ. 32. Under his hand are the initials H—R. united, being the monogram of Heinrich Reitz of Leipsic, an artist of considerable celebrity. On the reverse there is a large richly decorated achievement of numerous quarterings, ensigned with three helms and crests, lambrequins, &c.—SPES MEA IN DEO EST ANNO NOSTRI SALVATORIS M.D.X.X.X.V. This fine medal measures rather more than 2½ in. diam. It appears to have been cast, and then worked up by the tool. Mr. Franks does not notice it in his accounts of the works of Heinrich Reitz, in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 317, where a representation of one of his finest productions may be seen.

By Mr. CHARLES WILCOX, of Wareham.—Brass matrix of the seal of the prioress of the Benedictine nunnery of Ivingho, or St. Margaret's de Bosco, Buckinghamshire, founded by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, early in the XIIth century. This matrix was found in a wall at Worth Matravers, in the isle of Purbeck, Dorset. It is of round form; diameter rather more than seven-eighths of an inch: the device is a crowned female bust, seen full face, possibly representing St. Margaret.* *Sigillum priorisse; de: Ivingho.* Date, late XIVth century. This seal is not mentioned in Caley's edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, where a list of the prioresses is given (vol. iv., p. 268). An impression of the common seal of the nunnery is appended to the Harleian Charter, dated 1325.

JUNE 6, 1856.

THE HON. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, in continuation of his valuable illustrations of the ancient mortuary customs of Scandinavia, offered some observations upon the various fruits and plants found in connection with the interments of northern nations, as also upon their stone-worship. He adverted to the ancient use of the hazel-twigs, of which the tradition may be recognised even in very recent times, in the divining rod used in Cornwall and other parts of England for discovering water or veins of metal. Hazel-nuts had been found in the hands of buried skeletons; and in two instances, which had come under Mr. Kemble's own observation, walnuts had been found thus deposited. He stated various other remarkable facts in illustration of this remarkable subject.¹ In regard to stone monuments of the earliest periods, Mr. Kemble remarked that a large ring of stones appeared to have enclosed a place of combat or judgment; and connected with it was a great stone,—the stone of Thor, upon which criminals, or vanquished combatants, were slain or sacrificed by having the spine broken. Large stones were regarded as abodes of the gods, and Mr. Kemble cited various legends in connection with such superstition. Circles of stone were sometimes considered to be persons,—for instance, a nuptial procession turned into stone during a violent thunderstorm. Mr. Kemble concluded his discourse by earnestly advocating the careful collection of all the materials which may tend to throw light upon the customs of the earlier periods, still involved in so much obscurity; and the endeavour by such means to establish our knowledge and opinions upon a secure basis.

The Hon. R. C. NEVILLE gave a short account of the discovery of a Roman interment, accompanied by glass *unguentaria* and other reliques.

"The five Roman *unguentaria* (which were exhibited) were found in a square leaden coffin, with a bronze armlet, a bone pin, and a small brass coin of Cunobelin. The discovery took place in lowering a hillock at Meldreth, Cambridgeshire, about 1816. The place is called "Metal Hill," and is not an artificial tumulus, but apparently a natural eminence. The name possibly may be a corruption of *Muttilow*, the name of several places of ancient sculpture. Muttilow Hill is the designation of the tumulus on the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, opened under my directions in 1852, as related in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 226. Myrtle Hill, at Wenden, Essex, as it is now called, is properly, as I believe, Muttilow Hill; and ancient interments have been found there. The glass vessels and other ancient objects submitted to the meeting are actually the property of Mr. Carver, of Meldreth, by whom they were purchased from the workmen at the time of the discovery."

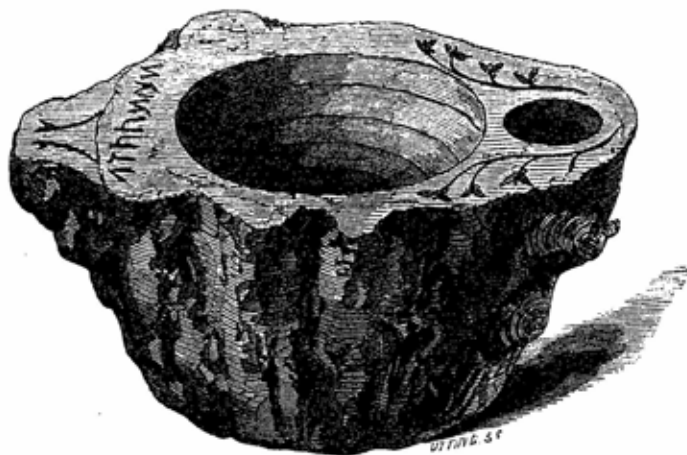
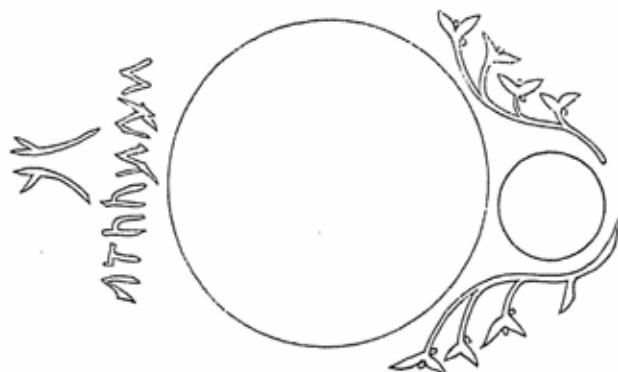
Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., communicated representations of a singular rude wooden vessel, supposed to have been used as a font, preserved in the hall at Pengwern, the seat of Lord Mostyn, in Denbighshire. Mr. Wynne

¹ In an interment found in county Kincardine, in 1822, a skeleton occurred, placed doubled up, in a stone cist, the floor of which was strewed with sea-shore

pebbles; and around the body, as it was believed, had been placed a number of acorns.—Arch. Scot., vol. ii., p. 463.

gave the following account of this curious relique, by Richard Llwyd, written in 1790.

"It was found in a bog near Dinas Mowddwy, in Merionethshire, possibly in old times occupied by some great forest, and near the site of some building, of which there is not a vestige left. It is formed of a massy piece of knotty oak, rude on the sides as in the state of nature, the top and bottom levelled seemingly with no better instrument than the axe. On the upper part is a large hollow basin capable of containing about six



Wooden Font, at Pengwern, Denbighshire.

quarts. A little beyond this is a superficial hollow of small diameter, with an artless foliage with round berries fixed to the leaves, cut on each side, and immediately beyond a narrow slope had been formed on which is cut in large letters the word *ATHRYWYN*, which Davis interprets *Pugnantes et discordantes sejungere*. *ATHRYWYN* is a word still in use, but not commonly, but in the same sense as that given in the Welsh Dictionary.

The diameter of the larger hollow is 11 inches; depth $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diameter of the less hollow 3 in.; depth about 1 in.; length of the log 1 foot 10 in.; thickness near 10 in.

That this was a very ancient font I have no sort of doubt; the large cavity contained the water, the lesser may have held the salt, which to this day is used in the Roman Catholic Church in the ceremony of baptism. The priest blesses the salt in case it has not been blessed before, then takes a little, and putting it into the child's mouth says, "Receive the Salt of Wisdom."

The word "*Athrywyn*" may signify the putting an end to the contests between Christianity and Paganism by the quiet progress made by the true faith in the world; or it may signify the separations of the "Lusts of the Flesh" from the purity of the spirit by virtue of this Holy Sacrament.

In the early days of Christianity fonts were not confined to churches. They were usually kept in private houses and sometimes in public places in the open air. Out of tenderness to infants they were afterwards removed into the porch, and finally into the church itself. From the smallness, it must have been made when aspersion was admitted.

This font seems made of the material next at hand. The rude block cut out of the next oak. I do not recollect any font made of this material,² and therefore look on it as a curiosity worthy the attention of the public. It is in fine preservation, owing to the bituminous peat or turf which so well preserves the fossil trees, the date of which may boast of far higher antiquity than this venerable relique.

N.B. *Athrywyn*, as a substantive, signifies "happiness, tranquillity, pacification." As a verb, to "conciliate or reconcile."

In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a rudely fashioned vessel may be seen, formed of a trunk of a tree, and possibly used as a font in primitive times. The font in the church of Chobham, Surrey, is formed of wood, lined with lead. See Simpson's *Baptismal Fonts*, preface, p. viii. The chief examples of fonts bearing inscriptions are enumerated by Mr. Paley, in the introduction to the *Illustrations of Fonts*, published by Van Voorst, p. 26. The second basin of smaller size, as seen in the wooden object found in Merionethshire, occurs in a font at Youlgrave, Derbyshire, figured in Mr. Markland's *Remarks on English Churches*, p. 92, third edition. A projecting bracket or ledge occurs on a font at Pitsford, Northamptonshire (Van Voorst, *ut supra*). It has been conjectured that the small basin served as a stoup for holy-water, the font being placed near the entrance door; or possibly for affusion in the rite of baptism. It was more probably a receptacle for the chrismatory, for the holy oil used in baptism.

Mr. F. A. CARRINGTON read a memoir on the Brank or Scolds' Bridle (Printed in this volume, p. 263).

Mr. R. W. BLENCOWE read the following letter, relating to the Rooper family, in the XVIth century, and addressed by George Rooper, son of Richard Rooper, of Derbyshire, who appears to have been in favour with Henry VIII. and Queen Mary. The letter is dated, Bridgewater, May 25, 1626, directed to his "Worshipful Cozen, Mr. Samuel Roper, Esq., at Lincoln's Inn." His ancestor, Richard, eldest son of Richard Furneaux of Beighton, in Derbyshire, married Isolda, only daughter of John Roper, of Turndich, Derbyshire, (in 7 Hen. VI.) and it was covenanted on that occasion that he and his issue by her should thenceforth assume the name of Roper.³

² There is, as Mr. Wynne observed, a plain octagonal oak font at Efenechtyd, in Denbighshire.

³ See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, under Lemington Hastings, and Hasted's account of the Ropers of Wellhall in Eltham, Kent.

[To my Worshipful Cozen, Mr. Samuel Roper, Esq., at Lincoln's Inn. Deliver these.]

Worthy Cozen,

I rec'd your letter by Mr. Dauge, when he came from the last term, wherein you desire me to set down what I know upon *my own knowledge* of our kindred ; indeed, Cozen, I can say little, butt of my father's and mother's uncles which liv'd in my tyme, for I was but a stranger myself in my father's cuntry of Darbyshire. I and my five brethren were all borne in Hide Park by London, in the Lodge neere Knightsbridge. My father's name was Richard, hee was servant to King Henry the seventh and to King Henry the eighth, and was much in their favour, and a pensioner, as I have heard my mother and many others say ; and soe it should seeme, for King Henry the eighth gave him the Keeping of Enfield chace, Hide Park, and Marebone, and the King gave him good gifts ever and anon, and my father put keepers in and out at his pleasure, but hee lived beyond it, and hee left us all unprovided for. I was not above 8 or 9 years old as I take it when hee died. I remember Queen Mary came into our house within a little of my father's death, and found my mother weeping, and took her by the hand and lifted her up, for shee kneeld, and bid her bee of good cheere, for her children should be well provided for. Afterwards my brother Richard and I being the eldest were sent to Harrow to school, and were there till almost men. Sir Ralph Sadler took order for all things for us there, by Queen Mary's appointment, as long as shee lived ; and after, Queen Elizabeth for a tyme, but *shee* gave orders to bind my brothers, William, Ralph, Henry and Hugh, aprentices, and sent for us to the Court, and said shee would give us good places ; but wee were put to bee of her guard, which I think kill'd my mother's hart, for shee would allways say that my father was of a very great stock, and little look't for such place for his sonnes. I've often heard her say she thought we fared the worss that Queen Mary was so kind to us. Queen Elizabeth had not reigned long but my mother died. Shee was one Mr. Hanshaw's daughter belonging to the law. My father had two brothers, Henry was the eldest, and your great grandfather, and George was the second, he married one Mr. Alsop's daughter in Darbyshire ; this am I sure of, for once I went into Darbyshire to see our friends, and went to Alsope and to Heanor your great grandfather's, and to my aunt Gilbert, and my aunt Key's, and my aunt Hall, they were my father's sisters. My brothers, Richard, Henry, Ralph and Hugh, died without issue. My brother William had one son borne in Milk street, who was father to Sir Thomas Roper in Ireland, his wife was daughter of one Fetherstone, [he was created Viscount Baltinglass, extinct 1730.] Hugh, a citizen ; for my part I married a widdow here by Bridgewater, past children when I had her first. I had good means by her whiles shee lived, and it was all the good I ever got by my mistress Queen Elizabeth, but indeed by her means I gott her. Cozen you must pardon mee, for this I write not with mine own hand. I have not writt a letter this seven years, my eyes are so bad. I am now above fourscore years old, but I made this to be written after my own very words, and the writer reade it over again to mee. Worthy Cozen, the Lord of Heaven bless you. It joyes my hart to hear from you, and therefore I beseech you lett me receive a letter from you now and then. I shall not live long, for I am almost done. God prepare mee for himselfe, for I have beene a great sinner.

I rest your loving Cozen, till death,

G. ROPER.

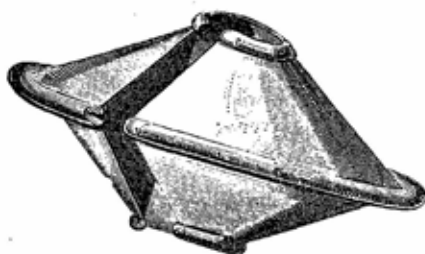
Cozen, if you look upon the seale of this letter, you shall find I have the seale of my father still. My brother Richard gave it mee. He w'd say it had long beene in the name, and after my death it shall be yours, its natural possessor, but I will never part with it till death.—G. ROOPER.

"This is a true copy of the originall given in my custody, who am the only male heir of *that* branch of the family, given under my hand and the *seal* above mentioned, 6th of April, 1679.—THOMAS ROOPER."

The original letter and seals were in the possession of the late John Bonfoy Rooper, Esq., of Abbots Ripton, Hunts. The bearing appears to be an eagle, the wings closed.—SIGILLUM RULBERTI OU LE ROSPER. In Burke's Armoury the coat of Roper of Derbyshire is given as—"Sa. a stork Or." With this seal has been preserved that of Sir Robert Furneaux, SIGILLUM D'NI ROBERTI DE FURNEAUX MILITIS, of which and of the other seal drawings were brought by Mr. Blencowe, as also of the crest of Rooper;—on a chapeau a flaming star, with the motto—*Lux Anglis. Crux Francis*. No charge appears on the escutcheon on the seal of Furneaux. A pedigree in possession of the family gives the coat as—*Gu. a bend Arg. between six cross crosslets Or.*

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAX.—Representations of some armlets and ornaments of unknown use, of gold, stated to have been found at Gaerwein, Anglesea. They had been brought to Newcastle by an itinerant dealer in the watch-making trade, named Edward Brown, and sold to Mr. Young, a silversmith in the Bigg Market at Newcastle, from whom they had been recently purchased by Dr. Collingwood Bruce. There were reported to have been eleven armlets discovered, and with each there was a flat capsule or penannular ornament of thin gold plate. The armlets are likewise penannular, with the extremities slightly dilated, the weight of each being nearly an



Irish gold ornaments, similar to those found in Anglesea.

ounce. The peculiar form of the ornaments will be best understood from the accompanying representations of a pair, in all respects similar, found in the county Limerick; no other example, it is believed, had hitherto been noticed. There appears to have been much intercourse in early times between Anglesea and Ireland; and these peculiar objects may possibly have been derived from that country at some remote period.⁴ Pennant had in his collection "three gold bracelets and a bulla," found in Anglesea, in the parish of Llanflewyn, near some circular entrenchments called Castell Crwn.⁵ The *bulla* may have been an object of the same fashion as those here figured.

⁴ See Mr. Edward Hoare's observations on the gold ornaments, formerly in Mr. VOL. XIII.

Abell's collection, Arch. Jour. vol. x. p. 73.
⁵ Nicholson's Cambrian Guide.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE. — A necklace of beads, found in February, 1839, in removing parts of a barrow near Lord Berners' watermill, in the parish of Northwold, Norfolk. The beads, sixty-five in number, comprise fifty-six of dark blue glass, with one of rock crystal, cut in facets, cubes of variously coloured opaque vitrified paste, and other beads of like material. They are doubtless of Anglo-Saxon date. — Two small Egyptian figures of bronze, brought from the tombs in Egypt. — An Irish spear-head of bronze, of unusual length (14½ inches) and of very fine workmanship. It has loops at the lower end of the blade, and the socket is pierced through both sides for a rivet.⁶ — Two basket-hilted swords; one of them from Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, has a remarkably small hilt of peculiar fashion. It has long been in the possession of a family at that place, and was regarded as a relique taken in the Civil Wars. The other found near Worcester, was formerly in the collection of the late Dr. Turley, of that city. The basket-hilt and part of the blade are coated with a black varnish, supposed to have been used in token of mourning by the Royalists.

By Mr. EVELYN SHIRLEY, M.P. — Bronze reliques found near the bog of Annamawen, Barony of Ferney, co. Monaghan: supposed to have been the rims and handles of ancient Irish vessels, in form of pails.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH. — A small urn of dark black ware, found at Upchurch, Kent, where traces of extensive Roman pottery-works have been found, as described by Mr. C. Roach Smith, *Journal of the Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. ii., p. 133. The form bears resemblance to that of the Upchurch vases, Akerman's *Archaeol. Index*, pl. xi. figs. 83, 84.

By Mr. G. A. CARTHESW. — Two fragments of silver personal ornaments, probably portions of girdles: they are bands of stout metal, chased with considerable care, the surface being alternately grooved, and ornamented with beaded and zigzag lines in relief. One of the fragments measures 1½ inch in width, the other rather less than an inch, and a round locket or fastening is hinged upon it, like the fastening of a belt. In this is set a silver coin of the Lucretia family. Obv. a radiated head of the sun. — Rev. a crescent in the midst of seven stars. L. LUCRETIA. [TRIO?] These fragments were found in the Norfolk Fen, at Northwold, and are supposed to be of Saxon workmanship. They resemble the work of that period in general character. (Compare some of the silver fragments found at Cuerdale.) The ornaments, however, appear to be wholly wrought with the tool, without the use of the punch.

By Mr. J. L. RANDAL, of Shrewsbury. — A cast from an inscribed fragment of Purbeck marble, lately found in Castle Street, Shrewsbury, and bearing the name of Alice Lestrangle. Mr. Randal had kindly caused a cast to be taken, which he presented to the Institute. A more detailed notice of this curious inscription will be given hereafter.

By Mr. R. R. CATON. — Representation of an ancient sun-dial of remarkable character, existing on the terrace at Park Hall, near Oswestry. A brass key of curious construction, found in ploughed land on the Pentreclawd farm, in the parish of Selattyn, Shropshire, close upon Wat's Dyke. The field is known as "Norman's Field," and there is a tradition that a battle was fought there between "King Norman" and the Welsh. The space, about two or three miles in width, between Offa's and Wat's

⁶ A bronze spear, with similar loops, found at Rossmore Park, co. Monaghan, was produced by Lord Rossmore in the

Dublin exhibition; it measured 27 inches in length.

Dykes, which in that part run parallel to each other, was formerly considered neutral ground between the English and the Welsh, and Mr. Caton suggested that the name might be a corruption of No-man's Field.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A betrothal ring of silver, parcel-gilt, date XIVth century, the hoop formed with the device of a crowned heart, instead of the hands conjoined, the more usual fashion in such rings.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A gold ring having on the facet a small cottage, with the initial R. upon it; possibly intended as a rebus for the name R. Cot-ton, or Hut-ton. On the hoop is engraved on each side St: Anthony's Tau. Date, XVth century.

By Mr. J. ROGERS.—A rubbing from a sepulchral brass in the church of St. Ives, Cornwall, unnoticed by collectors. It bears the date 1467.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A silver mounted cup, supposed to be formed of the horn of the rhinoceros, which was regarded as possessing virtue against poison. It belonged to Helena, daughter of the second Viscount Mountgarret, and wife of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormonde, who succeeded in 1614. Also a German knife and fork, silver mounted.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A one-handed silver porringer, or more properly a barber's eight ounce bleeding basin, bearing the assay-mark of the year 1684. The porringer or pottinger, Mr. Morgan observed, appears to have had two handles ("*escuelle à oreillons*," Cotgr.) and to have been rather different in form, not contracted at the top, like that exhibited.—A Gothic reliquary of copper-gilt, with the knop and stem partly enamelled, and on the latter the mystical or talismanic inscription,—" *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum*."—A collection of ecclesiastical and other finger-rings, one of them formed with a diminutive squirt, which being concealed in the hand would at pleasure throw a jet of water into the eye of any one examining it.

By Mr. JAMES YATES.—An elaborately carved wooden box, bearing the emblems of the Passion, possibly intended to hold the wafers used in the services of the Church.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A small globular one-handed bottle, of white enamelled pottery, manufactured in England in imitation of that made at Delft. This ware was probably made at Lambeth. On one side is inscribed in bright blue—SACK, 1661. The Hon. Robert Curzon has a similar bottle for Sack, dated 1659, figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 211; Mr. Franks has another, dated 1648; and in the Norwich Museum there are three similar bottles,—SACK, 1650. WHIT, 1648. CLARET, 1648.

By Mr. J. J. BOASE, of Penzance.—An impression from a brass matrix, dug up in the parish of St. Burian, near Penzance, and now in his possession. The seal is circular, diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; in the centre appears the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour, standing on a bracket, as if in a niche of tabernacle work. On the dexter side is a Saint probably intended for St. Augustine, vested in a cope, wearing a mitre, and holding a crosier in his right hand. Three small figures, apparently females, kneel at his feet, apparently protected within the skirt of the Saint's ample cope. On the sinister side is a female Saint, and at her feet, sheltered by her mantle, are three little male figures kneeling. The inscription is as follows:—*§ : confraternitatis : concepc'onis. b'te : m : orb' : sci : augustini : parisius.* A representation of this seal may be seen in the recently published volume of "Ancient Crosses and other Antiquities in Cornwall," by Mr. J. T. Blight, of Penzance.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

"INVENTORIUM SEPULCHRALE," &c. By the Rev. BRYAN FAUSSETT; edited by C. ROACH SMITH. 4to. London, 1856.

Inventorium Sepulchrale is the title given by the Rev. Bryan Faussett to the journals conscientiously kept by him during the progress of his excavations of Kentish Tumuli; and under this name, those journals have been arranged for publication by our learned colleague, Mr. C. R. Smith, in a handsome quarto volume, enriched with a multitude of woodcuts, coloured and uncoloured plates, an introduction and an indispensable index. By means of this work, which we owe mainly to the enlightened liberality of Mr. Joseph Mayer—the owner of the Faussett Collection,—these beautiful and interesting records of Anglo-Saxon life are made accessible to the archaeologist, and placed beyond the reach of accident. We do not intend to reopen the vexed question respecting the refusal of the trustees of the British Museum to purchase the collection itself, when offered to them at a very low price. The opinion of all archaeologists throughout Europe has declared against them, and settled that, whatever unfortunate misapprehensions may have led to their decision, it was an unhappy and erroneous one. We shall only express our warm satisfaction, that, if this collection of national antiquities was not to find a place in the National Museum, it should have passed into the hands of a gentleman so fully capable of appreciating its value, and so honourably distinguished by the liberality with which he renders his treasures accessible to all who know how to use them.

If the Faussett Collection itself is pronounced by all judges to be one of the most interesting and important of its kind, the journals which record the slow and gradual labours by which it was formed, are no less deserving of attention and praise. In order fully to appreciate the calm common sense, and conscientious spirit that dictated them, we must remember what antiquarian research usually was in the latter half of the last century, when Mr. Faussett was occupied with his enquiries, and bear in mind the wild spirit of reckless theorising which characterised almost every branch of Archaeological study. A few vague traditions, copied from book to book, or delivered from hand to hand, but based upon no sound historical grounds, and never brought to the reasonable test of observation, were assumed to account for whatever was exhumed. Cæsar's legions, Druidism, Saxon worship, Helio-Arkite cult, the Lingam Ionam, and Heaven only knows how much more trash, were the convenient catchwords under the cover of which the antiquarian rode off; and if the facts did not exactly square with the theory, they were strained till they suited it. Comparative Archaeology of course did not exist; nor was history, a hundred years ago, pursued as now it is, under our crucial system of criticism. It is due to the memory of two Kentish antiquaries to record that they were the first to desert the unsatisfactory method of their contemporaries, and to found a school whose

principle was to be patient observation, and conscientious collection of facts for future induction. Bryan Faussett and Douglas, the author of the *Nænia*, are in this respect the fathers of the modern Archaeological method, and we owe them no little gratitude both for the example they set, and the materials they laboriously collected. In truth, when we remember with what difficulties they had to contend, we cannot prize their insight too highly, or speak in terms of too great praise of the cool judgment which directed their proceedings.

The work of Douglas has long been known to and appreciated by English archaeologists: the labours of Faussett, never having been reduced to form, and put forth in the imposing dimensions of a book, have remained unknown. It is well that this late justice has been done to his memory, and that the simple records of his activity should be given to us, in their integrity. We can value them now, as perhaps we might not have done, half a century ago. And indeed it is just possible that had he lived to reduce his own observations to order, the spirit of systematising, and the anxiety to win results from the phenomena collected, might have seduced him into adopting a form for his journals, which would have been less satisfactory than their present unadorned, and, as it were, spontaneous record. We follow him now from grave to grave, and see how in every case the details of the interment presented themselves to his eyes upon removal of the superincumbent earth. We observe the circular fibula, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, in its place below the neck; we see the earrings at the sides of the head; the knife or knives suspended to the girdle; the rare sword, the large spear—the characteristic weapon of the Germanic tribes; the javelins, which probably rarely left their hands; the traces of the orbicular shield with its boss or umbo. The ornaments of the toilet, and the implements of the household, are supplied in great numbers and interesting variety. The position of many articles upon the skeleton teaches, for the first time, what was their actual use, and puts an end to a good deal of unprofitable speculation, as to the modes of their employment.

By the means of comparison thus furnished in so extensive a degree, we gain also important lessons as to the condition of Kent, in relation to other parts of England, and some valuable hints as to the chronology of Archaeological data. It is impossible to doubt that the elaborate ornaments, the improved pottery, the buried skeletons of the Kentish grave-yards, mark a much more advanced development of culture, and probably a much later period of time, than the rude evidences of cremation in Norfolk and Suffolk. While these latter recall to us the wild, wandering pagans of the Elbe and Weser, the Kentish deposits remind us rather of the settled districts under Frankish rule, and the Merovingian culture of North France, Germanic, indeed, but modified by Roman models and the adoption of the Christian faith. We wait still for archaeological evidence, drawn from the earth, for the Pagan age of the Franks, which is to be sought in Belgium perhaps rather than in France; unless, indeed, the cemetery of Port-le-grand and others like it, should contain such; however, I am at present inclined to look upon these as Saxon. But the historical evidence is sufficient to show that the Pagan Franks, like all other Pagans of German race, burnt their dead. We wait equally for evidence of the Pagan Saxon age in Kent; the discoveries there have, hitherto, almost exclusively revealed to us deposits of the Christian times. Faussett and Douglas looked down upon

the bones of men, not such as accompanied a fabulous Hengist and Horsa, or thronged round the more historical Eormannic; but men who may have helped Ædhelberht to give form to his laws, or even battled for Eáðberht Pren against the intrusive Cénwulf of Mercia. There is, in fact, nothing in these interments inconsistent with the supposition that they belong to the period extending from the commencement of the seventh, till at least the first half of the ninth centuries. We see in them the contemporaries, not of Clovis or Theodoric, but of Carl Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

And in truth there is a remarkable resemblance between the contents of these Kentish graves and those of the Frankish or Alemannic inhabitants of the valleys of the Rhine and Danube. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the plates of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* with Dr. von Raiser's account of the cemetery at Nordendorf in Bavaria, will see that he has before his eyes the products of the same stage of civilisation. The beautiful circular fibulæ which are so distinguishing a characteristic of Kentish interments, are reproduced there in even greater variety: they are found in Normandy, in Luxemburg, and in Suabia. On the other hand they are entirely wanting in the districts from which the Saxon populations emigrated to England: nothing at all resembling them is preserved in the museums of North Germany, or even in Copenhagen: neither Count Münster, Von Estorff, nor myself, detected a trace of them on the Weser, in Westphalia, or in Lüneburg. The Jutish peninsula repudiates them: Mecklenburgh knows them not. In short they appear as yet nearly confined to the Franks, and the men of Kent who were at all times in close relation to that people. At the same time, to the honour of the English workmen, it must be admitted that their circular brooches are superior in finish to the most of those found upon the continent: nothing in this class will bear comparison for a moment with the splendid ornament found at Kingston, and delineated upon Mr. C. R. Smith's first plate. As far as we have yet seen, those of Nordendorf approach the nearest in beauty to the Kentish. It is possible that one reason for the inferiority of the continental circular fibulæ may be found in the prevalence of fibulæ of another pattern—the cruciform—which may have been more in fashion. Nothing which England has to show in this respect can be put in competition with the exquisite products which the valleys of the Rhine and Danube furnish, some few of which may be known to our readers from a specimen-plate issued by Lindenschmidt and Wilhelmi, or by the casts which the first of those gentlemen has had made from several of them, and which have found their way into this country. These too are nearly as rare in the North German graves. The general character of the Kentish graves, the position of the skeletons, the arms, the ornaments, the domestic implements, in short the whole series of accidents, are in all essential respects identical with those described in the *Normandie Souterraine* of M. Cochet, and in the observations of MM. Namur, Baudot, Moutié, Troyon, Lindenschmidt, von Raiser, and Wilhelmi. We may admit slight variations in degree, but there are none in kind. The man of Kent, favoured by his position, and a sharer in the benefits of an early commercial civilisation, may have been richer than the Frank of *Londinieres* or *Envrement*, or Luxemburg, or Lausanne; he had no doubt some peculiar fashions of his own: but there is less difference between himself and the inhabitant of the *Calvados* than between this one and the Saxon of the Weser, or the cultivator of Schleswig and Holstein: less, perhaps, than the difference between him of Kent, and him of Yorkshire or Gloucestershire. We might

have been tempted to explain this Archaeological fact by assuming an early and close intercourse between the inhabitants of the *Littus Saxonicum per Gallias* and the *Littus Saxonicum per Britannias*, but for two reasons. The first of these is, that the interments of the Saxons (*Saxones Baiocassini*) upon the coast of France are of a much older character than the Frankish in Normandy or the Kentish, and as nearly as possible identical with those discovered by myself at Molzen and Ripdorf on the Ilmenau and Wipperau, or by von Estorff and Zimmermann in the adjoining districts. The second is that the Frankish interments in Normandy do not differ essentially from those noticed in other parts of France, in Switzerland, and in Germany, where no influences of Baiocassine Saxons can have been exercised. I am, therefore, on the contrary, disposed to refer any peculiarities by which the Kentish may be distinguished from other Anglo-Saxon interments to Frankish influence, which the political relations between the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Kentish kings must early have created. There was probably a good deal of acquaintance with Christianity in Kent before the time of Augustine: without it we can hardly believe the Christian Frankish kings to have given their daughters in marriage to English princes: and it is to be borne in mind, that the *orthodox* Roman Catholic writers are very apt to ignore all Christianity which did not go out directly from Rome. St. Boniface, for example, is constantly spoken of as the Apostle of Germany; yet, from his contemporaneous biographer, it is easy to see that the conversion of the pagan Germans was not his greatest service—this was the reduction of Christian communities, *already extant*, to obedience to Rome. It is now pretty certain that very many of the Franks were Christians before Clovis professed that faith in 496; and although their Christianity probably was of a somewhat indefinite character, and may have spread slowly enough, still no one can doubt for a moment that the Frankish cemeteries in France, hitherto described, are those of Christians. Even in the most remote corner it cannot be believed that heathendom would be openly practised after the beginning of the VIth century, such a heathendom at least as carried the dead in ostentatious solemnity to a funeral fire. A timid, half-concealed Paganism in spells and superstitions there was then, as there is now; but bold flaunting heathendom that burnt its dead in the face of the sun was become an impossibility. How this may have acted upon England it is easier to guess than to prove; but as yet I have only heard of one or two Kentish Saxon interments which could be shown *not* to be Christian. It is true that even Kent has as yet been very imperfectly explored, or very carelessly observed. Only one class of graves has received the proper measure of attention; and it is perhaps now too late—in a country so generally cultivated—to expect any other to be detected except by some fortunate accident. It is, however, extremely gratifying that even one class should have been so admirably illustrated as this has been. It furnishes a great link in the Teutonic chain, and gives the Archaeological evidence to the truth of what history has taught us: the Frank and the Saxon, when no longer separated in spirit by desolating wars, and the fury of religious difference, readily coalesced again, and fell into that similarity of customs which might have been expected in two races so nearly cognate in blood, and which, probably, in earlier periods had already prevailed. This is an important point in the history of these races; much more important, indeed, than the vain efforts of our English antiquarians in an overstrained love of *antiquity*,—to make out our early Christian sepulchres to be pagan.

It is of course impossible here to go into details which can only be profitably studied in the work itself, and with the plates under our eyes. I will only add, that these are extremely well executed and very faithful representations of the originals. They give an accurate and lively picture of the treasures in this collection. The antiquarian who studies in earnest will find in them some compensation for the impossibility of contemplating the arms and ornaments of his forefathers in their proper place—the Anglo-Saxon room, which I hope may one day exist, in the British Museum.

It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. C. R. Smith's part of the work is also done extremely well, and with much judgment. With all of his introduction I am disposed to concur, excepting such parts as seem to waver as to the Christian character of the deposits. It is evident that on this point his own opportunities of observation have been too limited. The notes which he has here and there added are useful and practical; and I readily believe that anything which he has omitted from Faussett's MSS. would at this stage of Archaeological study have been superfluous. Those, however, who have studied the question of the Anglo-Saxon settlements will not be disposed to attach much importance to Mr. Wright's views with respect to the ancient divisions of Saxon England, incorporated in the introduction: all who heard Dr. Guest's admirable dissertation upon the four Great Roads at Edinburgh, will readily agree with me in this.

Mr. Roach Smith has taken upon himself a labour of love in the Appendix to this volume. It is one, too, that rewards itself. When we have become familiar with the work of an author, and as in this case, accompanied him from spot to spot, and from discovery to discovery, we gladly learn what manner of man he was, and how he moved and conversed among his fellow men, in pursuits of a more general tendency. We are here, therefore, presented with a biographical sketch of Bryan Faussett, and with selections from his correspondence, which are of great interest. We cannot doubt that every reader will gladly see this record of the man added to the record of the *archaeologist*.

Both to Mr. Mayer, the munificent possessor of the collection, and to Mr. Roach Smith, who has done the work of making it accessible so well, we in common with all archaeologists return hearty thanks. The collection itself might have been dispersed, or lost to us: it is preserved entire. Even in the Museum it might have been inaccessible to many who would gladly have used it: the publication of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*" has multiplied it, and placed it within the reach of hundreds who would probably never have seen it; and the labours of the editor have supplied a guide by which all may be instructed to use it with advantage. We hope, and we believe, that the example thus set will not be lost, and that the good work these gentlemen have done will be fruitful in the future.

J. M. K.

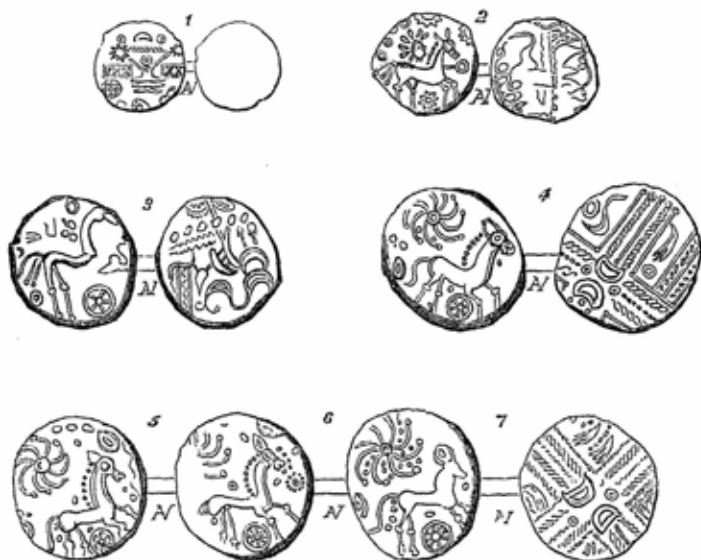
TRANSACTIONS OF THE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, for the years 1854—1855. Vol. I. part i. London: published for the Society, by J. Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square. 1856. Octavo.

It is with pleasure that we take occasion to invite attention to the commencement of a fresh effort to give an impulse to the prosecution of historical and antiquarian research, in a locality of no ordinary interest. At a period when so many institutions and combinations of local talent and archaeological information, have rapidly been established throughout England, for the special purpose of developing the taste for national antiquities, it might well be anticipated that the memory of Sir Edward Bysshe, of Aubrey and of John Evelyn, of Salmon, and Ducarel and Manning, with other honoured precursors in the field, should quickly give to the antiquaries of Surrey the watchword and the rallying-point for some well directed enterprise amidst the ranks of archaeologists.

The first fasciculus of the publications of the Surrey Society is now before us. It were needless to point out how varied and how extensive are the subject-matters of investigation, connected with the metropolis itself, and with one of the most populous counties in the realm, associated with so many stirring historical recollections, which fall within the range of the labours of the Society. Originated by Mr. Bish Webb in the autumn of 1852, the Society has already held its periodical gatherings in Southwark, and around the "Morasteen" at Kingston,—the *Fatale Saxum* of the Anglo-Saxon kings; they have assembled near the venerable vestiges of Chertsey Abbey, at Guildford also, and at Croydon. Of these meetings, as also of numerous collections of Surrey reliques and illustrations of local antiquities, which such meetings invariably draw forth, Mr. Bish Webb has preserved a detailed record in the publication before us. The Inaugural Address by Mr. Henry Drummond must be read with interest, marked, as it will be found to be, by originality of thought as of expression. The Surrey archaeologists will do well to bear in mind the suggestive counsels of the accomplished *Litta* of English Family History. Amongst memoirs read at the annual and other meetings, a selection of the subjects regarded as of leading interest has been made by the council to form the fasciculus of "Transactions" under consideration. It commences with a discourse, by the Rev. O. F. Owen, on "The Archaeology of the County of Surrey;" followed by an essay on "The religious bearing of Archaeology upon Architecture and Art," by the Rev. John Jessop. Dr. Bell has contributed a dissertation on "The Kingston Morasteen," the name by which he designates the supposed coronation stone of Athelstan, and Edgar, and Edward the Martyr, a name derived from that of the remarkable stone-circle or inaugural Swedish temple near Upsala. Whether the supposition be well-grounded or not that the Surrey *Palladium* may at some remote period have formed part of certain concentric circles of stones, as Dr. Bell conjectures, we are unable to determine; but all must honour the good feeling and conservatism on the part of the worthy townsmen of the *Regia Villa*, recently shown in protecting with due respect so precious a relique, hallowed by popular tradition.

Mr. Steinman has given a notice of "the Warham Monument in Croydon

Church," hitherto incorrectly appropriated; the memorial of a near relative of Archbishop Warham, and presenting some features of interest in connexion with the history of his family. A short memoir by Lieut. Col. McDougall, of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, with some observations by Mr. Lance, accompany a plan of the line of Roman Road from Staines towards Silchester, accurately marking its course to the south of Virginia Water, and over Duke's Hill passing Bagshot Park to East-hampstead Plain. Of the approach of the great Roman way to Silchester, Mr. McLauchlan gave an account in his valuable memoir on that station in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 234. The survey also, of which the results have been recorded in the United Service Journal, Jan. 1836, Part I. p. 39, may be consulted with advantage. A short notice of British gold coins found in Surrey, is accompanied by representations of eleven specimens of this curious class of our earlier remains, from the collection of Mr. R. Whitbourn of Godalming, who for some years has preserved with much good taste and intelligence all vestiges of antiquity which have fallen within his reach. To the Council of the Surrey Society we are indebted for the illustration, which gives seven of these coins, chiefly of the "Charioteer type," found on Farley Heath, a locality where numerous remains of highly interesting character have been brought to light through the researches of Mr. Henry Drummond and Mr. M. Farquhar Tupper. The first of these coins (see woodcuts) inverted by accident in the engraving, is of a rare and remarkable type, of which several, found near Albury in 1848, are figured in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xi., p. 92.



Ancient Gold Coins, found in Surrey.

The discoveries at Farley Heath, and the liberality of Mr. Drummond in presenting the antiquities there collected to the British Museum, have been

repeatedly brought under the notice of our readers. We may here refer them for further information to the narrative of Mr. Tupper, "Farley Heath; a record of its Roman Remains and other Antiquities," in which several of the Numismatic treasures there found have been figured.

A notice of Mural paintings, found in Lingfield church in 1845, is supplied by Mr. I'Anson. The examination of a tumulus at Teddington, which took place under the direction of Mr. Akerman, is duly recorded. Popular tradition affirmed that a warrior and his horse were buried beneath the mound; no remains, however, of the latter were traced: the precise site of the funeral pyre was brought to view in the centre of the hillock, where there lay a small heap of calcined bones, a few chippings of flint, and a bronze blade, of a type which has frequently occurred in Wiltshire and other localities. This had probably served either as knife or dagger; the handle, of bone, wood, or horn, had perished. A secondary interment was found, accompanied by fragments of a large urn, and a flint celt. The body had not been burnt. Mr. G. R. Corner contributes the last Memoir in this fasciculus, "On the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Fridwald, Ælfred, and Edward the Confessor, to Chertsey Abbey," printed by Mr. Kemble in his "Codex Diplomaticus." It is gratifying to witness the important bearing of that collection, in questions of local investigation. Mr. Corner has successfully identified many of the ancient sites named as boundary-marks in those early evidences, which are replete with curious interest to the Surrey antiquary; more especially as associated with one of the earliest and most important of the monastic foundations of the county.



Bronze Weapon found in a tumulus in Surrey. Length. 7 in.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE KILKENNY AND SOUTHEAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vols. I., II., and III. 1850-6. Dublin: Printed for the Society. Octavo.

We have on several former occasions briefly noticed the progress of the energetic and well-sustained movement to which the first impulse was given, in 1849, by the Rev. James Graves, at Kilkenny. The short reports of the proceedings of the society which have been given from time to time in former volumes of the Journal, have sufficed to show the rapid growth of

intelligent interest in the national antiquities of Ireland; and the advantageous position to which the Kilkenny Society had attained, under the auspices of the late lamented Marquis of Ormonde. Of the benefits, however, to Archaeological Science, which have accrued from the enterprise so zealously and successfully achieved by Mr. Graves, the volumes before us present the best evidence. Ireland presents a problem of deep interest to the archaeologist. Our cordial thanks are due to those who, content to abandon the visions of romantic speculation, in regard to the Primitive inhabitants of Ireland, or the origin of those remarkable types occurring amongst the reliques of the earlier periods, earnestly address themselves to the comparison of established facts with the vestiges of similar character or age in other countries. The volumes before us show how varied and valuable are the authentic materials throughout Ireland, demanding only scientific classification. An important advantage is within reach of the student of antiquity in that country, in the means of reference afforded by the extensive collections of the Royal Irish Academy, with which the members of the Institute have been in some measure familiarised, through the liberality of that institution in permitting the "Pictorial Catalogue" of their museum to be produced at our Edinburgh meeting, as also on previous occasions. Nothing, perhaps, would conduce more profitably to the extension of knowledge, in regard to the earlier vestiges in the British Islands, than the publication of an illustrated description of those collections. We earnestly hope that the Council of the Academy may be encouraged by the rapidly increasing interest in Irish antiquities, to produce such an instructive manual as we now possess in Mr. Worsaae's *Illustrations of Scandinavian Antiquities*, preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen.¹

The limits of our present purpose will only admit of our noticing a few amongst many interesting subjects comprised in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Society. Amongst those which bear on the Primeval Period, we may specially advert to the memoirs of Mr. Graves, Mr. O'Neill and Mr. H. P. Clarke, on the Stone Monuments of Ireland, the *cromleacs*, cists, cairns and rock chambers, (vol. i. p. 129, vol. ii. p. 40). In regard to the so-called *cromleacs* in Ireland, a name alleged to have been introduced from Wales by Vallancey and his school, it is stated that the stone monuments of that class are almost uniformly termed by the peasantry *leaba*, beds or graves. The baseless theory of the "Druids' Altar" appears indeed to have been dispelled by the scientific examination of these primitive structures. One of the most remarkable examples hitherto described is undoubtedly that discovered in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. It was enclosed in an earthen mound, known as "Knockmary," (the hill of the mariners), on the removal of which a rock chamber (or *cromleac*) was found, containing human skeletons doubled up, with a quantity of small sea-shells, prepared so as to be strung, and possibly worn as a necklace. This formed the central deposit: in other parts of the tumulus were smaller chambers or cists, containing small urns with burnt bones. One of the urns, now in the museum of the Academy, is figured, (vol. ii. p. 44). It may deserve

¹ "Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum," &c., by J. J. A. Worsaae. Copenhagen, 1854, 8vo. The illustrations representing 459 ancient objects in the Museum, comprising all periods and every class of remains, are produced with great

accuracy of detail by a certain "chemi-typic" art, well deserving of adoption in this country. This beautiful volume may be obtained from Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, or other foreign booksellers.

notice that a bone, stated to be that of a dog, was found with the human remains in the principal chamber. Some traces of the interment of a dog with the ashes of the deceased, occurred, it may be remembered, in the burial-place at Porth Dafarch in Holyhead Island, described in this Journal by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P.² Amongst the numerous facts relating to peculiar sepulchral ages, brought under the notice of the Kilkenny Society, the discovery of a sepulchre, nearly resembling in form that of a shoe made to fit the right foot, may claim attention, (vol. i. p. 138). It was a covered cist formed of flag-stones set on their edges; the part answering to the heel was made by small stones, set one over another. The chamber contained a great quantity of ashes of oak with a few burned bones. We remember no similar form of tomb, with the exception of those found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, figured in Mr. Eceyrd Smith's "*Reliquiæ Isurianæ*," pl. x.; one of them formed of slabs set on edge, the other, precisely similar in shape to a shoe, was of clay well-tempered and burned, and it contained a mass of ashes of oak, with small fragments of bone.³ These remarkable tombs appear to present a certain analogy to the *πύλοι* of the ancients. Mr. Newton discovered at Calymnos a coffin made of thick clay, moulded into a form like a slipper-bath, as described in this volume of the Journal, p. 17.

Some curious varieties of the "Ring-money of ancient Ireland" are described and figured by Dr. Cane and Mr. Windele (vol. i. pp. 322, 333). Our readers are familiar with various types of this supposed currency, of very rare occurrence in England or in Scotland, but profusely scattered over Ireland. Gold rings have been found varying from 56 oz. to 2 dwts. Silver rings are less common, but several varieties are here given. Some persons have endeavoured to establish the principle of a certain adjustment of weight in these gold rings, so as to confirm the theory of their use as money at a remote period, in like manner as rings are actually used by certain African nations in lieu of specie.

By the kindness of the council, we are enabled to place before our readers the accompanying representation of a very singular object, deposited in the museum of the Kilkenny Society by Mr. Blake, in the possession of whose family it had long remained. It is the upper portion of a staff, apparently of yew, which had been coated with silver; the boss, which is richly wrought with intertwined lizards, is of bronze, and the boat-shaped head with recurved dragon-heads is of the same metal. The eyes of these heads are formed alternately of red enamel and of silver. Mr. Blake remembered three bosses of the lacertine work, but two of these had been lost. At the March meeting of the Institute, in 1854, the learned President of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Todd, produced a drawing of this unique relique, and he expressed an opinion, in which other able antiquaries concurred, that it bore a striking resemblance to the pastoral staff carried by dignitaries and abbots of the Greek Church, of which the handle was sometimes formed by two heads of dragons or some other animal, turned upwards and recurved. A staff of this description appears in the right hand of the Patriarch, figured in Goar, *Rituale Græcorum*, pp. 156, 313. It was termed *δρακίσιον*, and was often presented to a patriarch or bishop by the Imperial hand. It

² Arch. Journal, vol. vi. p. 238. A full account of the burial-place in the Phoenix Park may be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. p. 186.

³ See an account of a sarcophagus of clay, enclosing a human body, found near Maidstone, in 1848. Journal of Arch. Assoc. vol. iv. p. 65.



Ancient Irish Staff-Head, in the Museum of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society

(Scale, one half original size.)

differed materially from the *cambuca* or crosier of the Latin Church, its proportions being those of a walking-staff, and it was rarely formed of precious materials, being most commonly of ivory and ebony, &c. The Abbé Texier, in his "*Recueil des Inscriptions du Limousin*," has given a representation of a staff-head, found in the tomb (as supposed) of Gerard, bishop of Limoges, who died 1022. This has a cross-piece of ivory, terminating in two animal's heads, and it presents at first sight considerable resemblance to the object here figured. The heads, however, are not recurved, and there appears to have been a suitable rest for the hand at the top of the cross-handle; whereas in the Irish staff, the heads approach so closely together as to preclude such use of the staff. It will be seen moreover by the vertical view (see woodcut) that two small bars cross the aperture between the dragon-heads, suggesting the idea that a cross or crosier-head may have been there affixed, when the staff was perfect. Mr. Graves states the opinion, most consistent with probability, that a cross, such as the Cross of Cong in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, protruded between these bars, which cross the inside of the present boat-shaped termination of the staff. Whatever may have been its intention, this example of the *opus Hibernicum* is of highly curious character, and as it is believed, unique in form.⁴

A memoir is contributed by Mr. T. L. Cooke (vol. ii. p. 47) on the singular Irish bells, some of which, of great antiquity, have been exhibited at the meetings of the Institute. The earliest examples are of iron, riveted together, in form four-sided; they were regarded with singular veneration, as we learn from Giraldus and other authorities, and were often encased in costly jewelled cases or shrines of the richest workmanship. In many instances, such was the popular superstition in regard to these reliques, that they were used for the purpose of adjuration. As examples of early skill in metallurgy, these bells are highly curious. They were dipped in molten bronze, so as to be plated with that metal, doubtless to increase the sonorous qualities of the bell, and to preserve the iron plate from rust. Bells of similar construction, and partly encased in bronze, were produced by Lord Cawdor and other exhibitors in the museum formed during the recent meeting in Edinburgh. Several valuable memoirs on these British and Irish sacred bells have been given by Mr. Westwood; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii. pp. 230, 301; vol. iv. pp. 13, 167.

In these volumes will be found several interesting communications regarding Popular Traditions or "Folk-lore," by Mr. Dunne, Mr. O'Kearney, Dr. O'Donovan, and other writers. There are various contributions to ecclesiology, monastic history, and the general topography of the south-eastern parts of Ireland, amongst which we may mention the papers on the "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal*," and the numerous conventual institutions at that place, by the Rev. S. Hayman, who has produced a monograph on that subject, as a separate publication, a desirable accession to the "*Monasticon Hibernicum*." Mr. Graves and Mr. O'Donovan have illustrated an obscure chapter in the history of the ancient Celtic divisions, by their detailed memoirs on "the ancient tribes and territories of Ossory." The lamented and able archaeologist, the late Mr. Prendergast,

⁴ Transactions of the Kilkenny Society, vol. iii. p. 137. We may here invite attention to the explanations of the legends on

the Cross of Cong, by Mr. Henry O'Neill, *ibid.* p. 417.

contributed largely to these volumes, not only from the historical materials and record-lore, with which he was so conversant, but from his researches of a more generally popular character, such as his memoir "Of Hawks and Hounds in Ireland," an agreeable chapter in the history of ancient Field Sports.

Sepulchral memorials of the mediæval age, to which so much attention has been devoted in England, are not abundant in the sister kingdom. We find, however, besides the elaborately sculptured crosses to which Mr. O'Neill has recently attracted the attention of antiquaries by his valuable publication, numerous early cross-slabs and inscriptions, such as those in Lismore Cathedral (figured vol. iii. p. 200); the curious fragment of a sepulchral cross or headstone found there by Archdeacon Cotton, in 1851. (see woodcut) soliciting a prayer for Cormac; the more enriched grave-slabs at Clonmacnoise, described by Mr. Graves (vol. iii. p. 293) and other similar memorials. Amongst mediæval tombs we may advert to those found at the Dominican Abbey, Kilkenny, described by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.



(vol. i. p. 453); the cross-slab of very uncommon design, found at Bannow. (vol. i. p. 194), and the cross-legged effigies of the co. Kilkenny, figured in Mr. Graves' memoir (vol. ii. p. 63). Effigies of the earlier periods are very rare in Ireland; our readers may however recall those existing at Cashel, described in this Journal by Mr. Du Noyer, including three figures of ladies, of the XIIIth cent., in the cross-legged attitude.*

The most peculiar inscribed memorials presented to us in the varied field of Irish archaeology are undoubtedly those which bear the mysterious markings, generally known as Oghams, once a fertile subject of visionary speculation to Irish antiquarians, amidst perplexing absurdities which the recent researches of a few intelligent enquirers have, as we believe, satisfactorily dispelled. Many examples of these very singular cryptic inscriptions will be found in the volumes before us; and not a few of these have been brought to light through the influence and exertions of the Kilkenny

* Archaeol. Journ. vol. ii. p. 121.

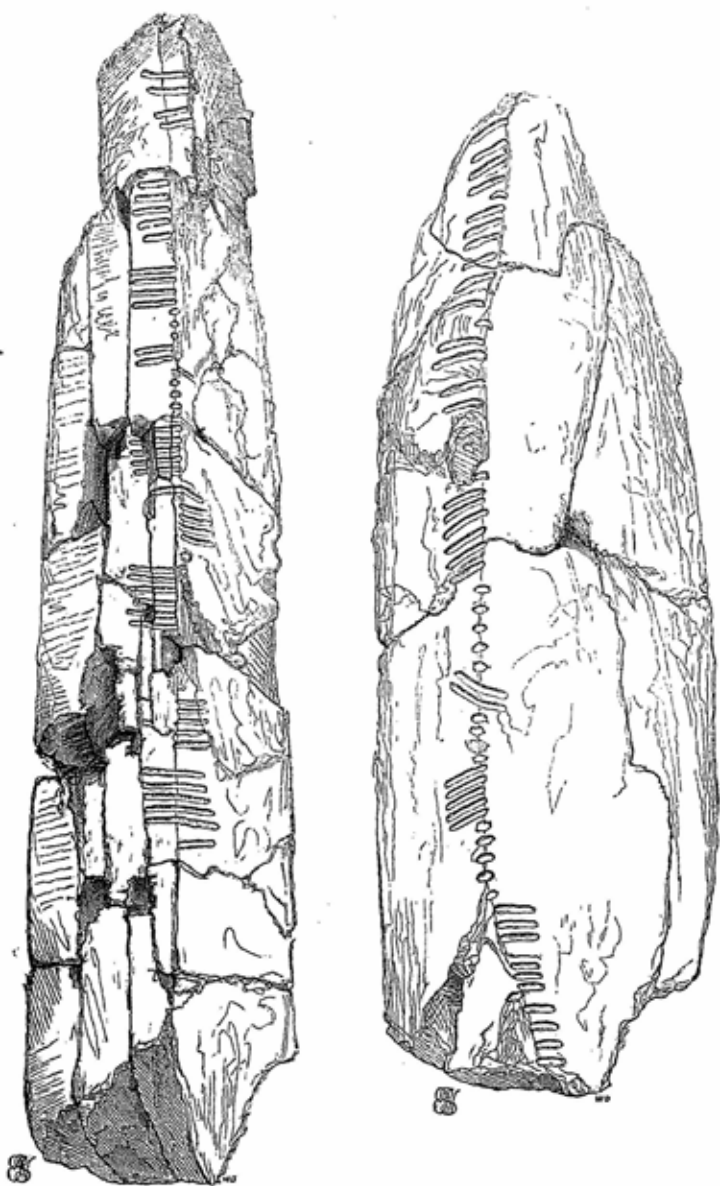
archaeologists. Amongst these none are more remarkable than the slabs here represented, (see woodcuts) found in 1855, in an artificial cavity or passage at the Rath of Dunbel, co. Kilkenny. Mr. Prim has given (vol. iii. p. 397) a full report of the multifarious reliques brought to light on that site of ancient occupation; the Ogham stones were unfortunately broken by the workmen into fragments, but these were rescued, and the slabs are actually preserved, as here represented, in the Museum of the Kilkenny Society. We have gladly availed ourselves of the kind permission of their Council, to bring before our readers these examples of Ogham inscriptions, not only as a memorable result of the devoted ingenuity and perseverance of Mr. Graves and his brother-archaeologists, in effecting their preservation after such disastrous mutilation, but with the view of inviting research for similar inscriptions, probably existing in Cornwall, Wales, or other parts of our island. One highly curious specimen found in Shetland,⁶ has already been brought before the Institute by Dr. Charlton, at the Newcastle meeting, and formed the subject of a discourse by Dr. Graves, of Dublin, at one of our monthly meetings in London.⁷ Ogham inscriptions have been found at Golspie in Sutherland, and at Newton in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, figured in Dr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals," p. 506, and more accurately in Mr. Stuart's admirable "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," pl. i. We are not aware that any Ogham monument has hitherto been noticed in England. The number of examples already collected in Ireland is considerable, and we await with anxiety the promised Dissertation by Dr. Graves on this very curious subject. Meanwhile, information may be obtained from his contributions to the volumes under consideration, and from the abstracts of his papers read before the Royal Irish Academy, in 1848, and printed in their Proceedings (vol. iv. pp. 173, 356). The credit of ascertaining the principle upon which these remarkable cryptic memorials may be decyphered, is due, as we believe, to that learned archaeologist, to Mr. Hitchcock, and Mr. Windele of Cork. Occasionally the "medial line," in most cases defined by the angle of the inscribed slab, was not used. In Lord Londesborough's collections at Grimston, there is an amber bead, inscribed with Oghams; it had been highly esteemed as an amulet for the cure of sore eyes, and was obtained in the co. Cork. Vallancey published a brooch, charged with Oghams. They are, however, of excessive rarity on any object of ornament or daily use.

A personal seal of great interest, and as far as we are aware previously unknown, is given by Mr. Graves, by whom it was discovered in the muniment chamber of the Ormonde family, at Kilkenny Castle. This remarkable example (figured, vol. i. p. 503) is the seal of Richard, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, appended to his grant to Adam de Hereford of lands in Aghaboe and Ossory. On one side the earl is seen on his charger, with sword upraised; he wears a singular conical helm furnished with a nasal. On the obverse appears an armed figure on foot, bearing a lance or javelin, and a long shield *chevrony*, doubtless the earliest type of the bearing of Clare, afterwards modified as *three chevrons*. The same chevrony shield may be seen on the seals of Gilbert, father of Strongbow, created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen, in 1138. It has been figured in

⁶ It has been figured in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 150, and in Mr. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*,

published by the Spalding Club, pl. 94.

⁷ May 4, 1855, noticed *Arch. Journ.* vol. xii. p. 274.



Upright Slabs, bearing Ogham Inscriptions. Found in a Rath
at Dunbel, county Kilkenny.

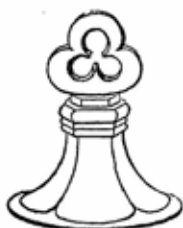
(Scale, 1 inch to a foot.)

the Notes on Upton, p. 89, and presents nearly the same types as the seals found by Mr. Graves at Kilkenny. The warrior on foot bears a barbed and feathered javelin; on the seal of the son the weapon has a lozenge-shaped head, and to the other extremity appears to be attached a globular object, probably as a counterpoise, not shown in the lithograph which accompanies Mr. Graves' notice. The costume and equipments are for the most part similar on these two rare examples of so early date. Mediæval seals are comparatively of uncommon occurrence in Ireland, but some good matrices exist in the museum of the Academy. Mr. Caulfield, of Cork, has recently produced the third and fourth parts of his "*Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*," the only work specially devoted to the illustration of Irish seals. A curious little example is figured in the Kilkenny Transactions, (vol. iii. p. 330) found near the Friary at Youghal, of which, by the kindness of the Rev. S. Hayman, author of the "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*"^s of that place, we here give a representation. (See woodcut.) Its date may be XIVth or early XVth century. The device is a heart, of frequent occurrence on seals of that period, here, as has been supposed, "pierced from above by a perpendicular sword-blade, and resting on a mass of coagulated blood." We must leave it to some antiquary practised in these conventional devices to suggest a more probable explanation. The legend appears to read, *§. fr'is. ioh'.* *thynghul*, which suggests that brother John may have been of the place where his seal was found; Dr. Todd was of opinion that the last word may be the same as *de Yughul*, of Youghal; whilst the late Mr. Crofton Croker proposed to read *th* as a contraction for *thesaurarii*, supposing the seal to have belonged to the Treasurer of the Franciscan Friary. Some, however, read the name as—Thynghul.

The foregoing notices may serve to show some of the subjects of interest comprised in these volumes. The illustrations, (lithographs and woodcuts,) are numerous, and for the most part effective and accurate. We regret to be unable to place before our readers the facsimile of a spirited sketch of the Court of Exchequer, with the judges and officials, the suitors, &c., crowding around the table covered with a chequered cloth. (Vol. iii. p. 45.) This curious picture of a court of law in the reign of Henry IV. has been preserved in the *Liber Ruber*, in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, Dublin.

^s Notes and Records of the Religious Foundations at Youghal, co. Cork, and its vicinity. By the Rev. Samuel Hayman. Youghal: R. Lindsay, 1855, 8vo. An

account of the seal above figured, was given by Mr. Hayman in *Gent. Mag.* vol. xli. p. 277.



Archaeological Intelligence.

WE are specially desirous to invite attention to the important work announced for immediate publication by Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, entitled—“*Hors Ferales ; or studies in the Archæology of the Northern Nations.*” The aim proposed is to supply the means of comparison between the principal types of objects of Archaeological interest, from different ages and different parts of the world. The illustrations (thirty plates, of which twenty coloured) will represent the most remarkable antiquities in the principal Museums of Northern Europe. The introductory letter-press will contain the author's complete “*System of Northern Archæology.*” The work will be published (by subscription) by Mr. Lovell Reeve, 5, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden ; price, to subscribers, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. DUNCAN MCPHERSON, late Inspector of Hospitals in the Turkish Contingent, had prosecuted during the recent occupation of Kertch by the allied forces, some important investigations of the tombs of various periods near that place. Dr. McPherson gave a discourse at the Edinburgh Meeting on the curious reliques lately disinterred, and which he has generously presented to the British Museum. He proposes to produce (by subscription) a detailed account of his discoveries, accompanied by ten coloured plates, displaying fictile and bronze vessels, lamps, gold ornaments, and a very remarkable collection of bronze fibulæ, &c., of high interest on account of their close resemblance to those found in Anglo-Saxon graves. Subscribers' names are received at the Office of the Institute.

The Rev. J. C. CUMMING, of Lichfield, author of the “*Isle of Man, its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Legendary,*” proposes to publish (by subscription) two works in further illustration of the History and Antiquities of that Island. One of these will be entitled, “*The Story of Rushen Castle and Abbey,*” the other will comprise representations of the sculptured monuments, crosses and Runic inscriptions existing in the Isle of Man. The latter volume will be in quarto, uniform with Mr. Graham's “*Antiquities of Iona,*” and will contain about sixty plates. Subscribers are requested to send their names to the Author, or to Mr. Lomax, bookseller, Lichfield.

Mr. J. T. BLIGHT, of Penzance, who has recently produced a volume entitled “*Ancient Crosses and other Antiquities, in the West of Cornwall,*” (London : Simpkin and Marshall,) comprising upwards of seventy representations of sculptured crosses, of cromlechs, and other ancient remains, proposes to produce (by subscription) a similar work on the Crosses, &c., of the Northern parts of Cornwall. Subscribers are requested to forward their names to the author.

Mr. G. GOLDIE, of Sheffield, has announced for publication, in twenty numbers, Royal quarto, select examples of the Mediæval Architecture and Arts of Italy. A list of the subjects, amongst which are some of the best Italian examples of architectural composition, metal-work, sculpture, painted glass, mural and other decorations, may be obtained from the author, or from Messrs. Bell and Daldy, the Publishers.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1856.

ON SOME OF THE BEARINGS OF ETHNOLOGY UPON ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.¹

By J. BARNARD DAVIS, F.S.A., F.E.S.

ETHNOLOGY may have been regarded as a series of fanciful, and, probably, futile inquiries, leading to no very definite ends; and the ethnologist, as a sort of harmless visionary, led hither and thither by trifling indications, and exciting more smiles than looks of satisfaction. In such a region, hypotheses have been very prolific, and the pertinacity of their inventors has usually been in the inverse ratio to the stability and the number of the facts on which they have built them. Great learning has often been expended, even by men of sterling merit, upon investigations into the origin, migrations, and settlements of early nations, without any fixed principles or sound philosophy, to guide or to support the inquiries entered upon. Frequently some fancied, especially when recondite, resemblances, have led to a search for facts and appearances to give countenance to the theories they have suggested. Ethnology, therefore, in this sense, is mainly an abstraction of the mind. Such vague lucubrations may be very fascinating, but are chiefly to be tolerated on the principle of the old French maxim: "*Du choc des idées jaillit la lumière.*" This, however, is but a description of the early stage of ethnology, like that of many other branches of research, which have grown into sciences. The wild, if not groundless speculations, not based upon facts and sound principles, of some antiquaries of the last century, perhaps even of more recent times—which speculations have commonly been as erroneous in their

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities, at the Edinburgh Meeting of the Archaeological Institute, July, 1856.

ethnology as in their archaeology—bear little relation to the science of archaeology, as at present understood. And the “theories of the earth” of the earlier cosmogonists, in which the imagination set itself to educe order out of primeval chaos, using all the wonderful forces of nature at discretion, had a very small resemblance indeed to modern geology.

The great erudition displayed by the German philologists upon subjects so captivating to enquiring minds, may not be regarded as leading to very definite conclusions. Still a sort of science of *comparative philology* is being raised up, which, when subjected to more rigid criticism, and eliminated from those hasty views that have misled some very eminent cultivators of this field of knowledge, may ultimately produce satisfactory results. Man, his origin, his relations and alliances in all their extent, constitute a series of complex and difficult subjects of inquiry. And it is not to be wondered that the learned have too readily identified particular languages with certain races of men; and have allowed their attention to be absorbed by the curious and erudite study of the tongues of ancient people, when their personal peculiarities were so inaccessible—supposing this more facile ground to be the true ground of anthropological research. Language, the property of man, offers an immense region for investigation, and when investigated upon large and correct principles, such as are being gradually introduced into comparative philology, will no doubt lead to valuable results. Still language is only one of the attributes of man, and all the comparisons it admits of, constitute but a small part of the circle of inquiry of which he is the centre. His *physical characters*, the physiological laws to which his organisation and whole being are subjected, and the essential properties and distinctive peculiarities of his mental constitution, all difficult to learn on any comprehensive scale, and to elucidate, and requiring for their study long and extensive research, are the surest and first bases of ethnological science, as it appears to us.

This must first of all acquire fixed and well-defined principles before it can deserve the name of a science. It must before all be ascertained by a close and thorough investigation of different races of people, that they have and do observe something like definite laws in their origin, developments, alliances, and mutations, before ethnology itself can have

any stable ground to stand upon. The speculations which have formed its aerial substance too frequently, must be called down from the cloudy regions in which they have floated, wherein transmutations and metamorphoses innumerable have been as easy as those of the magician. And when this is accomplished, and the whole has been subjected to the test of rational inquiry, ethnology will itself obtain firm foundations, and be able to afford aid and elucidation to other branches of study.

I. For instance, if it can be ascertained, as there is every reason to believe it will be, that *race* is something more than the mere name of a mutable thing, and is really a permanent and enduring entity, which must of necessity have had a primeval origin, and exists the same now as it has always done, unchanged and unchangeable; archaeology will find in this ethnological principle a stable and consistent basis of inquiry of real value and use. Instead of the doubt and hesitation with which current doctrines have led us to regard the remnants of ancient people to be met with in almost every country, we shall then look upon them as the venerable living representatives of nations whose ancestry reaches back perhaps to creation itself. A firmer and surer footing will thus be given to antiquarian researches, which will not be confined to unfolding ancient manners and customs, old dialects, or even modes of thought and expression, but may retrace the very lineaments and forms of people of primitive and pre-historic times.

As examples of the permanent and undying endurance of race, of features and physical peculiarities which have lasted for many ages, and cling with unchanged constancy to the people still, we may especially cite one from the most primitive of ancient nations, the *ancient Egyptians*. In point of antiquity we can refer to no older on the face of the globe, and their most remarkable monuments afford the very test our citation demands. In physical conformation, special study has convinced us, they also present peculiarities which, taken altogether, do not meet in any other people. So that whether they be admitted to be an autochthonous race or not, they are strictly indigenous to the Valley of the Nile; for we may pronounce with much confidence, that no people presenting the same peculiarities of form are to be met with elsewhere. This ancient and fine race is to be

traced through all the monuments of the successive dynasties, possessing the same delicate features, in perfect contrast with the Negroïd conformation, which, from an ill-understood passage of Herodotus, they had been supposed to present. And, what is still more remarkable, all observant travellers who ascend the sacred river, even the most recent, concur in the testimony, that the people of the country everywhere offer the most striking resemblance to the venerable bas-reliefs and paintings of the monuments. This forcible figure has more than once been used by Egyptian travellers, that in colour, form, and every other outward feature, the proper rural population look as if they had stepped from the walls of the temples as animated images of their far-off ancestors. Notwithstanding a succession of invasions and conquests, continually repeated from the time of Cambyses downwards, to the intrusion of the Saracens and modern Turks and Arnaouts, the true Egyptian people have remained as constant as the Nile and its inundations. We need not here refer to the features and characteristics of the ancient Egyptians, and the many curious questions connected with them. It is enough to establish the great central ethnological position, that the most ancient of the Egyptian people still exist in their living representatives, in the Fellahs of the villages on the shores of the Nile. A position in itself sufficient, were it requisite, to show that ethnology and archaeology are twin sisters, intimately connected, and mutually supporting each other—destined, when better understood, and their relations more fully developed, each to lend the other reciprocal aid.

Examples of like peculiarity, and of like pertinacity of form, occur on every hand. Of the personal remains of *the ancient Assyrians*, the learned and most enterprising antiquarians who have revealed their remarkable bas-reliefs, and other characteristic monuments, have scarcely met with any. We have been informed, through the kindness of Sir Henry Rawlinson, that "in all the ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea," evidences of a peculiar mode of sepulture are met with, which accounts for this. "The bodies were originally doubled up and squeezed into the lower half of a clay sepulchral jar, after which the upper half of the jar must have been added in a soft state and again exposed to the furnace, the result being that the bones were partially cal-

cined in the process." Sir Henry adds, "I judge that this was the mode of sepulture, from having in a hundred instances found skeletons in jars, either with no aperture at all, or at any rate with so small an orifice that by no possibility could the cranium have been forced through it." Mr. Layard, in his second work, alludes with an expression of surprise to the absence of tombs at Nineveh, and observes, "I cannot conjecture how or where the people of Nineveh buried their dead." From accidental circumstances, however, Mr. Layard, during his excavations at the North West Palace, was enabled to bring to light a veritable skull of an ancient Assyrian, now preserved in the British Museum. It was found in a chamber, which had an entrance and no exit, with a great many other bones and armour; a room to which it is supposed the defenders of the palace on its destruction had retreated, and there perished. This skull is possessed of great interest for its complete identity with the heads of the people of the sculptures, thus conferring upon them the irrefragable stamp of nature and of authenticity. Besides which it presents special characters, which distinguish it from the crania of all other ancient races, as far as the writer's inquiries have enabled him to determine. And this precious osseous relic, archaeologically of such great value, is equally so in an ethnological view, for it not only represents the special people of ancient Assyria, but, according to the testimony of high authorities, especially that of M. Botta, it may be considered as a model of those now inhabiting Persia, Armenia, and Kurdistan. For these are said still to preserve the type offered by the bas-reliefs themselves. Not only in their physical conformation, but, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, in mother-tongue also, the present inhabitants of the country resemble their far-off ancestors—for he says, "they speak a language closely allied to that of the Nineveh inscriptions."

But it is the same with other ancient races, *the Jews* and *the Gypsies* being the most familiar instances. The former present specific features, which we are authorised specially to identify with them in all ages and in all countries, proof of which it were easy to adduce from every quarter of the globe, and almost every clime, did time permit. We prefer, however, rather to allude to an observation made some years ago, by the present governor of Hong-Kong, Sir John

Bowring, when he visited Nablous, the Schechem of the Old Testament and Sychar of the New, the ancient capital of Samaria. The excellent and learned traveller was surprised to find that the Chief Priest, and other remnants of this ancient sect, personally, "had nothing of the Hebrew expression," but, on the contrary, "much resembled the Druses of Mount Labanon, the ancient Syrian race." They were "utterly unlike Jews," of whose remarkable features the traveller had expected to find traces, whilst the similarity to the ancient race of the country was striking. But there is a total failure of evidence to show that the ancient Samaritans were of the Jewish race, however much they might be allied in religious views and worship. Some have affirmed that they were "a mixed race of people, being composed of immigrants and the remaining natives." There appears, therefore, strong, and, we believe, conclusive evidence, that, notwithstanding the captivity under one of the Assyrian monarchs, the Samaritans were, and continue to be to this day, mainly the aboriginal race of the country. As M. Alfred Maury has so well expressed it, "*C'est toujours le caractère primitif qui a prévalu*," whatever mixture may have taken place.

II. If it can be established that not only peculiar physical conformations, but *the mental and moral properties of all races are essential to them*, and do not admit of being transmuted one into the other, or of undergoing any material change—and there are strong reasons for thinking this will be established—the archaeologist will be able with much more self-reliance to travel back along the line of preceding centuries, and to fix upon people whose mental and moral status, whose social and intellectual characteristics, he has developed by the study of various ages.

The civilisations of all civilised races are special. Whether we regard the civilisation of the ancient Egyptians, of the Assyrians, of the Greeks, of the Arabians, of the Chinese, of the Hindoos, of the Mexicans, or of the Peruvians, we cannot deny that we are contemplating in each case an aggregate of causes and effects which is peculiar, and, without refusing to admit that one may have influenced the other in some respects, as the art of Egypt or of Assyria may have been reflected upon that of Greece at its dawn; and possibly the letters of Greece may have shed an influence, hitherto unde-

veloped, over those of the East—the whole mental and moral character in its evolutions, of these distinct civilisations has been peculiar to it—and not capable of being transferred from one great nation to another. It has had its bases in their physical and psychical organisation, and has been intimately connected with it, and, therefore, cannot in the nature of things, really and thoroughly reappear in a people of different organisation.

The Jew of modern times, and in almost all countries, presents the same propensities as to trade and a wandering life that distinguished him in the middle ages, and which have characterised him since he was first induced to migrate from the plains of Mesopotamia. His civilisation is quite peculiar and distinct from all those in which he mingles, but never wholly adopts. In literature and art his position is inferior, and one belonging to himself alone.

The Chinese are a race of people whose mental and moral organisation has conferred upon them as marked a character as any we can refer to, and which will be at once admitted by those who have paid attention to this remarkable nation, having a civilisation of its own. That they have an especial endowment of mind appears in every feature of their characters. During the war with this people, which led to the admission of the English to different parts of the Celestial Empire, a phenomenon was frequently exhibited which it would be impossible to parallel in European countries. On the capture of different places by the English *demons*, for such they appear to have been esteemed, as soon as our soldiers entered them, they were appalled by sights as unaccountable as they were monstrous and unheard of. The inhabitants, instead of perishing in the defence of their household gods, or flying from an enemy which had overcome them, with some shadow of hope for future resistance, if not revenge, or at least with the instinct of self-preservation, were discovered quietly in their houses in great numbers dead or dying of sheer terror, hanging and drowning themselves by scores with fanatical agony. That our irrepressible love of life, which leads to ceaseless care and anxiety for its preservation, and which we regard as an instinct of human nature, is not shared in, in anything like the same degree, by this singular people, is apparent from the accounts lately transmitted to this country by Sir John Bowring—which do

equal violence to the precious estimation of the value of life inherent in our minds. Sir John, in his recent visits to continental China, says, he has passed towers built up for the reception of living infants, into which they are thrown by their parents, through a hole left for that purpose, there to perish. He also saw ponds in which were numerous bodies of infants floating about, victims of the same barbarous inhumanity. The instinctive horror connected with the presence of the dead seems also to be wanting, for he frequently, on entering a house, stumbled over a corpse lying at the threshold; and witnessed parties seated at table with a dead body under their feet. One result of the recent rebellion is a sacrifice of human life intensely painful to reflect upon. It is believed that in the city of Canton alone from 70,000 to 100,000 persons perished by the hands of the executioner during the year 1855. And it is stated on good authority, that, on the taking of Blenheim Fort, near Canton, houses were erected in many of the surrounding villages, where suspected and proscribed persons might go and commit suicide, by hanging or by opium, to save the disgrace of a public execution—and that hundreds availed themselves of this privilege. We have it on the authority of a number of respectable witnesses, whose testimony there is no reason to question, that in China there is no insuperable difficulty, when an individual is condemned to capital punishment, for him to procure a substitute, if he have the means, who will submit to the last infliction of the law *in his stead*. For alluding to these appalling facts before this learned Society an apology seems necessary. They are adduced as striking and convincing evidence of an *essential* difference in the moral constitution of the people to which they appertain, from anything of which we have any cognisance among European nations,—notwithstanding the occasional calamities which have at times occurred in this western world, and for short periods seemed to pervert the strongest instincts of our nature by the overwhelming force of despair, or other fearful passions.

The sanguinary worship of the *Ancient Mexicans*, in which hecatombs of human beings were annually sacrificed on the altars in honour of their gods, is another parallel instance that need not detain us, but which substantiates our deduction.

It is unnecessary, however, to travel so far to discover the very different estimate which is entertained of the precious principle of life by dissimilar races, and which seems to prove an essential diversity of moral character. The Celtic races, amongst many other markedly peculiar moral features, are well known to entertain very different notions about the value of life from those of Germanic descent. We may merely point to *our fellow-countrymen across the channel*, and to *the people of France* for evidence of this position—a position that may be confirmed not only in our own day, but in any period of the history of these nations. The “wild Irish” of the Middle Ages were not doubtful descendants of those more voracious, and less discriminating in their repasts, of Diodorus and Strabo. The people of Anglo-Saxon descent, on the contrary, are remarkable among all races for the reverence they entertain for the priceless boon of life, for the stringency of the laws which are designed to protect it, and the sacredness with which it is always invested in their estimation.²

III. A third point, which, if it can be established, that *any mixture of races does not result in a new hybrid people*, will have an equal tendency to render the doctrines of ethnology stable, and to strengthen its archaeological applications. It would appear that any mixture of breeds among the families of man can only be effected, so as to produce fruitful and permanent results, when the original families are very similar, or belong to tribes nearly allied. When ever this essential condition does not exist, the hybrid product is not endowed with those vigorous and healthy qualities, neither of mind nor body, which are necessary for its permanence and welfare. And a physiological law comes into immediate operation amongst all mixed breeds, which in a few generations eliminates the foreign blood from the

² The earliest of our written laws, the “Dooms” of Ethelbert, King of Kent, might be adduced in support of this position, as they ordain the *wer-geld*, or compensatory mulct, solely as the penalty for every offence, however heinous. But, leaving out of view the influence of Augustine and his monks in the enactment of these laws, which might cast a doubt upon their validity in support of the position now maintained, we appeal to the general character of the people of

the Teutonic race, in all periods of their history.

It is also worthy of remark, that the title of the work of Bartholine, the son of the celebrated physician and anatomist, “*De Causis Mortis a Danis gentilibus Contemptæ*,” refers not to the want of appreciation of life among the northern nations, but to their contempt of death—an essentially different feeling—however prodigally they may have sported with the precious possession.

stronger and more predominant race, and restores it to its original purity. Were it not for the operation of this law, what an inconceivable medley mankind would by this time have been reduced to. There would be scarcely a people on the face of the globe that we could recognise. All would be change and equally mongrel deterioration, which is opposed to observation in almost every country; and against which, happily, the divine fore-ordination has provided; and, as the lesser evil, all really mixed races are by the very circumstance of such mixture, naturally transient and perishable. The consequence is, there is no *race* of mulattos, or half-breeds, in any country, and wherever they are produced, they excite no important and persistent influence on the native populations.

IV. A fourth and last subject to which we shall advert on the present occasion, as having an important influence on the bearing of ethnology on archaeological science, refers to *civilisation*. If it can be confirmed by reasonable evidence that civilisation is not a state of progression, equally common to all races of man, from a pristine condition of helpless barbarism upwards, whether ascending by definite degrees and ages, like the stone, bronze, &c., or otherwise, but is a resultant of the developmental process of certain given races only; so that there are as many civilisations, as we have before hinted, as there have been civilisable and civilised races, each essentially different from the rest; we shall have another test of the greatest value archaeologically, whereby to try all ancient people, their remains and works.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to the most extraordinary doctrine that the discovery of stone weapons and implements in every quarter of the globe, is a valid evidence that the very same race, a nation of workers in stone, has been spread over all these vastly separated countries. Such incredible hypothesis is by no means necessary to account for this fact, which is readily explained, if we consider that every race of man, having the same, or nearly the same, thews and sinews, the same faculties; being stimulated by the same wants and necessities to procure food, clothing, and shelter, and being surrounded by very similar circumstances in the form of objects of chase, and minerals, and other natural productions, out of which to provide weapons, &c., must necessarily go to work pretty much in the same manner, and

produce very similar results ; objects, which, in reality, have stood to these simple and primitive people everywhere in place of the claws and teeth with which the lower beasts of prey are naturally armed. It is no doubt a curious circumstance to find the forms of arrow and spear-heads, &c., from such distant countries, presenting the same shape ; nay, some of the ruder flint spear-heads from the Pacific Islands are fashioned by the same number of blows, given in the self-same direction, as the similar weapons, of the same material, of the ancient Britons. The materials, however, frequently vary, whilst the most perfect and appropriate shapes occur everywhere. The ancient stone weapons of the North American Indian tribes are formed of a variety of very beautiful hard stones, of agates, sienite, obsidian, jaspers, quartz, chalcedonies, in the place of the flint and the granite of the ancient Briton.

It has been a prevalent view of this subject to regard the early period of all people to be alike. When they first find themselves scattered over the land they are in the archaeological position of *a stone age*. This, however, in one respect, may be very much questioned. Primitive races have, in all probability, been very differently endowed, and whilst all may have adopted stone weapons and implements, some only have continued in their use for any length of time—the civilisable races having abandoned them soon. We know not that any great weight in support of this view can be attached to the fact of the much greater prevalence of these stone objects in some countries than in others. In Egypt, for example, we believe they have only been met with infrequently, and in small numbers, which we should expect among this most early civilised people. In Greece and Assyria, we believe, they have never been found in the same profusion as in the British islands, and on the continent of America.

If, therefore, the four positions we have enumerated, and supported in this brief manner, can be satisfactorily established—and, we wish it to be distinctly noticed, that what we have put hypothetically and suggestively is not to be understood as uttered dogmatically,—then the advantages which archaeology may derive from ethnology will be very materially increased. Instead of the dubious and uncertain doctrines which have hitherto prevailed, ethnology will be

based upon more fixed principles, and these principles will afford the foundation for antiquarian investigations and reasonings of the greatest interest and importance. The antiquities of different races, especially of primeval ones, may be studied and elucidated with much more confidence and more satisfactory results.

Ethnology, it must be recollected, we consider to embrace the investigation of the anatomical and physiological peculiarities of all people of all ages, of their manners and customs, religion, mode of thought; their history and traditions, their origin and migrations, and the whole subject of their language. If the study of their monuments and works be more particularly archaeological, ethnology cannot fail to claim her part in this inquiry, as exemplifying the specific character of the people themselves. And without pretending to have pointed out a tithe of the alliances of the two sciences within the limits of this brief paper, we believe enough has been shown to prove beyond question that they are destined mutually to help each other, as their resources are developed, and their principles become more and more established, and that they should always go on together, hand in hand.

Ethnology is, and must needs frequently be, itself an archaeological research, when it concerns itself with ancient people; and it is much to be desired that archaeologists would take up the study of old races ethnologically, instead of being too easily contented with that of their works of art, and the monuments they have left behind. If the views we have been endeavouring to explain be correct, there must be a number of remnants of people in the remote corners of our Islands, that can trace their descent from the great races which have inhabited them in distant ages. These remnants of ancient races deserve the most careful investigation in every peculiarity attached to them, and results of a curious nature may confidently be expected. It seems probable that modern changes will tend to increase the rapidity with which these primitive people are disappearing. Therefore, their physical characters, habits, manners, and customs, all the peculiar properties of their minds in their development, should be observed with much care—that is their ethnological phenomena—in order that the antiquities of their far-off ancestors may be better understood. Each study will throw

light upon the other reciprocally. Nothing could be of greater value and interest in these pursuits than careful descriptions of these more obscure people, a collection of faithfully executed coloured drawings of them, of their crania, their most characteristic and comprehensive epitome, and of their implements, utensils, and weapons. Human knowledge must always remain imperfect, and have an illimitable field before it; but it can never reach attainable perfection without collecting all the rays from all available sources of light.

ACCOUNT OF A ROMAN VILLA DISCOVERED AT COLERNE, IN
THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

THE remains of the Roman villa, which form the subject of this paper, are situated in a field called the Allotment, in the parish of Colerne, Wiltshire, about six miles N.E. of Bath, and about half a mile E. from the Fosse way.

Eighteen years since (in 1838), some men, whilst ploughing in this field, accidentally struck upon a pavement which the occupier of the land, Mr. James Perren, immediately caused to be exposed; finding, however, that neither the owner of the field, nor any gentleman in the neighbourhood, took any interest in the discovery, the remains were, after a short time, covered up, and unfortunately without any drawing or notes being taken. As soon as I became acquainted with these circumstances, I communicated them to my friend, the Rev. Gilbert Heathcote, vicar of the parish, in whom I found a most ready and liberal coadjutor, and having obtained permission of the present occupier, Mr. Frederick Perren, we commenced digging upon the 10th of October, 1854. At about nine inches below the surface of the ground, we found the remains of the pavement that had been previously opened. The excavations were then continued under my direction for about a month, and at the end of that time the remains of a villa of no inconsiderable extent were exposed. During the progress of the work a great quantity of broken pottery, flanged and striated flue tiles, roofing slabs and charcoal, besides numerous fragments of stucco of various coloured patterns, were brought to light. A few plaster mouldings, some copper roofing-nails, two or three bits of a coloured glass lachrymatory, and some copper coins of the Constantine family, were also found. The walls were built chiefly of the stone of the neighbourhood, in coursed rubble work, and varied from three feet to one foot in thickness.

I shall now proceed to describe the various rooms and portions of the villa, according to the numbers on the plan, corresponding with the order in which they were excavated.

The apartment which was first opened proved, on examination, to have retained only one or two small fragments of the borders of the pavement previously exhumed (fig. 1). No idea could be obtained of the rich mosaic which formed the centre, the whole of this part being a confused mass of loose tesserae and cement. From the descriptions of those persons in the neighbourhood who visited the pavement in 1838, it appears that the design consisted of a chariot, with a charioteer, and four horses abreast. Some persons in the parish remembered seeing an inscription or word above the chariot, which the parish clerk told me was either *SERVIVS* or *SEVERVS*, but this I found no one could confirm.

The outer border of the pavement, which was two feet wide, was composed of white tesserae about one inch square; immediately within this was a narrow guilloche border about five inches wide, composed of blue, red, and white tesserae, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch square, inside which, at the N.E. and S.W. angles, fragments of a kind of wheel pattern (blue and red upon a white ground) could, after some difficulty, be traced. There were no flues under this apartment, but a sleeper wall, shown dotted on the plan, crossed the western end. The walls of this apartment were so entirely razed that the position of the doorway could not be determined. At this point of the excavations I was suddenly called away, and, on returning two or three weeks after to the scene of our labours, I heard with regret that in 1838 three labourers had been employed by Mr. Perren to dig for further remains, but without success. It was therefore with anything but sanguine expectations that I directed the labourers to dig northwards, and was agreeably surprised when at about 14 inches below the surface they came to a remarkably perfect pavement, measuring inside the walls 15 ft. 4 in. by 17 ft. 8 in. This room (fig. 2) was apparently entered by a doorway in the middle of the south wall. One rather peculiar feature in this room was the stone curb indicated in the plan, the inside of which had decidedly been subject to the action of fire. Mr. Heathcote supposes this to have been a fireplace. It is true no hypocaust was found, but the size and position of the curb, as well as what we know of the habits of the Romans, would throw some doubt upon this supposition. The pavement of this room was anything but pleasing in effect, from the great preponderance of blue

tesserae, and the repetition of fret-work ; the double guilloche or ribbon pattern at the upper end of the room, and the remarkably wide outer border composed of the large white inch-square tesserae, tend somewhat to relieve this monotony. The furnace-chamber (fig. 3) was constructed of large stones, which, from the action of the fire, had very much the aspect of very large blue pebbles ; the communication between this and the hypocaust (fig. 4) had its sides constructed with bricks an inch thick, whilst the top and bottom of the aperture were of hard stone. In excavating the hypocausts no tesserae of any description were discovered, although the circular ends were plastered with precisely the same kind of cement used in the bath of a villa discovered at the neighbouring village of Box, where it was embedded with white tesserae. The pillars, all of which existed *in situ*, were constructed of a hard red stone, in slabs about an inch thick, and varying from 10 to 12 inches square ; the most perfect pier measured about 27 or 28 inches in height. From the second hypocaust (fig. 5) a passage cased with stone, similar to that used in the furnace, and which, like that, had materially suffered from the action of fire, communicated with the chamber (fig. 6). Here two features present themselves to our notice ; viz., the position of the drain in the east wall, and the steps in the south-west corner. Returning to the first hypocaust, we find that the only entrance to the chamber or bath above was from the passage (fig. 7), and that the floor of the bath-room was one or two steps below the passage pavement, as was evinced by the stone step with the tesserae upon it still existing. In this passage, and in the small room in connection with it, another tessellated pavement was discovered, of which a representation has been preserved, taken from actual measurement. The arrangement of this pavement is almost of itself sufficient to indicate that this apartment was the dressing-room, separated only from the passage by a curtain suspended between the piers. But the purposes for which the two small compartments (figs. 8 and 9) were constructed, are by no means so evident. Similar in size and character to those at Bartlow, discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville,¹ and concerning the use of which that able archaeologist felt some uncertainty, they demand particular attention. The first of these chambers (fig. 8) was

¹ Described in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. x., p. 17.

in the form of a recess, having had a pavement in continuation of, or rather in juxtaposition with, that of the dressing-room. Two small fragments only of this pavement existed, but enough to show that the design consisted of the double guilloche or ribbon pattern, bordered by large blue tesserae. But the singularity which attaches itself to this recess lies mainly in the cavity constructed at its further end. This receptacle, which ran about 15 inches into the foundation of the outer wall, is 2 feet 1 inch below the level of the pavement, and built perfectly water-tight, with stone drains communicating with it from the exterior as well as from the interior. This feature in its arrangement would to some extent point out the purpose for which it was used, but the small size of the cavity, and the difference of level between the two drains, that towards the room being the lowest, make it, however, a matter of some uncertainty. The second of these compartments is still more puzzling; the dimensions would seem to preclude the probability of its being a bath; another objection may be made against this supposition, as well as any purpose connected with water, from the fact of the floor being constructed of *two* stones by no means water-tight. The sides were, however, thickly plastered, and, when first exposed, the mortar was so hard that the pickaxe would scarcely penetrate it. These circumstances, considered with the seat-like projection on one of its sides, may give rise to a question whether it was not appropriated to the slave in attendance upon the bath. There is still another peculiarity in this part of the villa that remains to be noticed; viz., the short branch drain AB. Its fall, which was very slight, was from east to west, and from a portion discovered in excavating the chamber (fig. 6), it appeared to have projected beyond the wall interiorly; the main drain with which it communicates fell in the same direction, and, after traversing more than 100 feet towards the south-west, terminated in a sort of cess-pool hollowed out of the rock. Remains of foundation walls adjoined this, and it was here that the greater number of the coins were found. In the room numbered 10 on the plan, the sleeper walls and passages for hot air were to be seen; the pavement had been destroyed, but a few loose fragments of the tesserae were found in the flue on the west side of the chamber. The only apparent entrance to this apartment was from the room (fig. 2). The herring-bone masonry of

one of the transverse sleeper walls, and the somewhat singular termination of the building northwards, deserve attention.

The remaining portions of the villa require but little comment. The huge paving-stones in the central court (fig. 11), the flues at the S.W. angle, and the drain, M N, as far as is shown on the plan, had been left quite undisturbed. It is cut out of solid stone, and from the absence of all kind of covering appears to have acted simply as a surface drain. The chambers on the east side of the building were merely marked by the two lower courses of the foundation walls, and call for no further remark.

There is little doubt that more extensive remains might be discovered, for several vestiges of masonry have been brought to light by the plough, subsequently to the excavations which I have described. It must be a matter of great regret that these vestiges of a villa presenting more than ordinarily perfect and interesting features, should, through the apathy and indifference evinced both by the proprietor and occupier of the land, have been hidden from view, shortly after the discovery, and the ground has again been subjected to the plough.

EDWARD WILLIAM GODWIN.

THE HOUSES OF FITZ-ALAN AND STUART: THEIR ORIGIN
AND EARLY HISTORY.¹

BY THE REV. ROBERT WILLIAM EYTON, M.A.

THIS subject is brought forward in the present instance as one well fitted to an occasion when it may reasonably be expected to attract some degree of antiquarian notice. The writer submits a problem rather than a mature theory, anxious that some new lights may be elicited on a question which at present seems to be as full of difficulty as of interest. Thus seeking for assistance, he feels that the surest way to obtain it is to arrange and offer all the evidence which he has himself collected on the subject.

The preliminaries of the proposed investigation are these :—The English Genealogists say, and say truly, that the great house of Fitz Alan is descended from Alan Fitz Flaald. The Scottish historians say that the Royal House of Stuart is descended from Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, the victim of King Macbeth. It is also discovered that the same Royal House is descended from Alan Fitz Flaald.

The further question, and that which, answered affirmatively, will make all these assertions consistent, and establish a great genealogical, or rather historical truth, is this.—Were the Stuarts descended from Banquo through Alan Fitz Flaald? or in other words—Was Alan Fitz Flaald a descendant of Banquo?

Before we enter into particulars we must discharge this subject of certain previous mistakes, which, if allowed to remain, will encumber us with some such chronological difficulties as usually pave the way to wild conjecture and double error.

“In the time of William the Conqueror,” says Dugdale, “Alan, the son of Flathald (or Flaald), obtained by the gift of that king, the Castle of Oswaldster, with the territory adjoining, which belonged to Meredith ap Blethyn, a Britton.”

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh, July, 1856.

This statement seems to have been originally derived from the "Fitz Warine Chronicle," which (purporting to give an account of William the Conqueror's visit to Wales and disposal of the Marches) says that the king "came to a country joining to the White Laund" (the district about Whittington is meant) "which belonged formerly to a Briton, Meredus son of Beledins; and beside it is a little castle which is called the Tree of Oswald; but now it is called Osewaldestre. The king called a knight Alan Fitz Flaew, and gave him the little castle with all the honour appertaining to it: and from this Alan came all the great lords of England who have the surname of Fitz Alan. Subsequently this Alan caused the castle to be much enlarged."²

John Leland, abridging another version of this same metrical romance, says—"Alane Fleilsone had gyven to hym Oswaldestre."³

The particulars thus asserted require some observation. In the first place William the Conqueror's only visit to Wales was in A.D. 1081;—earlier rather than later. Domesday (compiled five years after that date) says not a word about Oswestry, or any place which we can identify with the present town. Neither does it say anything of a castle thereabouts. It gives, however, a full account of all the manors in the district; and a brief comparison with later documents will show that Rainald, Sheriff of Shropshire, was then holding all the lands in that quarter which were subsequently held by Fitz Alan. The Shropshire Domesday moreover, makes no mention of Alan Fitz Flaew, either under that or any similar name. There is, in short, no coeval mention of such a person in Shropshire till the reign of Henry I.

In the next place Meredyth ap Blethyn, whose era one would fix from the above as earlier than the visit of William the Conqueror, was a Prince of North Wales at the very time. The death of his father, Blethyn ap Conwyn, was in 1073. Meredyth did not succeed him as king of North Wales, nor as anything more than prince of Powis Land. He died in 1133; and it was Madoc ap Meredyth, his son, who, according to the Welsh Chronicles, first built Oswestry Castle, in 1148.

² Fitz Warine Chronicle (Warton Club), pp. 13, 14.

³ Collectanea. Vol. i., p. 261.

Dugdale further relates how "Alan Fitz Flaald married the daughter and heir of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire, and had in her right the Barony of the said Warine."

That Alan Fitz Flaald had Warine's barony is true, but it was after the era of Rainald the Sheriff, Warine's successor. Moreover, the documents to which Dugdale refers in proof of the alleged marriage, prove nothing of the kind. I discredit this supposed match altogether; and for three reasons:—1st. Because it is nowhere authentically announced. 2ndly. Because, if it had taken place, there are authentic documents which traverse the very ground in which it would have constituted an important fact, and yet these documents say nothing about it. 3rdly. Because there are good reasons for thinking that Alan Fitz Flaald's only wife was another person than any supposed daughter of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire.

Another story has yet to be told and contradicted. The Fitz Alans held a considerable fief in Norfolk, the tenure of which was made matter of report by a provincial jury in the year 1275. These jurors said that, "Melam (Mileham) with its appurtenances, was in the hand of William the Bastard at the Conquest, and the said king gave the said manor to a certain knight, who was called Flancus, who came with the said king into England; and afterward the said manor (descended) from heir to heir till (it came) to John Fitz Alan, now (1275) in the king's custody."⁴

There was, therefore, a Norfolk tradition, the counterpart of that current in Shropshire, except that it made Flancus or Flaald the feoffee of the Conqueror, and not his son Alan. We will examine this tradition by the same test as the last. The honour of Mileham with its adjuncts, as subsequently held by Fitz Alan, is readily identified in the Norfolk Domesday. It had belonged to Archbishop Stigand (deprived in 1070), and was then (1085-6) in the king's hand, William Noiers having custody thereof. Neither in Mileham itself, nor in any of its adjuncts, does the name Flancus or aught associable therewith occur. After the completion of Domesday, William the Conqueror passed so little of his remaining life in England, that it would be idle to attribute his alleged feoffment of Flancus to that brief interval.

⁴ Rot. Hundred. i. 434. The jurors made a mistake as to the name of the minor then in custody. It was Richard.

Having now got rid of certain traditions about Flaald and his son Alan as untrue in each essential particular, we pass to certain other traditions, which only relate to those persons by implication, which are also inaccurate in many points, but which may possibly contain a germ of truth well worth searching for,

Shakespeare knew of a legend which made Banquo ancestor of the Stuarts. The story in his hands became a matter of world-wide fame. We attend first, therefore, to his, as to the most known version thereof, and we must attend with caution. The fundamental study of the dramatist is the human mind, its motives, its workings, and its passions: his art is to exhibit those principles in appropriate though imaginary action. With the historian it is otherwise. His knowledge should be primarily that of actions themselves; from these, well and honestly investigated, he will infer or suggest what were the characters and motives of the actors.

When Shakespeare sought in a remote and obscure period of Scottish story the materials of a drama which was to exhibit, in one phase, his consummate knowledge of the human heart, no secondary considerations were suffered to interfere with his engrossing purpose. Among adjuncts altogether subsidiary to the main object, we trace rather the flattery of a courtier than the accuracy of an historian.

Waiting on the smiles of royalty, Shakespeare was by no means careful to memorialize the circumstance that, when Macbeth rebelled against and slew king Duncan, Banquo Thane of Lochaber was of Macbeth's party; but Shakespeare did not omit another matter of tradition, viz.; that this same Banquo was progenitor of the Royal House which then occupied the throne of England. The existence of this legend being established, Shakespeare's personal belief therein or particular use thereof, are no longer matters for our consideration. We proceed to present it in its other forms⁵

⁵ For the best version of this tradition I depend on the following authorities.—Powel's History of Wales (Edition of 1811, page 73) contains an abstract thereof, compiled apparently from Holinshed and from the Scotch historians, Hector Boece and George Buchanan, who both wrote in the first half of the XVth century.

Robert Wells, alias Steward, last

Prior and first Dean of Ely, being a vain man (*homo ventosus*) and proud of his ancestry, compiled in the year 1522 a genealogy of the Stuarts. It is printed by Wharton in the *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i., p. 686). The author, who was really a Stuart, surrendered Ely Priory, Nov. 18, 1539, and being a great promoter of the Dissolution, was appointed dean of the same cathedral by Henry VIII. on Sept.

accompanied by such external tests of date and circumstance as remain for our guidance.

Macbeth reigned in Scotland about seventeen years, viz. ; from 1039-40 to 1056-7. A date varying between the years 1048 and 1053 is assigned for the period when Macbeth, suspecting that certain of his subjects were plotting the restoration of Malcolm Canmore (eldest son of Duncan), endeavoured to fortify his throne by confiscations, imprisonments and executions. Some nobles, more fortunate than the rest, fled the kingdom, and awaited in foreign countries the turn of events. Of those who perished by the axe or the dagger was probably Banquo Thane of Lochaber ; of those who escaped was Fleance, Banquo's son. He sought the protection of the king or prince of North Wales,—Trahern ap Caradoc, says one account ; Gruffyth ap Lewellyn, says another. We must adopt the latter, whose era (1037-1063) is entirely consistent with the facts above stated, whereas Trahern ap Caradoc did not succeed to the throne of North Wales till 1073, *i.e.* seventeen years after Malcolm Canmore had been restored to that of Scotland.

As the guest then of Gruffyth ap Lewellyn, Fleance secretly became either the husband or the paramour of his protector's daughter, a deception or a crime for which he atoned with his life. The issue of this alliance, doubly ill-fated if, as it is said, the Welsh princess died in prison, was a son whom I find called Walter in both versions of this tradition, but whom I shall here call only Son of Fleance.

It does not appear where the Son of Fleance was brought up : it was "in the country" says one authority, by which, I presume, is meant, not in the Welsh Court. He was, says the same authority, in his eighteenth year, when some Welshman having insulted him with the supposed illegitimacy of his birth, he slew the over-curious genealogist, and was obliged to fly the country. Naturally enough he returned to Scotland, where Malcolm Canmore was at length reigning. The period of his return can be ascertained by a circumstance given. It was, says the legend, at the time when "Queen Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, sought refuge there with many English." Though Margaret's royalty is here somewhat anticipated, the event alluded to and its date are

10, 1541. He died Dec. 23, 1557. Among the armorial insignia attached to this

genealogy is the ancient Stuart coat—Arg. a fesse cheque, az. and arg.

obvious enough. It was in the summer of 1067 that Edgar Atheling, his mother and two sisters, with many Saxons left England to the triumphant Norman and placed themselves under the protection of Malcolm, who soon afterwards married Margaret, the elder of the said sisters.

The Son of Fleance then, born about 1050, and returning to Scotland in 1067, is said to have soon distinguished himself in the service of Malcolm, who knighted him, gave him lands, and made him seneschal or steward of Scotland.

"Of the which office," says one authority,⁶ "he and his posteritie retained that sername of Steward ever after, from whom descended the most noble kings of Scotland of the family of Stewards, besides many other Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Barons, of great fame and renowne."

My second authority, after a similar flourish, ends his account of the Son of Fleance, whom he calls Walter throughout, by saying that he died about the forty-second year of his age (constructively then about 1091), and left a son Alan.⁷

"Alan Seneschal or Stuart," continues this writer, "was also a famous knight. He performed great things in the Holy Land under the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon" (the crusade of 1096-1099 must be here intended). "He demeaned himself bravely against Stephen King of England at Abarton." (The Battle of Alverton, otherwise called the Battle of the Standard, must be the event alluded to. It was fought on August 22nd, 1138. No Alan of this family can have been present thereat.) The same writer proceeds to give Alan a son, Alexander, whom he makes to have been founder of Paisley; but we happen to know that Paisley was founded in or about 1163, by Walter Fitz Alan, Steward of Scotland, whom this author altogether excludes from his proper place in the genealogy. In fact, the known descent of the earlier Stuarts is quite irreconcilable with this part of the account which I quote, and which we may here dismiss, having better authorities to depend upon than those which at the best were merely legendary.

Before however we can compare the Scottish legends with the English accounts of the origin of the Stuarts, the latter must be collected and arranged, for at present they

⁶ Powel, *ut supra*.

⁷ Robert Stewarde, *ut supra*.

exist in only a fragmentary form. To this business I now address myself.—

It is well known how Henry I. endeavoured to strengthen his hold on the English sceptre, to which his title was doubtful. His uniform policy was to create a new aristocracy, unconnected with that older one with which Domesday acquaints us.

This policy had a double result. It secured to himself and his daughter after him, the steadfast loyalty of a small but able band of chieftains, but it alienated the affections of the nobility created by his father, which underrated the new favourites, and in the sequel adhered generally to the usurper Stephen.

Further, it is not probable, nay in some instances we know the contrary, that Henry selected his favourites from among the Normans. Foreigners, or men whose origin was unknown or problematical, were preferred. Such, in Shropshire, were Warin de Metz, a Lorrainer, the three Peverels, and, greatest of all, Alan, son of Flaald.

King Henry had occupied the throne of England about three months, when (on November 11, 1100), Matilda, daughter of that Malcolm and Margaret, of whom we have spoken, became his queen.

The first mention which I can find of Alan Fitz Flaald belongs to the year following. On Sept. 3, 1101, the king was holding a great court at Windsor. A charter, which he granted to Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, is attested by Alan Fitz Flaald, (whose name however is printed as Alan Fitz Harald). The charter designates the witnesses as the "illustrious of England, ecclesiastical and secular," and the list (headed by Queen Matilda) warrants the description. Alan Fitz Harald's name occupies no mean position thereon. It stands before those of Gilbert and Roger Fitz Richard, of Robert Malet, and of Herbert, the king's chamberlain.^s

The charter by which Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, founded the cathedral priory of his see, passed on this same occasion. It is attested by the king and queen, and by a set of witnesses who nearly all appear in the king's charter. Among the rest, Alan Fitz Flaald is a subscriber. But this charter contains something still more to our purpose. It

^s *Monasticon*, iv. 17, v.

confirms the "Church of Langham, which had been Alan's, and his (Alan's) tithes."⁹ Now Longham was afterwards a recognised member of Fitz-Alan's Honour of Mileham, from which it was not far distant. Summarily, then, we conclude that Alan Fitz Flaald had acquired a part of his Norfolk fief before September 1101, and had already granted a church and tithes therein towards the endowment of Norwich Priory.

Continuing to investigate Alan Fitz Flaald's connexion with Norfolk, I should point out that Henry I. seems to have been seized in demesne of the Manor of Eaton. Eaton was near Norwich, and so not a member of Mileham. This manor the king gave to Alan Fitz Flaald, and Alan transferred it to Norwich priory, apparently before November 1109; for that I take to be the date of a charter, whereby Henry I. gives to the said priory "his (the king's) Manor of Eaton, which Alan Fitz Flahald had before given thereto; and this with soc and sac and other customs, as the manor was when in the king's demesne." "And hereof," says the king, "I will confirm unto them (the monks) a charter, when Alan shall come to my court."¹ I suppose the king was waiting for some fuller information as to the grant before he gave it a more formal sanction.

Alan Fitz Flaald's interest in Norfolk is further illustrated by his grants to the priory of Castle Acre, a Cluniac house, whose site and precinct formed the western boundary of his honour of Mileham. His charter, already printed,² I will not here recite, but only remark that Adelina, his wife, is a party thereto; that he gives land at Kameston, (Kempston), and "apud Sparlacum" (at Sporle), also three soldates of rent out of his mill of Newton, with other things; and that three of the witnesses to this deed, viz., Ruald le Strange, Gorhannus, and Henry de Pagrave, were probably ancestors of John le Strange, Herbert Fitz Gurant, and William de Pagrave, who held three of the five knights' fees, which, in 1165, constituted the Norfolk fief of Fitz-Alan.³

A confirmation of King Henry I.'s to Castle-Acre, which seems to have passed in 1109, does not include Alan Fitz Flaald's donations,⁴ which I therefore take to have been later. He seems to have otherwise benefited this house,

⁹ Monasticon, iv. 17, Num. iii.

¹ Monasticon, iv. 17, Num. vi.

² Monasticon, v. 51, ix. Kempston, Sporle, Great and Little Pulgrave, Mile-

ham and Castle Acre, all lie within a circle of less than eight miles in diameter.

³ Hearne's *Liber Niger*, i. 142.

⁴ Harl. MS. 2110, fo. 112.

and a different confirmation of Henry I., which I have no means of dating, alludes to his further grants.⁵

A grant by William de Boscville to the same priory conveys the church of Newton, and is tested by Alan Fitz Flaald. This grant I believe to have been earlier than 1109.⁶

I should now notice that the foreign Abbey of St. Florant, near Saumur, on the Loire, (diocese of Angers, province of Anjou) had several very ancient cells in England. I here instance Andover (Hampshire), Sele (Sussex), and Sporle (Norfolk), because I can show a connexion between Alan Fitz Flaald or his descendants and each of these cells.

Sporle to wit, was near to, if not a member of the honour of Mileham : and its endowments lay chiefly in Alan Fitz Flaald's Norfolk fief, viz., in Great and Little Palgrave, in Dunham Magna, Mileham, Hunstanton, and Holme.⁷

Early in the reign of Henry I., the privileges of their church or cell of Andover being in question, the monks of St. Florant defended the same. An *inspeximus* of the record, which details the consequent proceedings, calls the said record, by great error, a charter of king William I. Whatever of royal charter is involved in the narrative is by Henry I., and must have passed between 1103—1107, probably in the former year. The royal memorial favours the immunities of the monks of St. Florant. It passed at Sturtonell, in the New Forest, where the king was probably hunting, and is attested amongst others by Alan Fitz Flaald.⁸

As regards the cell of St. Peter's at Sele, both Alan Fitz Flaald's son and grandson, were benefactors thereto, as the charter testifies ; wherein the latter, called Jordan, son of Jordan, son of Alan Fitz Flaald, is said to have confirmed the mill of Burton to the Abbey of St. Florant, as his father had previously given it.⁹

⁵ Harl. MS. 2110. fo. 112—Alan Fitz Flaald's interest in some of the places wherein he granted to Castle Acre, was not the sole interest. His grants, too, were afterwards confirmed and augmented by persons whom I cannot make out to have been descended from Alan. One of these, Simon de Norfolk, mentions his "ancestors from the time of Alan Fitz Flaald," speaks of his (Simon's) mother, Avelina, and of the day when he (Simon) acquired (conquisivit) the Honour of Mileham.

⁶ *Ibidem*, fo. 23, b.

⁷ The foundation of Sporle has been attributed to Henry II., probably because he was an Anjovin. I should suppose it to have been earlier than his day, but little is known about it.

⁸ *Monasticon*, vii. 992, i. Another attestation of Alan Fitz Flaald's to a charter of Henry I., was at York (*Monasticon*, vi. 683, Num. v). I can only guess its date as circa 1109.

⁹ *Dallaway's Sussex*, vol. ii., pt. ii., p.

I now pass to a much more important and more difficult subject, the connexion of Alan Fitz Flaald with Shropshire. We have seen that he must have been enfeoffed in Norfolk before the period of that great Shropshire catastrophe, the forfeiture and exile of Earl Robert de Belesme. The latter event occurred in the autumn of 1102, and a month or two later there is good reason for thinking that Rainald the Domesday sheriff of this county was still unaffected in credit or estate by the fall of his suzerain.¹

The great ascendancy of Richard de Belmeis, who now became King Henry's viceroy in the west, makes it very difficult to mark at this period the succession of those who may be called sheriffs-in-fee of Shropshire.

Warin, the first sheriff of Shropshire, was dead at the time of Domesday, 1085-6. He had probably held both office and estate in consequence of his marriage with Ameria, a niece of Earl Roger de Montgomery. Warin left a son, Hugh, an infant at his decease. Ameria remarried to Rainald,² and so, at the date of Domesday, Rainald had both the shrievalty and lands of Warin, not I think as guardian of Warin's heir, but in right of Ameria. There is good reason for thinking that Hugh, the son of Warin and Ameria, and step-son of Rainald, entered on his inheritance after the cession of the latter.³ His line however must have soon expired with his life; and failing all other descendants of Ameria, the shrievalty and its attached barony will have reverted to the crown.

Then came the event thus described in the only, but very authoritative document, which touches the question.—

225, No. x. The grandson's grant seems to have been in the way of restitution, and to have been made "during the sickness whereof he died, and in the presence of the Archbishop." The original deed with other Sele charters is, I presume, in possession of the President and Fellows of St. M. Magdalene Coll., Oxford.

¹ Antiquities of Shropshire. Vol. ii. 193, 194.

² This fact has been doubted, in consequence of Rainald being called in one instance, Brother of Warin. We must there interpret the word "brother" as brother-in-law, for it is certain that Rainald (whose name by the way was De Ballol) married Ameria. His Norman

fief of Ballol (Ballolium) was in the Oximin, and was held under Earl Roger.

³ I use the word "cession" advisedly, for it is clear to me that Rainald neither lost his shrievalty by forfeiture nor by death. He was in fact living in France as late as 1118. The death of Ameria, at whatever period (if without issue by Rainald), would, according to the well-known custom of England, have terminated all his pretensions in her right. Nevertheless, he might have been continued in office either by the Norman earl or the king, for a period and during pleasure, if Hugh son of Warin had been still in minority at his mother's death.

"Alanus filius Fladaldi honorem Vicecomitis Warini post filium ejus suscepit."⁴

From these words has arisen the unwarranted statement that Alan Fitz Flaald acquired his Shropshire fief by marrying a supposed daughter and eventual heir of Warin.

Had it been so, I think the precise and nearly coeval document which I have quoted, would have stated the fact.

My conviction is that Alan Fitz Flaald received by a new investiture, and by grant of Henry I., the whole honour of the sheriff of Shropshire, whether we call it the honour of Warin, of Rainald, or of Hugh; that he so received it during the first ten years of Henry's reign, but under no claim whatever of hereditary right or succession.

This "Honour of the Sheriff" lay chiefly in Shropshire, but it involved lands in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Sussex.⁵ In three out of these four counties I have now to speak of Alan Fitz Flaald's further concern.

In the autumn of 1109, Henry I. paid a visit to Shropshire. It was during that visit I suppose that the king, Richard (de Belmeis) Bishop of London, Alan Fitz Flaald, Hamo Peverel, Roger and Robert Corbet, and Herbert Fitz Helgot, attested a judicial decision of the bishop, which regarded some right of Shrewsbury Abbey.⁶

To the same abbey and probably at the same period "Alan Fitz Fladald, with ready devotion, conceded all things which had been bestowed by his predecessors⁷ or by his barons, whether in his time or previously." Of this were witnesses Richard Bishop of London, Hamo Peverel, Roger Fitz Corbet, and nearly the whole county.⁸

We learn this from a recitatory charter of King Henry I., which passed in 1121. The statement is repeated in Stephen's confirmation (above noticed), with the additional clause about Alan Fitz Flaald having *received* the honour of Warin.

Confirmations of Henry II. and Henry III. mention

⁴ Monasticon, iii., 519, Col. a.—This document is a narrative of their endowments, drawn up by the monks of Shrewsbury, and confirmed by King Stephen soon after his accession.

⁵ Viz., all which Rainaldus, Rainaldus Vicecomes, or Rainaldus Bailiote had held in those counties under King or Earl at Domesday.

⁶ Salop Chartulary, No. 1.

⁷ "Antecessoribus" is the word used, which, if translated "Ancestors" might lead to error. The latter implies hereditary precedence, a meaning which the usage of the time did not attach to the word "antecessores."

⁸ Salop Chartulary, No. 35.

and ratify a grant of tithes in Opton (Upton Magna) to Salop Abbey, by Alan Vicecomes. This was doubtless Alan Fitz Flaald, but I know of no other instance of his being described by a title, which probably indicated rather his right as of fee, than any active discharge of the office of sheriff. In fact, we know that during the whole of Alan's life the official deputy of Belmeis in Shropshire was Fulcuius.

Dugdale estimated the period of Alan Fitz Flaald's tenure of Wolston, Warwickshire (it was part of the fief of Rainald under Earl Roger at Domesday), to have been as early as the time of the said earl or one of his sons, that is as early as the year 1102.⁹ In this antiquity of dates, Dugdale was mistaken. Dugdale constructively intimates that Dame Adeliza, who granted in Wolston to Burton Abbey, before the year 1114, was Alan Fitz Flaald's widow, and the mother of that Sibil who, with her husband Roger de Freville, confirmed Dame Adeliza's grant in the year 1132.—

Here, I doubt not, that Dugdale was right; but it does not at first appear how Dame Adeliza, as a widow, could grant definitely in her husband's fief. That difficulty is solved by a further piece of evidence in the Burton register, viz., that the monks of Burton "redeemed the grant by a payment of six merks to Roger de Freville and Sibil his wife in 1132."¹

I shall say nothing more as to Alan Fitz Flaald's Warwickshire fief, than that it involved the manor of Stretton super Dunesmore; that that manor had constituted part of Rainald's Domesday fief, and that there Alan Fitz Flaald himself sometime made a specific grant to Burton Abbey.

As succeeding to the shrievalty and estates of Rainald, Alan Fitz Flaald will have been a tenant in the honour of Arundel. I have, however, no notice of his personal concern in Sussex. A feodary of the honour of Arundel, which

⁹ Dugdale's Warwickshire (Thomas's Edition), vol. i., p. 33.

¹ Dugdale's MSS. in Bibl. Ashmol., 13 G. i., fo. 529. The same Roger de Freville and Sibil, his wife, also made a grant in Wolston to Kenilworth Priory. Dugdale has given us, under Wolston, a tabular statement of their succession, as

suggested, not asserted by him. It may help to clear a difficult question if I add that, in 1165, Engelram de Wlfricheston and Hamo filius Rdault, held jointly a knight's fee under Fitz Alan, and that that fee was undoubtedly Wolston. Dugdale's Genealogy takes no notice of these two persons.

I have elsewhere ascribed to the year 1135,² enters this tenure as "Stokes II. milites," without giving the name of the then tenant.³

The widow however of Alan Fitz Flaald, called in this instance *Avelina*, seems to have had part of her dower in these Sussex estates; for William Fitz Alan, her eldest son, granting, between the years 1155 and 1158, the land of "Piperinges" to Haughmond Abbey, added to his grant such rights of common pasture in the neighbouring vill of Stokes as had been previously enjoyed by "his mother Avelina."⁴

On the whole, therefore, we conclude that Alan Fitz Flaald was enfeoffed by Henry I. in Norfolk in 1100 or 1101, in Shropshire &c., after 1102 and before 1109; that he was living in the latter year, but dead in 1114.

His wife and widow, variously called Adelina, Adeliza, or Avelina, perhaps survived him many years.⁵ Their marriage must have taken place, as we shall presently see, between 1100 and 1105. Who she was shall now be our inquiry, and I think that that point can be settled without doubt. The various fees in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and elsewhere, which formed the Domesday barony of Ernulf de Hesding, are found in 1165 to be divided among coparceners. A third of this fief, or thereabouts, was then vested in the representatives of Alan Fitz Flaald.

Now, that Ernulf de Hesding, who for his brave defence of Shrewsbury in 1138 was so mercilessly put to death by Stephen, was, as Ordericus informs us, maternal uncle (avunculus) of William Fitz Alan. Therefore William Fitz Alan's mother and Alan Fitz Flaald's wife was Avelina de Hesding, and she was in her issue a co-heiress.⁶ These are the undoubted conclusions to be adopted from a mass of difficulties which beset the succession of the Domesday Ernulf de Hesding. With the residue of those difficulties we have nothing here to do. We are content to have demolished the old error, which made the wife of Alan Fitz Flaald a daughter of Warin, sheriff of Shropshire. I proceed now to

² Antiquities of Shropshire. Vol. ii., p. 202, note.

³ Liber Niger, i., 65.

⁴ Haughmond Chartulary, fo. 166.

⁵ I also think that she re-married, but my evidence on the point is too much a matter of detail to bring forward.

⁶ In 1165, that part of the Barony of

William Fitz Alan (then a minor) which lay in Wiltshire is expressly said to have previously belonged to "Ernulf de Hesdinges" (Liber Niger, i. 145). My idea is, that this Ernulf, being son of him who was hanged by Stephen, had died without issue, so that his estate devolved on his collateral heirs.

name the children of Alan Fitz Flaald and his wife Avelina de Hesding. These were William, the heir of both, Walter, Jordan, Sibil, and possibly some others.⁷ Of William Fitz Alan, as he was called, I have said most of what need be said in my notice of Haughmond Abbey.⁸ I here add, or rather deduce, that he must have been born about 1105; not much later, as his younger brother was of age in 1129; not much earlier, otherwise Ordericus could hardly have called him *a youth* in 1138.⁹

Of Jordan Fitz Alan I have spoken briefly above. It remains to say of him that in the year 1129 and 1130 he seems to have been farming for King Henry I. some royal manor (probably Clipston) in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire; also in 1130 he was excused his quota of the Dane-geld, then assessed on those counties and on Lincolnshire. In Lincolnshire too the sheriff is allowed to deduct 4*l.* 16*s.* from his yearly ferm in respect of "land of Jordan Fitz Alan;" that is, I presume, land then first granted by the king to the said Jordan.¹

Of Sibil, married to Roger de Freville, in or before 1132, I have before spoken.

It remains then to treat of Walter Fitz Alan, the undoubted ancestor of the Royal House of Stewart, and therefore the person around whose name our previous arguments and our future conclusions must be assembled as their centre. I have in my notice of Haughmond Abbey shown how Walter Fitz Alan attested the earliest grant which his brother William is known to have made to the canons of that house. I have also exhibited Walter Fitz Alan in the court of the empress at Oxford in the summer of 1141, where also was David king of Scots and William Fitz Alan.

Another charter of the empress made perhaps later to Haughmond, has also the attestation of Walter Fitz Alan.

⁷ Simon, a brother of Walter Fitz Alan, attests a charter of the latter about 1163. I know nothing further of him with any certainty. He is the reputed ancestor of Boyd, earl of Errol.

⁸ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 145.

⁹ He would then be thirty-three, according to my estimate, and I believe it was the custom of that age to use the term "*Juvenis*" much later than is consistent with our ideas. A singular instance of

this occurs with regard to the second William Fitz Alan, son of the person here spoken of. He came of age in 1175; and in 1183 (when he was thirty-four years of age) Giraldus, his guest, calls him "a noble and liberal young man."

¹ Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I. pp. 7, 11, 12, 121, &c. One entry seems to place Jordan Fitz-Alan's Lincolnshire estate in "Louendene Wapentac."

So also has a grant of William Fitz Alan to Shrewsbury Abbey, which I cannot date with any certainty, but think it must have passed between 1155 and 1160.² Within the same limits of time William Fitz Alan "invested" his brother Walter in his Sussex manor of Stoke,³ and this feoffment must have been over and above those two knights' fees of new feoffment, which in 1165 Walter Fitz Alan is said to have held in the barony of his nephew.⁴ The locality of the latter I cannot determine, except by stating that the Knights Templars held in 1185 a virgate of land in Coneton, which they had originally by gift of Walter Fitz Alan.⁵ The place alluded to was undoubtedly in Shropshire, and was perhaps Cound.

This is all that I can say of Walter Fitz Alan, as connected with England. Notwithstanding his reappearance in this country on his elder brother's restoration (1155), it is quite clear that during the reverses which began to attend the cause of the empress in 1141, Walter Fitz Alan had taken refuge in the court of her uncle,—David king of Scots. He attested a grant of that monarch to Melrose Abbey, which seems to have passed in June, 1142, at Ercheldon.⁶ He also attests King David's charter to May Priory, which is dated at Kyngor, and must have passed between August, 1147, and May, 1153.⁷ Also he attested a charter of Prince Henry of Scotland to Holm Cultram,⁸ which must have passed after the foundation of that house in January, 1150, and before the death of the prince in May or June, 1152. Malcolm IV. ascended the throne of Scotland on May 24, 1153. On June 24, 1157, being at Roxburgh, he expedited a charter to Walter Fitz Alan, his seneschal (Dapifero). It confirms to the said Walter and his heirs the donation which King David the grantor's grandfather gave him, viz., Renfrew and Passeleth. It also gives to him and his heirs the Royal Seneschalcy, as King David gave the same.⁹

² Salop Chartulary, No. 84.

³ Harl. MS. 2188, fo. 123.

⁴ Liber Niger, i. 144. The Sussex fees of Fitz Alan are not entered in the Liber Niger, that is, not under Fitz Alan's barony. They were no part of Fitz Alan's tenure in capite, being held of the Earl of Arundel.

⁵ MS. account of the Templars, quoted Monasticon, vii. 821, xxiv., as in custody of the King's Remembrancer.

⁶ Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de Melros (Bannatyne Club, p. 4).

⁷ Monasticon, iv. 62, i. Ernald, abbot of Kelso (the first witness), did not become so till after August, 1147, and King David died May 24, 1153.

⁸ Monasticon, v. 594, iii. A search among Scottish chartularies would, I doubt not, greatly strengthen this evidence.

⁹ Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (Wood's edition, 1813), p. 45.

The Scottish Abbey of Paisley, near Renfrew, is said to have been founded in 1163. Its founder was Walter Fitz Alan, and it was colonized with monks from the great Cluniac house of Wenlock, in Shropshire. The latter event is placed by the Melrose Chronicle in 1169, when it says that "Hunbaudus Prior de Weneloc adduxit conventum apud Passelet qui est juxta Renfrieu." A charter of the founder is mentioned by a great Shropshire antiquary as containing names of several witnesses, which associated their bearers with that county. He instances Robert de Mundegumbi, Robert and Geoffrey de Costentin, Richard Wall and Roger de Nesse.¹

Walter Fitz Alan, Seneschal of the king of Scotland, was also a benefactor to Melrose Abbey. He granted to that house the lands of Machline in Kyle, about the year 1170, says my authority. His charter seems to be yet in existence. Its seal presents on one side the figure of an "armed Knight on horseback; at full speed; a lance, with pennon, couched in his right hand and a shield on his left arm." The legend is, *Sigillum Walteri filii Alani Dapiferi Reg.* The counter-seal presents "a Warrior with a spear in his right hand, leaning against a pillar, and with his left hand holding a horse."²

Here then we have another authentic notice of Walter Fitz Alan as steward or seneschal of the king of Scots.

At his death, in 1177, the Melrose Chronicle accords him the same title, as well as commemorates the ties which had bound him to that house.—"Obiit Walterus filius Alani, dapifer Regis Scotiæ, familiaris noster, cujus beata anima vivat in gloria."

¹ Blakeway's MSS. Parochial History, vol. iii., Tit. Wenlock.—A better transcript of this charter is I find in the Paisley Register (Maitland Club, 1832, p. 5). It gives Alan the grantor's son, Walter and Nigel de Costentin, and Alexander de Hasting (Hesding) in addition as witnesses.—

I had not seen the Paisley Register when I wrote the above. It strengthens many points of my statement, and, as far as I am aware, controverts none. Its amplitude of evidences forbids more than this general reference to a work of great interest, and most consummate editorial skill. The same may be said of the Liber

Sanctæ Mariæ de Melros. When will our English chartularies (many of them essential to a complete history of the kingdom) be treated with similar deference?

² Laing's Scottish Seals, p. 126, Nos. 769, 770, quoting Melros Charters. See also plate iii., fig. 1. These seals, says Mr. Laing, afford a presumption that as yet the family used no coat armour.

P.S.—This charter is, I find, printed in the Liber de Melros (Bannatyne Club, 1837, p. 55). Its witnesses are Alan the grantor's son, Robert de Costentin, Robert de Montegumeri, Walter Costentin, Richard Wallensis, Adam de Neuton.

Walter Fitz Alan was succeeded by his son Alan, called Alan Fitz Walter. He died in 1204.

He also granted Machline in Kyle to Melrose Abbey, and apparently early in his life. The seal of his charter has the figure of an "armed knight on horseback, with a sword in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. The legend is as follows ;—S' Alain L. Fi Watir L. Fi. Al. Senescall. Re. Sco.—which I suppose in full is, *Sigillum Alain le Fitz Watir le Fitz Alain Senescalli Regis Scotiæ.*"³

This same Alan, renouncing at a later period his claim to certain lands in Blenselei, in favour of Melrose Abbey, sealed his charter with a seal which indicates some progress in art as well as fashion. On the knight's shield the remains of a fesse chequé are quite apparent, "and this," says Mr. Laing, "is perhaps the earliest instance of this well-known bearing of the Stuarts." The legend is :—*Sigill. Alani filii Walteri.*⁴ At his death, in 1204, this Alan was succeeded by his son Walter, called Walter Fitz Alan.

A confirmation by this Walter to Melrose Abbey assures certain land at Edmunstune, as granted by Walter Fitz Alan his grandfather. The shield on his seal is charged with a fesse chequé. The legend is *Sigill' Walteri filii Alani.*⁵

This is the same Walter Fitz Alan who, as seneschal, attests the deed whereby Alexander II. of Scotland fixed the dower of the English Princess Johanna. The charter passed at York on 18 June, 1221.⁶

He also in September 1237 was one of the commissioners named by the same king to swear to the peace then agreed upon with Henry III.⁷

He died in 1241, says the Melrose Chronicle, calling him "Walterus filius Alani Junioris," which shows that the Scotch annalists recognised an earlier Alan in this descent than the father of Walter Fitz Alan (II).

³ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 771, and plate iii., fig. 3. Mr. Laing estimates the date of this Charter as about 1170 ; perhaps on better grounds than would induce me to place it after 1177. The mixture of Norman-French and Latin in the legend is singular.

P.S.—The witnesses to this deed are Reginald de Asting, William de Lindesei, Walter de Constantin, Adam de Neuetun.

⁴ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 772, and plate iii., fig. 2.

⁵ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 773, and

plate iii., fig. 4. The date assigned by Mr. Laing for this deed (*circa* 1170) is probably a typographical error. Another deed of the same person is dated by Mr. Laing, *circa* 1200. Mr. Laing also quotes a deed of Alexander Stuart, son of this Walter, which he dates *circa* 1226, and deeds of James Stuart, son of Alexander, which he dates *circa* 1270 and 1296. Some of these dates must surely be very wide of the mark.

⁶ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 165.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 234.

Alexander Stuart, son of the latter, occurs in various deeds and diplomatic matters of king Alexander III., and under dates of 1252, 1255, 1258, 1260, 1262, and July, 1281.⁸

Soon after the last date he will have died. He left two sons, James and John, the former of whom occurs as seneschal of Scotland on February 5, 1283, and throughout the reign of Edward I. of England, to whom he did formal homage as seneschal of Scotland, on October 23, 1306.

But I am not intending to enter upon the various political changes of that period. I have descended thus far in my account of the Stuarts for a specific purpose. It is to say, that at one period in the reign of Edward I., Richard Fitz Alan (then Earl of Arundel in England), was declared hereditary steward of Scotland.⁹

I cannot verify this statement by reference to the particular document from which it was doubtless derived, and therefore I will not use it further than as a token that one fact was well understood in that day, viz., that the English Fitz Alans and the Stuarts of Scotland were descended from a common ancestor, viz., from Alan Fitz Flaald, and that the Fitz Alans were the elder representatives of the line. In short, the great-grandfather of James Stuart, and the great-grandfather of Richard Fitz Alan had been first cousins, and each of them grandsons of Alan Fitz Flaald. I now leave this matter to the more intelligible form of a tabular pedigree, and proceed to state my own belief as to that part of it which, at present, has not been fortified by proof, but which may now, it is hoped, attract the attention of others, and so meet with further comment, either illustrative or corrective, as the event may prove.

My belief, then, is that the son of Fleance was named Alan, not Walter, and that he whom the English called Alan Fitz Flaald was the person in question.¹ The change from Fleanchus to Flaaldus is not very great, when we compare it

⁸ *Fœdera passim*, and *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, p. xlii.

⁹ Blakeway's MSS. *Parochial History*, vol. iii., Tit. Wenlock.

¹ The alternative is, that there was a Walter, son of Fleance, and father of Alan Fitz-Flaald. That supposition is not inconsistent with chronological possibility, and it has the support of the Scot-

tish legends. But it makes Alan Fitz Flaald to be in reality Alan Fitz Walter. However, these patronymic surnames were sometimes perpetuated to a second generation; to which it may be again replied, that when so perpetuated, they were usually carried on to the third and fourth generations.

with other instances where a foreign name had to be accommodated to the English ear.

We must remember, too, how a Norfolk jury, wishing evidently to designate the father of Alan Fitz Flaald, called him Flancus, though this probable approach to etymological correctness was adulterated with a great historical inaccuracy.

As to the Prior of Ely's genealogy of the Stuarts, so fully quoted above, I can take it for nothing more than a conjectural embodiment of certain traditions preserved in the family. Possibly, what he says of each of the four Stuarts whom he puts after Fleance, may have been true of some Stuart; but he gives names, whose order of succession is known, in a wrong order, and connects persons and events in a way which chronology shows to have been impossible. Between Fleance and Alexander he inserts four generations, the number of the subjoined pedigree; but his four successive names are Walter, Alan, Alexander, and Walter, whereas I have given them as Alan, Walter, Alan and Walter. About the second and third he is demonstrably wrong, probably, therefore, about the first and more remote.

But to continue.—The equivocal circumstances which seem to have attended the birth and education of the son of Fleance may well have affected him and his immediate successors in such a way as that they were disinclined to make any parade of their origin, even if they did not studiously conceal it. Alan Fitz Flaald's supposed changes of country, from Wales to Scotland and from Scotland to England, gave unusual facilities for such concealment.

I take it to have been Henry I.'s marriage with a Scottish princess which first brought Alan Fitz Flaald to the English court. He came, I should suppose, in the suit of queen Matilda, and if he had been formerly distinguished as a servant of king Malcolm, and more recently as a crusader, nothing is more probable than that he was retained by Henry I. on account of capabilities which, at that period of his reign, were greatly needed by the king. The enormous fief with which the king so promptly advanced a stranger, does not help us to determine who that stranger was; for, as I have explained, no specific claim to the shrievalty of Shropshire, could have accrued to Alan Fitz Flaald, either by inheritance or by marriage. I say *no specific claim to the shrievalty*, because I am not sure that Alan Fitz Flaald had not a large

claim on the king's consideration, and one of an hereditary nature too, though not amounting to a legal right, nor to any claim on the particular lands which he obtained. And here I introduce one hypothesis more, which possibly may be relevant to the whole subject. Algar, Earl of Mercia, who died in 1059, left two sons, the earls Morcar and Edwin. They both suffered forfeiture after the Conquest; both, perhaps, died by violent deaths, nor is either of them said to have left any surviving issue. But earl Algar is said also to have left two daughters. About one of these alleged daughters, Lucia, there is much mystery, but the same legends which name her relationship to earl Algar, make her also to have been ancestress of the Anglo-Norman earls of Chester and of Lincoln. The other daughter of earl Algar is called Alditha, and said to have been wife, first of Griffyth ap Lewellyn, prince of North Wales, and secondly of Harold, son of earl Godwin. With this supposed remarriage to Harold I have nothing here to do, but if Alditha was a daughter of earl Algar, and the wife of Griffyth, she may also have been mother of Griffyth's only recorded daughter,—of that Guenta I mean whom legends would teach us to have been the wife of Fleance, or at least mother by Fleance of Alan Fitz Flaald. Again, if Alan Fitz Flaald was the legitimate son of Fleance and Guenta, and if the other circumstances alleged above be true or probable, it is also true or probable that Alan Fitz Flaald was the great grandson of earl Algar, and (setting aside attainders) one of the legitimate representatives of the Saxon earls of Mercia. Then, again, if Henry I. were prevented by law, custom, Norman prejudices, or Norman interests, from recognising in Alan Fitz Flaald an hereditary right to particular estates already in the hands of others, it is still possible that the husband of a Scoto-Saxon princess may have seen something of justice in placing a descendant of earl Algar in a prominent position, especially when this supposed scion of an ill-fated house was a Scot, able and brave, a courtier likely to return a voluntary favour with gratitude, not a demandant likely to treat involuntary gifts as concessions.

Then, too, we may suppose a policy in the king's measure.—

By giving to Alan Fitz Flaald the specific fief of the sheriff of Shropshire, he encouraged no notion of hereditary right, such as might have led to further and extravagant

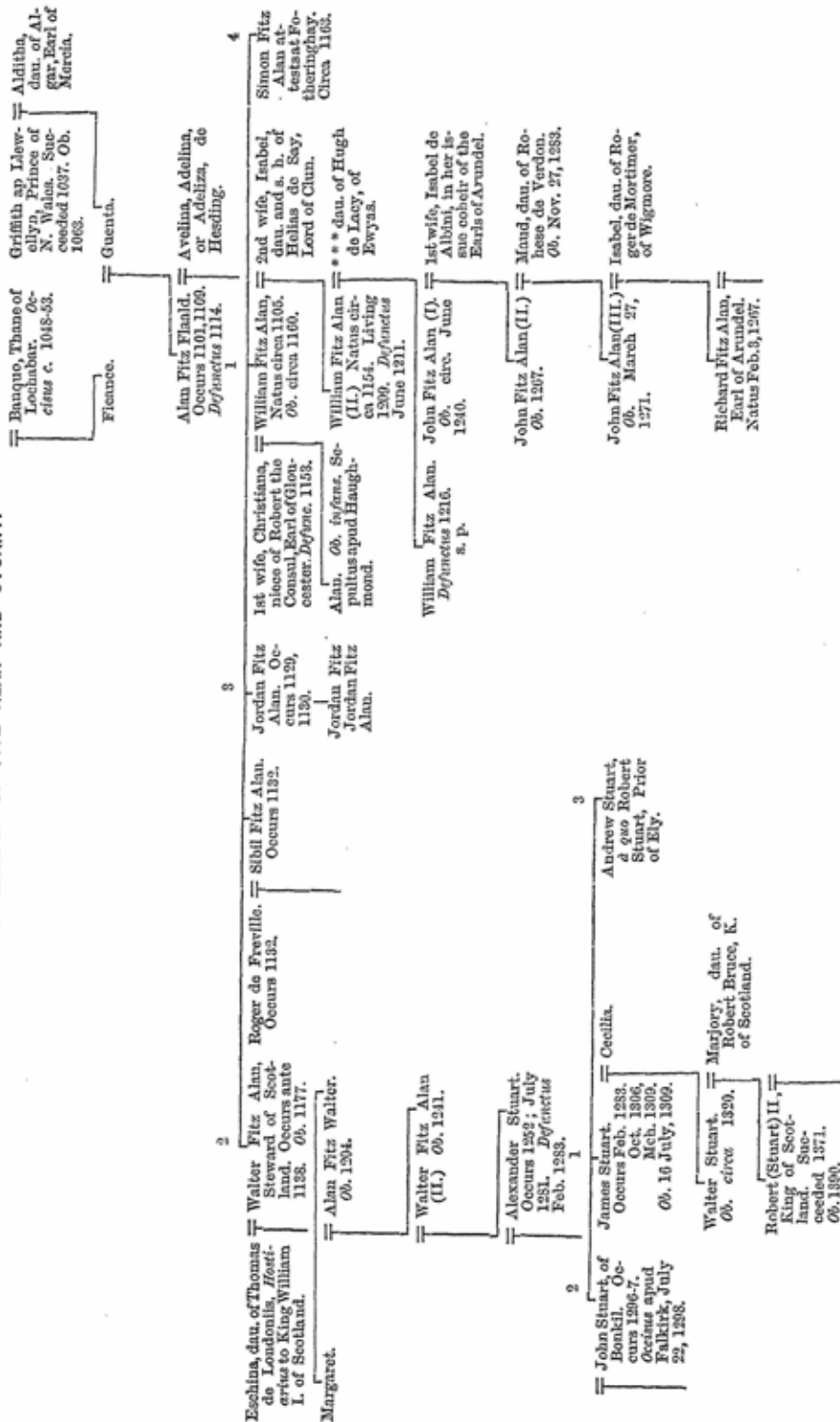
expectations, but he placed in the very van of border warfare a chieftain, who, if our assumptions are correct, could trace his descent from the native princes of North Wales.

We certainly conclude, then, that the personal favour and peculiar policy of Henry I. were two causes of Alan Fitz Flaald's advancement. We suggest that a compassion for misfortune and a sense of justice may have had their influence on the king's conduct.

Whatever the motives and whatever the facts, they are worth the fullest investigation, for they concern the foundation of a most illustrious house, a house which still numbers among its representatives the Queen of England and the highest of her subjects,² while there is hardly an ancient and noble family, whether in England or Scotland, but can name among its ancestors a Stuart or a Fitz Alan.

² The Queen represents one branch of the Stuarts. The Duke of Norfolk, the premier peer (after princes of the blood royal) represents Fitz Alan.

GENEALOGY OF FITZ ALAN AND STUART.



REMARKS ON THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS GRANTED TO THE
 ABBEY OF ST. DENIS, IN FRANCE, AND ON THE SEALS
 ATTACHED TO THEM.

In an article on the charter of Eudes, king of France, printed in the *Archaeological Journal* for September, 1854, I had occasion to notice the remarkable circumstance that, previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns should have been accustomed to authenticate their grants by a simple cross, and not rather have imitated the practice of sealing, which had prevailed among their neighbours, the Franks, from the time of Clovis. It was intimated at the same time, that a few well-authenticated instances to the contrary existed in the Anglo-Saxon charters granted to the Abbey of St. Denis, on which some remarks were promised on a future occasion. This promise I now proceed to redeem.

The existence of these charters in the archives of St. Denis ought to have been well known to the English antiquaries of the XVIIth century, since they were printed by Doublet in his "*Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys*," in 1625; and, even at an earlier date (in 1606), a brief abstract of the charter of Offa, with a cast of the seal affixed to it, was communicated by the learned Peiresc to Sir Robert Cotton, as we learn from an entry made by the latter in MS. Harl. 66, fol. 91b, and also from a letter addressed by Peiresc himself to Camden, in 1618.¹ Little notice, however, was taken in England of these remarkable documents. In 1661 the charter of Duke Berhtwald to St. Denis was again printed by Dugdale in the "*Monasticon*," vol. ii. p. 964 (the copy of which he had obtained from Du Chesne),² but he omits the confirmatory charters of Offa and Æthelwulf, in order to save space (*brevitatis intuitu*), and makes no mention of the charter of Eadgar. At a more recent period, these charters

¹ *Gul. Camdeni et illustr. Vir. Epistolæ*, edited by Dr. Smith, 1691, p. 255.

² Dugdale obtained access to Du Chesne's Collections respecting the French monasteries, when in Paris, in 1648, as

we learn from his "*Life*," ed. Hamper, p. 23, 1827. His copy of Berhtwald's Charter was not made from the *original*, but from the ancient Cartulary of St. Denis.

are entirely ignored by Hickes and Madox, both of whom contend against the usage of seals before the reign of Edward the Confessor; and although Felibien, in his History of the Abbey of St. Denis, in 1706, reprinted the charters of Offa and Eadgar, and their authenticity was more formally stated by the Benedictine authors of the "*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*," in 1759, yet it was not till more than half a century afterwards that the attention of English antiquaries was first formally directed to the evidence afforded by these charters, as to the use of seals previous to the Norman Conquest, in the papers written by Ellis and Douce, published in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xviii., 1817. Neither of these writers, however, had seen the original documents, and, consequently, they were unable to add anything to the statements already made by Doublet, Felibien, and the Benedictines. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that I inspected in 1838—I believe for the first time, any person from this side of the channel had done so—two of these charters (namely, those of Offa and Eadgar), in the Hôtel Soubise, at Paris, where the *Archives du Royaume* are now preserved; and I was so satisfied of their genuine character, that I caused accurate facsimiles to be made of them, together with drawings of the seals attached. It was my intention to have laid these before the Society of Antiquaries, but circumstances having occurred to prevent this, the copies remained forgotten in my hands, until I was reminded of them in the course of the inquiries made two years ago, to illustrate the charter and seal of Eudes.

These sealed grants to the Abbey of St. Denis, at a period much anterior to the reign of Edward the Confessor, seem to deserve more consideration than has hitherto been bestowed on them. Mr. Sharon Turner, the special historian of the Anglo-Saxons, can scarcely be said to have given more than a passing notice to their existence; Lappenberg, in his more recent and able work, has touched but lightly on them; while in the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, published in 1839—1848, they are altogether omitted.

These charters are (or rather, were) four in number, namely, of Berhtwald, Duke of the South Saxons, and of the kings Offa, Æthelwulf, and Eadgar. When Doublet published his work, all of them were preserved in the muniment room of St. Denis, but at present only those of Offa and

Eadgar remain, and it is uncertain at what period the others were lost.³

The charter of Berhtwald is, in all respects, note-worthy. He states in it, that having been afflicted with a serious illness, which the physicians could not cure, and having heard of the numerous miracles performed by the Holy Martyrs Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, in the abbey presided over by Abbot Folcrad, he sought and obtained permission from the Emperor Charlemagne to cross over to France, and having laid down before the tomb of the Holy Martyrs, he was in a few days completely restored by their intercession. In gratitude for this service, he made a vow to the Lord and to those Saints, and having obtained a portion of their holy reliques, he built, after his return home, a church in their name⁴ on his patrimonial estate at Rotherfield (*Ridrefelda*); and, with the concurrence of his brother Eadbald, and consent of his "fidelium," he bequeathed to the Holy Martyrs, in perpetuity, all his vill of Rotherfield, situate on the river Saford, in the county of Sussex,⁵ with its appurtenances. He granted also, for the use of the monks of St. Denis, his ports of Hastings (*Hastingas*) and Pevensey (*Pevenisel*), lying on the sea, together with the salt-pans there. This charter is witnessed by Eadbald,⁶ the Duke's brother, Egferdus Comes, Ediluinus Comes, and others. It is, moreover, stated to have been written and subscribed by "Æanfric Cancellarius;" and a memorandum is added, testifying that Deodatus, a monk of St. Denis, had received the aforesaid gifts from the hand of the donor, in the name of the Holy Martyrs, and certified the

³ It is remarkable that Felibien does not reprint the grants of Berhtwald and Æthelwulf, and the Benedictines only refer to Eadgar's charter, as having been actually seen by them. The missing documents may therefore have been lost previously, but I should be more inclined to date their disappearance at the period of the French revolution, when the Cartularies of St. Denis were so lamentably destroyed.

⁴ Thirteen monks of the Benedictine order were sent over from St. Denis to perform the duties of this monastic establishment, as we learn from Doublet, p. 187. Nothing more of its history is recorded, either by Dugdale or Tanner. The parish church is still consecrated to St. Denis.

⁵ "Omniem illam villam meam quæ vocatur Ridrefelda, sitam super fluvium qui dicitur Saforda, in pago qui nuncupatur Successa, et pagi civitas appellatur Chichestra, cum omnibus appendiciis suis." The name of the river is erroneously printed *Salforda* in Dugdale, which is repeated by Horsfield, *Hist. of Sussex*, vol. i. p. 377, edit. 1835. No such name appears on the county maps, and the name of *Rotherfield* is derived from the *Rother*, which here takes its rise.

⁶ This Eadbald, as well as his brother Berhtwald, repeatedly occur as witnesses in the charters of Offa, from the year 770 to 796. Both are qualified by the titles of *dux* and *princeps*, which appear to be used indifferently.

delivery in the presence of all the brethren of the monastery.⁷ In regard to the date of this charter, there is some little difficulty. From the mention in it of Folcrad (or Fulrad, as he is called by the French writers), the journey of Duke Berhtwald to Paris must have been undertaken previous to the year 784, in which year Fulrad is supposed to have died, and was succeeded by his disciple, Maginarius.⁸ The charter itself was not executed till some years after, when the church had been built by Berhtwald at Rotherfield, and the date, as printed in Doublet (who professes to have copied from the original) is thus given, "Actum dominicæ incarnationis anno 795,⁹ anno quo cœpit Offa regnare 31," but in the transcript furnished by Du Chesne to Dugdale, the grant is dated in 792, and the latter date is repeated by Sharon Turner and Lappenberg. Both these dates are erroneous, for the thirty-first year of Offa's reign (whether we reckon from the close of 757, when he succeeded to the throne, or from his coronation, as Lappenberg justly prefers, in 758) will alike fall in the year 788; and this is corroborated by the dates of the regnal years and indictions given in other charters of Offa,¹ and also by the confirmation charter of the same monarch specified hereafter. Berhtwald's grant is ratified in the following form, "✠ Ego Berhtwaldus Dux manu mea firmavi et subscripsi." No mention is made of any seal, but from the testimony of Doublet, who saw the original, we learn that there was one, bearing the effigy of the Duke. His words are, "*Cette charte scellée d'un scel de cire sain et entier, auquel est empreinte l'effigie, de relief, dudit Prince Berthauld, apres le naturel.*" This is, undoubtedly, the earliest instance yet discovered of a seal having been employed by the Anglo-Saxons, and it was probably affixed *en placard*,

⁷ Printed in Doublet, p. 718, and in the *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 964, ed. 1661, vol. vi. p. 1077 new ed.

⁸ See Felibien, p. 58. Fulrad became abbot in 750, and filled the post with great distinction for thirty-four years. His will, dated in 777, is printed, *ibid.*, in the *Pièces Justif.*, No. 56. His successor, Maginarius, died in 792, and was buried at the feet of Fulrad. Their epitaph was written by Alcuin. *Ibid.* p. 571.

⁹ It would appear that Doublet must have misread or falsified the date in the original charter, as he certainly did that of Offa's confirmation, which he dates in

797, instead of 790. Dugdale, in another part of the *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1053, new ed., erroneously places Berhtwald's grant "about the year 800," and this is followed by Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica*.

¹ Thus, the year 779, is *indict. 2.* (*Cod. Dipl. No. 136*); 780, *indict. 3, anno regni 23*, (*No. 139*); 781, *indict. 4*, (*No. 141*); 784, *anno regni 27*, (*No. 147*); 789, *indict. 12, annis regni 31 et 32*, (*Nos. 154, 156*); 793, *indict. 3, anno regni 36*, (*No. 162*); 794, *anno regni 37*, (*No. 164*); 795 (dated by Kemble 790), *anno regni 38*, (*No. 159*).

in imitation of the Frank usage, in order to render the charter more valid in the estimation of the brethren of St. Denis. It is, therefore, deeply to be regretted, that so interesting a document should have been destroyed or lost.

About two years after Berhtwald's grant, namely, in 790, a confirmation of it was made, at the request of Maginarius, abbot of St. Denis, by the Mercian sovereign Offa, then at the height of his power, and who, from the friendly intercourse maintained by him with Charlemagne and Alcuin, was regarded on the continent with sentiments of great respect. He was then residing at the royal domain of Tamworth, in Staffordshire, and styles himself in his charter, "Rex Merciorum," and also, "Rex Anglorum."² By the same charter he confirms to the Holy Martyrs the donation of the two brothers Agonauuala and Sigrinus, of all their land in the port of Lundenuic,³ and adds to it, all the tax or custom payable to himself, whether in gold, silver, or rents. Amongst the witnesses appear the Queen Cynithryth (of legendary and unhappy memory), the king's son and successor, Ecgferth, and the dukes Berhtwald and Eadbald. This charter was ratified by the sign of the cross, and by an impression from the king's seal-ring; and was then delivered by Offa to the monk Nadelharius (sent over to England for this purpose by his abbot, Maginarius), in the presence of his brother Vitalis and Duke Eadbald; and the former conveyed it to France, and placed it on the tomb of the martyr St. Denis, in perpetual remembrance of the transaction.⁴

The third charter in the series is that of Æthelwulf, king

² The former title is the most usual in his charters and on his coins. His biographer, indeed, tells us, "Omnibus diebus vite sue se solum regem Merciorum in titulis scriptorum, in salutationibus, in relationibus, se præcepit et constituit nominari," p. 976, edit. 1682, but exceptions to this are proved by the charter above specified, and also by other charters in the *Codex Dipl.* dated in 772, 774, 781, and 795, (Nos. 120, 123, 142, 159). In No. 142 he styles himself "Rex Merciorum" in the exordium of the charter, and "Rex Anglorum" in the attesting clauses, precisely as in the charter to St. Denis. Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 3, ed. Thorpe, only refers to one charter of Offa, in which this title is assumed, A.D. 795.

³ Eadberht of Kent, in his charter to

the monastery of St. Peter, Thanet, in 761, bestows "duarum navium transvectionis censum" at Sarr, "sicut a regibus Merciorum, Æthilbaldo videlicet et Offan longe ante concessum est tributum in loco cujus vocabulum est Lundenuic." (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 106, vol. i. p. 129); and in Æthelbald's charter, in 747, (No. 97, *ibid.*) he grants to St. Peter's, "totam exactionem navis eorum, mihi jure publico in *Lundoniensi portu* prius competentem," and this is confirmed by Offa, No. 112, *ibid.* According to Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 643, vol. iv. p. 247, ed. fol., *Lundenwic* was the ancient name of the port of *Sandwich*, from its being the entrance to the port of London.

⁴ Printed in Doublet, p. 720, and Felibien, *P. J.* No. 62, p. xlii.

of Wessex, dated at London⁵ (?), in November, 857, the nineteenth year of his reign, by which he recites, that having asked permission of the Roman pontiff Benedict,⁶ to bestow some of his worldly possessions on holy places, the treasurer of the monastery of St. Denis, named Huniger, had been sent to him by the Pope, together with envoys of the Emperor Hludovicus [Louis II., son of Lothaire], bearing the papal license and blessing; and who forthwith proceeded to lay his complaints before the king, in regard to the injuries done by his people to the property of the martyr St. Denis in various parts of Britain, particularly at Rotherfield, Hastings, and Pevensey, as also at Lundenwic. The king not only heard him favourably, and punished the offenders, but with the consent of his *fideles*, he decreed that all the possessions held by the Holy Martyrs in his dominions should be for ever free from exaction; and to this he added as a gift, out of his treasury, twenty marks of gold, a silver vase of the same weight, and two purple palls, to adorn the tomb of the aforesaid martyrs. The charter is thus attested. "✠ Ego Æthelwulfus, Rex Anglorum, manu mea concessionis hujus præceptum firmavi, signo victoriosissimæ crucis Christi impresso."⁷ The seal is not mentioned, but Doublet again testifies its existence on the charter (no doubt, *en placard*), in the following words, "*Avec le sceau de cire sain et entier, auquel est empreinte l'effigie, de relief, dudit Seigneur Roy, après le naturel.*" This charter is now, as before stated, unfortunately lost.

The last of the series is the charter of Eadgar, dated at York, 26 December, in the second year of his reign, [960⁸], who, on the complaint made to him personally by Vitalis, Præpositus of the monastery of St. Denis, against Togred,⁹ Provost of the king's household, for taking away three hundred sheep and fifty oxen from their vill of Rotherfield,¹ one

⁵ "In Lindonia Civitate," Doublet, which is probably an error of the copyist for *Lundonia*, as is also the date "*die undecimo nonas Novembris*," for which we should, perhaps, read *quarto*.

⁶ Benedict III. who held the papal see from 855 to 858.

⁷ Printed in Doublet, p. 785.

⁸ Dated wrongly 961 by Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 141.

⁹ According to Lappenberg, this Togred is the same individual who is mentioned in the Saxon chronicle in 966 and 999, as

Earl Thored, son of Gunner; but this seems to me very doubtful.

¹ It would seem by this, that the chief proprietorship of Rotherfield still remained in the hands of the Abbot of St. Denis, although King Alfred in his will (made between 872 and 885) bestowed the ham of *Hrytheranfelda*, with other places in Sussex, on his relative Osferth. At the period of the Norman Conquest, the monks appear to have lost their rights in Rotherfield, for it is not mentioned in Domesday Book as belonging to St. Denis,

hundred measures of salt from their salt-pans, and one hundred and fifty *solidos denariorum* from the *agricolæ* of Hastings and Pevensey, immediately caused the whole to be restored by the offender ; who was ordered, moreover, to carry the charter over to Paris, and place it on the sepulchre of the Holy Martyrs.² This charter was written, at the king's command, by Ediluinus, "*regiæ domus cartigraphus*." There are no other witnesses' names subjoined, nor does the king (as was usual) add his cross and subscription, but an impression from his seal was attached (although not mentioned in the charter) and still remains.

The two charters, now preserved in the Hôtel Soubise, are here reprinted *literatim*, but with the punctuation supplied ; and the principal variations in Doublet and Felibien will be found noted in the margin. The charter of Offa is written on a piece of parchment, folded lengthways into fourteen folds, and measures $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width ; a form of unusual occurrence in Anglo-Saxon grants, which are generally of greater width than length. The writing is in a fair open, but rather uneven character, as seen in other contemporary charters. The Saxon letters *f*, *z*, *p*, *r* and *p*, are used in it, and the orthography is occasionally irregular, such as the use of *u* for *o*, and *b* for *p*.

CHARTER OF OFFA, A.D. 790.

[*Archives de France, K. 7, olim K. 23.*]

EVIDENTIA RERUM ET EXPERIENTIA declarant cassabundam mortalium uitam, et innumeris cotidie calamitatibus constringi, ita dum taxat ut ante a quibus teneri ac possideri putatur, repente et mumentaneo interuallo lugubriter euanescat. Ideo singulis quibusque sollicitè studendum est, ut dum indulta temporum spatia dī nutu concessa manent, ne sine fructu spiritalium³ bonorum⁴ easdem indutias transeant. Quam obrem ego in dī nomine OFFA rex merciorū, suggerente Maginario abbate per missum suū Nadelharium, de terra illa quæ ÷ in loco illo, in portu uidelicet qui nuncupatur Lundenuuic, ubi duo fr̃s Agonauuala seu Sigrinus omem⁵ suam possessionem spontanea uoluntate ante duos

but to the King, in demesne, as of the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux ; and William I. by his charter confirmed the grant made by Gilbert de Tonebridge to the church of Rochester of the church of Rotherfield. See *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 164.

² Printed in Doublet, p. 817, and in

Felibien, *Pièces Just.*, No. 105, p. lxxix., and from the latter reprinted in Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens de France*, tom. ix. p. 397, in 1757.

³ *spiritualium* D. and F.

⁴ After *bonorum*, D. inserts *ac virtutum*.

⁵ Mistake for *omnem*.

annos scō Diunisio, martyri precioso, qui ÷ in Francia, sociisque eius dederunt, ego quoque censum omnem quod in parte mea iure accipere debui, et ad usus proprios adhuc retinebam, siue in auro, siue in argento, siue in redditibus aliis, totum ob amorem dī omnipotentis et reuerentiam preciosorum martyrum Diunisii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, iam dicto abbati Maginario ac scē congregationi monachorum, uel eorum successoribus, in eodem munasterio preclaro, quod ÷ constructum in Gallias, in honore ipsorum martyrum libenti ac deuoto animo, una cū uoluntate meæ conugis (*sic*) filique mei,⁶ et obtinatum meorum consensu, ab hac die concedo, cessumque imperpetuum esse uolo, ita ut ab hac die nec ego, nec posteres (*sic*) mei, neque aliquis ex potestatibus huius sæculi redditum aliquem exinde quaua ratione reposcant, neque recipiant, sed semper in tempore meo uel meorum successorum, in potestate iā dicti abbatis et monachorum, fauente xpo, amplius et perfectius permaneat. Preterea donatum qđ amicus nř et fidelis Berhtuald⁷ dux, et frater eius Eadbalð,⁸ de receptaculo suo Ridrefelda, quod ÷ in pago qui uocatur Successa, super fluuium Saforda, et de portu⁹ super mare Hasting^s et Peuenisel, quo modo ante dies istos, legaliter subscriptis testibus, ad eosdem scōs martires, qui sua deprecatione ab infirmitate nimia, qua tenebatur iam dictus dux, eum recuscitauerant, fecit, petentibus eisdem atque prefato abbate, nos et consessus obtinatum meorum uno eodemque consensu laudamus et confirmamus. Si quis autem hanc nřam nřoque constitutionem desiderio roboratam, quam ad scōs martyres pro amore dī et salute nřa fecimus, detrahendo uel uiolando infregerit, illa maledictio ueniat super eū, Ite maledicti in ignem aeternū. Qui autē seruauerit et adiuerit, cum scīs dī uiuat imperpetuum. Ut autē hæc pleniorē obtineant uigorem, manu propria subter firmauimus, atque nři anuli impressione signari fecim⁹.

ANNO DOMINICÆ INCARNATIONIS DCC. xc.¹ Indicē xiii. Anno namq; regni mei xxxiii.² cum his testibus, secundo die pascae, pridiae idus Aprilis, in Tomepordig,³ hanc concessionem cum signo crucis xpi confirmaui.

- + Ego Offa rex Anglorum hanc donationem meam⁴ manu mea confirmaui et subscripsi.
- + Hygberht archiepī subscripsit.
- + Unuona episcopū subscripsit.
- + Cyniðryð regina subscripsi.
- + Ecgferð filius regis subscripsit.
- + Brorda dux subscripsi.
- + Bertuald dux subscripsi.⁵
- + Eodbalð dux subscripsi.⁵

⁶ *filiasque meas*, D. and F.

⁷ *Berhtualdus*, D. and F.

⁸ *Eadbalðus*, D. and F.

⁹ *portubus*, D.

¹ *septingentesimo nonagesimo septimo*, D.

² *xxiii.* (falsely), F.

³ *tomæ pordig*, D. and F.

⁴ After *meam*, D. adds *et principum meorum*.

⁵ Both these names are omitted in D.

+ Eduinus comis⁶ subscripsi.

+ Ego Nadelharius monachus cum fr̃e meo Uitale et Eodbold duce de manu regis litteras has accipiens, et mecum deportans in Franciã, super sepulcrum sc̃i m̃i Diunisi couseruandas imperpetuum, iubente eo posui, ubi pro rege memoria inter reliquos benefactores agatur imperpetuum. Añ.

L. S.

On the dors of the charter is written in a contemporary hand, in large letters—

PR^o OFFANTIS⁹ GLORIUSI REGIS ANGLORUM.

The date of this charter is stated in such precise terms as to afford of itself a good test of the genuineness of the document. The thirty-third regnal year of Offa and the thirteenth indiction both come within the year 790, whilst the second day of Easter, in the same year, actually fell on the twelfth of April, as noted in the charter. Among the witnesses who subscribe their names are, Hygberht, *Archbishop* (of Lichfield), and Unuuona, *Bishop* (of Leicester), who sign immediately after the king, and before the queen and their son Ecgferth, although the latter had been previously crowned by his father. With regard to these prelates, as well as some others of this period, the greatest confusion and obscurity exist, on which I feel it necessary to make some remarks, at the risk of being tedious. Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 423, seems almost in despair at the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting historical authorities and discrepancy of dates, and says, “nusquam crassiores tenebræ, nusquam plures nodi, quàm in successione episcoporum Mer-

⁶ So in an indorsement of a charter of Offa in the *Cod. Dipl.* (No. 116), we read “Pillheardus misellus comis.”

⁷ After this D. inserts ✠ *Ego Edelwinus Episcopus omni voto scripsi et confirmavi hanc cartam.* It seems quite unaccountable how these words should have found their way into Doublet's text, unless he took them from the copy in the ancient Cartulary of St. Denis, but even then, they are an unauthorised interpolation. No Bishop of the name of *Æthelwine*, living at this period, occurs in Le Neve's *Fasts*,

(edit. Hardy), but I find among the witnesses who subscribe to the first session of the Council of Cealchyth (in 787 or 788) the following one, “Ego *Æthelwinus Episcopus* per legatos suscripsi.” Who was he? Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 304, seems to conjecture he was “*de Scotorum partibus.*”

⁸ *Præceptum.*

⁹ This form is singular, but *Offani* is of frequent occurrence in the charters and *Vita Offa*.

ciensium." He comes, however, to the conclusion that, at the Synod of Cealchyth, held in 785,¹ Hygberht was nominated Bishop of Lichfield, and at the same time the see was constituted an Archbishopric by Offa, to the prejudice of Canterbury; but that Hygberht did not venture to assume the title of Archbishop (not having received his pall from Rome), since he signed the Acts of the Council as Bishop of Lichfield, and died the year after, 786, when he was succeeded by Adulf, who enjoyed the Archiepiscopal dignity until the year 803, at which time (at the Council of Clovesho) Lichfield was reduced again to the rank of a Bishopric. This statement is followed by Hardy, in his recent edition of Le Neve's *Fasti* (vol. i. p. 540), and were it true, the genuineness of Offa's charter might reasonably be questioned. But if we test Wharton's views by the evidence of many Anglo-Saxon charters,² on which no suspicion of forgery rests, they will be found to be completely erroneous. It would appear that Hygberht was first elected Bishop in 779 (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 137), and, admitting even his signature as *Bishop* at the Council of Cealchyth, in 788-9 (the real date of the second session of this Council), yet we find him signing as *Archbishop* in the same years, immediately after Jamberht, Archbishop of Canterbury (*Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 152, 155, 157); and in another charter, dated 789, the thirty-first year of Offa's reign, it is distinctly stated with reference to this Council, "*duobus archiepiscopis, Jamberhto scilicet et Hygeberhto, presidentibus*," (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 156). Subsequent to this date we again find him signing as Archbishop, and even taking precedence of Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury (successor of Jamberht), in the years 792, 793 (but these are doubtful), 794,

¹ This is the date given by the Saxon Chronicle [in the copy Tib. B. IV. it is 786] and Florence of Worcester, but Spelman (with Hoveden) assigns it to 787, and owns he would even prefer 788. Lappenberg however points out that the Synod [the second session] was held in 789, (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 156), but falls into the error, that Adulf was then nominated the first Archbishop of Lichfield, (vol. i. pp. 227-234). The Saxon Chronicle expressly states, that at this Synod of Cealchyth, "Jambryht arcebiscop forlæt sumnedæl his biscopdomes, and fram Offan cnyninge Hygebryht was gecoren."

(*MS. Cott., Tib. B. IV.*); and so also Florence of Worcester.

² Wharton puts these aside, with the remark—"verum impudentium monachorum commenta parum moramur;" but this is not the language of an impartial inquirer. The authority of contemporary charters, if genuine, must be superior to that of historians writing some centuries afterwards. It must be admitted, however, that Wharton had not the body of evidence we now possess by the publication of the valuable *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* by Mr. Kemble.

twice between 791 and 796, 798, and 799 (*Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 162, 164, 166, 167, 175, 1020). It will be seen that these dates corroborate the signature to Offa's charter in 790, and if their united evidence, or even part of it, be admitted, it is certain that Hygberht could not have died in 786, nor could Aldulf have then succeeded him.³ Again, in respect to Unnuona, Bishop of Leicester, we find it stated in the *Fasti* (edit. Hardy, vol. ii. p. 4), that he succeeded Eadberht in 796, and died in 835, when he was succeeded by Wærenberht. These dates cannot be reconciled with his signing as Bishop in 790, and we must again recur to the charters, which prove their great inaccuracy. Already, in 788 and 789, we find Bishop Unnuona signing at the Council of Cealchyth, and often subsequently, together with Hygberht, as late as the year 799.⁴ His successor, Wærenberht, first occurs at the Council of Clovesho, in 803, and continued to sign till the year 814,⁵ when we lose sight of him. It is evident, therefore, that William of Malmesbury is in error, when he names Wærenberht as one of the bishops who were proposed to be subject to Aldulf, the new Archbishop of Lichfield, in the time of Pope Adrian (who died in 795), and of Offa (who died in 796); and we may hence reasonably infer, that he errs also in regard to Aldulf. The author of the *Vita Offæ* commits still greater blunders, for he not only copies the above account of Malmesbury, but adds to it, that, at the very time (*ipso tempore*) Aldulf obtained the pall from Pope Adrian, Wærenberht, the Bishop of Leicester, died, and Unnuona, "*regis cancellarius et consiliarius familiaris-simus*," was substituted in his place (thus reversing the

³ The acts of the Council of Verulam (Spelman, i. 309) in 793, rest on very dubious authority, but if admitted, the name of *Humbert*, Archbishop of Lichfield, must be an error for *Hygbert*. A charter also in the *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 163, dated 793, in which *Aldulf* signs as Bishop of Lichfield, is not genuine. There is a later charter, dated 801, the fifth year of Coenwulf, in which *Hugbert* appears as signing himself *Bishop* (evidently an error of the transcriber for *Archbishop*) before Æthelwald, Archbishop of Canterbury. This charter is not marked as doubtful, but I think it is likely to be so. (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 1023). I am not ignorant of the assertions relative to the consecration of Aldulf in 786, but I do not believe them to rest on sufficient proof, when critically examined. The accounts given

of Aldulf by Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*, vol. i. p. 119 (ed. Hardy), and by the author of the *Vita Offæ*, are filled with so many errors, that it is impossible to rely on them; and *Hygberht* is ignored by both! The first certain mention of Aldulf in the charters seems to be in the year 803.

⁴ See *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 116, 153, 155—157, 159, 175, 1020. The charters dated in 806 and 810, (Nos. 192, 1026), in which Unnuona's name appears, are not genuine.

⁵ *Ibid.* Nos. 183, 186, 190, 203, 206, 1024. The charter, No. 1018, dated in 798, in which he appears, is doubtful, and the Acts of the pretended Council of Bacanceld, in 798, (Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 317), are, by the editor's own admission, the acts of the Clovesho Council, in 803.

actual order of succession); and further, that soon after (*cito post*), the Archbishop Aldulf himself having died, Humbert, called also Bertun, was appointed his successor!!⁶ The real order of succession to both sees is proved unquestionably by the *contemporary* lists given in MS. Cott. *Vespasian*, B. VI., fol. 101, in which we have, (1) *Eadberht*, (2) *Unuona*, and (3) *Uucærenberht*, as Bishops of Leicester; and (1) *Berthun*, (2) *Hygberht*, and (3) *Aldulf*, as (Arch)bishops of Lichfield. The successors in each series are added by a *later hand*. On the whole, therefore, I think we may confidently conclude that the signatures of the two prelates attached to the charter of Offa, do not at all affect the genuineness of the document.

The charter of Eadgar is also written on a long piece of parchment, measuring $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is folded lengthways into ten folds. It is remarkable for the Frankish form of writing the king's name, *Ædgarðus*, and for the constant use of the vowel *u* for *o*. The Anglo-Saxon letters *f*, *p*, and *r* (not *z*) are used in it, and there is a peculiarity in *ð* for *d* at the end of some proper names.

CHARTER OF EADGAR, A.D. 960.

[Archives de France, K. 17.]

ÆDGDARDUS per dī gratiam rex Anglurum, præsētibz et futuris. Quia nos ad æterna gaudia bonurū operum exhibitio sine dubio perducet, dignum est ut dum adhuc quandoq; morituri uiuim⁹, unde dō placere valeam instantē operemur.⁷ Unde ego rex dī dispensatione, sed meo peccator opere, cum essem florens in palatio meo, et gloriosus in regno, et de huius mundi glā quia cito euanescit sepe mecū suspirando cogitarem, anno secundo regni mei, indictione iii. septimo kl Jan, uenit ad nos in Eburaca ciuitate uir strenuus Uitalis nomine, et prepositus munasterii preciosorum martirum Diunisii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, quorū sacra corpora honorifice locata sunt in Francia, in æccā Daguberti regis, citra Parisii urbem, ubi et ipse rex ulim sepultus est, et lamentabiliter in conspectu nro, nrorū⁸ principum, conquestus est super dom⁹ nostre pposito Togred, quod in uilla eorum Ridrefelda, ccc. oues, et l. bues, et de salinis eorum c. mensuras sat, et ab agricū qui sunt in Hastengas et Peuenisel, c. l. solidus denr⁹ quasi ex pre-

⁶ MS. Cott. Nero D. I. f. 18, written in the *autograph* of Matthew Paris. In reality, Aldulf did not die till after 814, and his successor was *Herewine*.

⁷ *operemus*, D. and F.

⁸ Ought to be *nrorumque*.

⁹ *denarium* D. and F.



Seal of Offa, A.D. 790.



Seal of Eadgar, A.D. 960.

cepto nro abstulerit. Quam iniustitiam ego ipse perhurescens, ad integrum eis cuncta restituere feci, et hoc ex presentium nrorum principum consensu constitui, ut nullus eis ulterius in regno nostro aliquid auferat, sed collata sibi omnia ea securitate et libertate deteneant, regant atq; dispuant, qua tenuisse conprobantur illi qui eis contulerunt. Qui autem contra hoc nostrum preceptum fecerit, et eis aliquid p putestatē abstulerit, capitali sententia puniatur, et illius uniuersa pussessio regio tesauo addatur. Huic aut nro pposito Togred, quia seruus di munachus pro eo deprecatur, in hoc parcim², ut ablata cuncta prius iuxta nrām pceptiunē scis di restituat, et has nrī precepti litteras ad Gallias secum ferat, et super scōrum sepulcra martyrum pro emendatiune ponat. Ipsa autem scā congregatio uirorum qui ibi die noctueque incessanter excobant, pro nobis deprecantur, ut a nobis famem, pestem, et gladium ihe xpc dñs auertat, et potenti dextera sua nos defendat.

Ædiluinus regiæ domus cartigraphus, iubente domino meo rege Ædgarð² scripsi, et in auditu p̄sentiū legi et subscripsi.

Et ego Togred, ex impio domini mei regis Ædgarð, ad sepulcra scōrum mī³ Diunisi, Rustici, et Eleutherii, hoc pceptū conseruandū detuli.

L. S.

On the dors is inscribed in large letters, in a contemporary hand,

PR⁴ DE ULTRA MARE.
PR⁴ ÆDGAÐ REGIS.

The seals on the charters of Offa and Eadgar (as represented in the annexed engravings⁵) are attached *en placard*, but not exactly according to the mode practised under the Carlovingian race in France; for instead of the wax being laid on both *above* and *beneath* the parchment, in both the instances before us another small piece of parchment has been stitched on to the charter, on the spot where the seal was intended to be impressed, namely, at the right hand corner of the lowest fold of the document; and the wax having then been affixed, the impression of the seal was made, after which, the ends of the smaller piece of parchment were folded over it, so as to form a sort of *chemise*, or

² domno Edgardo D., domino Edgardo F., leaving out the words *meo rege*.

³ martyrum, D. and F.

⁴ Præceptum.

⁵ Casts of these seals were taken by the late Mr. John Doubleday, but, by accident,

he transposed the names of the monarchs to whom they belonged; and this error is repeated in the series of casts of the seals of English sovereigns exhibited in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

covering. This unusual mode of attaching the seals seems to have been adopted for the express purpose of protecting them from injury during their transit from England to the monastery of St. Denis. The seal of Offa is of brownish wax, of nearly circular form, measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, and represents a bust in profile, turned to the right, and wearing a crown or circlet, on which a floreated ornament is visible. The king is represented without a beard, but with long hair, hanging down by the side of the face, and gathered up behind. The expression of the features indicate thought and care, but might fairly bear out the description of Offa's anonymous biographer, "*elegans corpore, eloquens sermone, acie perspicax oculorum.*"⁶ The legend round the head appears to have originally been OFFA REX (as is generally seen on his coins), but at present there are but faint traces of the name, and only the letters REX are tolerably distinct.⁷ There can be little doubt that the impression was made from the king's signet ring, as is asserted in the words of the attesting clause, "*manu propria subter firmavimus, atque nostri annuli impressione signari fecimus;*" a form which was borrowed from the Franks, as is shown in the diplomas of Pepin and Charlemagne.⁸ It is evident also, that this bust is really a portrait of the Mercian monarch, and not an antique gem, as is so frequently the case in the seals of the Frankish sovereigns. The execution is superior to what we find on the coins of Offa, although it has been truly remarked of them, that they are of better taste and workmanship than any of the preceding or later Anglo-Saxon princes. Ruding conjectures that this marked improvement was due to the skill of Italian artists, whom Offa might have brought from Rome,⁹ and if so, the execution of the seal may also be ascribed to the same influence. It is certain that the heads on the coins of his predecessors, and also of his immediate successors, are executed in the most barbarous style imaginable.

⁶ *Vita Offæ Secundi*, ap. Wats, p. 10, ed. 1641.

⁷ The seal was in just the same state at the beginning of the XVIIth century, as we learn from Sir Robert Cotton's note in MS., Harl. 66, f. 91.

⁸ See Filibien, particularly the charters dated 775, 782, and 790.

⁹ *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. p. 118, ed. 1840. Ruding speaks enthusiastically, and says, "These coins have the head of Offa in a style of drawing which is without parallel in the money of this island, from the time of Cunobelin to the reign of Henry VII." On the coins his head appears often without any ornament, but

The seal of Eadgar is also of brown wax, measuring nearly $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in width, but is somewhat injured at the edge. The centre is evidently an impression from an antique oval Roman gem, representing a bust in profile, turned to the right, very similar to those used by Louis le Debonaire and Charles le Simple. This gem was, no doubt, set within a metal rim (as was also usual in France), on which was inscribed a legend; but the impression is unfortunately not well enough preserved to show more at present than indistinct traces of letters.¹

Before I conclude these remarks, it may not be irrelevant to sum up the amount of our present information as to the use of seals among the Anglo-Saxons previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor. The instances known are these:—

1. The seal of Berhtwald, Duke of the South Saxons, A.D. 788, *en placard*.

2. The seal of Offa, King of Mercia, A.D. 790, *en placard*.

3. The original leaden bulla of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, *circa* A.D. 800—810. This interesting relic, the authenticity of which I do not doubt, was purchased for the British Museum in 1847, at the sale of Walter Wilson, Lot 445. It is said to have been brought from Italy, and it is possible that Coenwulf may have caused it to be suspended to some grant made to a foreign religious house. On the obverse is the legend ✠ EOENVVLF REĒIS, and on the reverse, ✠ MEREIORVM. In the centre is a small cross moline, joined at the ends, as appears also on his coins. This bulla was engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 449, but in the engraving the holes are not shown through which the cords passed to attach it to the charter, and the centre ornament is falsely represented as a quatrefoil.

4. The seal of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, A.D. 837, *en placard*.

5. The original brass matrix of the seal of Æthilwald,

also with a diadem or double fillet of pearls, and pendants behind. In a few instances he is represented with his hair arranged in bands, in a fanciful manner.

¹ In 1759, the Benedictines thus described it,—“Il est en placard, et non suspendu. Il représente un buste de profil. Ayant été répliqué, il a marqué sa forme sur le parchemin. La charte au bas de laquelle il est appliqué, porte tous les caractères de vérité et d'authenticité qu'on

peut désirer.” *Nouv. Tr.* tom. iv. p. 204. A recent authority, M. Natalis de Wailly, in the *Éléments de Paléographie*, 1838, tom. ii. p. 109, speaks of the seal in the following terms,—“Le sceau d'Edgar est en partie mutilé, et ne laisse voir que des traces fort confuses de la légende; cependant on distingue le mot *Rex*, en avant de la partie inférieure du buste. Mais la base des lettres s'appuie, contre l'ordinaire, sur le circumference.”

Bishop of Dunwich, *circa* A.D. 850, preserved in the British Museum. It bears the inscription ✠ **ΣΙΓ ΕΘΙΛΥΥÆΛΔΙ ΕΠΙ**, and was engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 479, but is there said to be ornamented with *wolves'* instead of *bulls'* heads, the horns of which are distinctly visible.

6. The seal of Eadgar, sole monarch, A.D. 960, *en placard*.

7. The original matrix of the seal of the Monastery of Durham, preserved in the Chapter library, probably as early as A.D. 970, bearing a cross in the centre, with the legend around, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛΥΜ ΕΥΔΒΕΡΗΤΙ ΠΡÆΣΥΛΙΣ ΣΕΙ**. Engraved in Smith's edition of Bede, 1722, App. p. 721. See also Raine's *History of North Durham*, p. 53.

8. The seal of Wilton Abbey, used in the time of Eadgar, probably *circa* 974; an impression of which is appended to the Harleian Charter 45 A. 36, (written *temp.* Edw. III.). It represents the figure of a female in a monastic dress, with the legend, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛ ΕΑΔΛΥΘΕ ΡΕΛΑΛ ΑΔΕΛΡΗΕ**.

9. The original brass matrix of the seal of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, *circa* A.D. 985, in the British Museum; bearing his effigy, and the inscription, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛΥΜ ÆΛΡΗΕΙ ΑΥ.**, with an arabesque ornament on the back. Engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 359.

With this accumulated evidence before us, we may be well justified in concluding that the Anglo-Saxon monarchs and nobles were well acquainted with the use of seals from the middle (at least) of the VIIIth century; and although they appear to have considered it unnecessary to authenticate or issue ordinary instruments "under seal," yet that on particular occasions they conformed to the usage practised on the Continent. Hickes, in commenting on the well-known passage of Ingulph, argues chiefly against the use of *pendant* seals before the time of Edward the Confessor, and in this respect (excepting the *bullæ*) he is no doubt right; but at the same time he seems to admit that the Anglo-Saxons occasionally employed seals for documents of a less formal character, such as letters missive. His words are—*"Quinimmo sigillorum cujusvis generis (en placard and pendant) RARIOR erat USUS apud Anglo-Saxones. Quorum quidem Reges quandoque legimus iis literas suas munivisse. Sic in superioribus ostendi Æthelredum Regem per Ælverum Abbatem sigillum suum, Saxonice his in segl, hoc est, literas suas quas Brevia vos vocatis, sigillo vel signo suo signatas,*

ad sapientes curiæ comitatus misisse.”²—*Dissert. Epist.* p. 71. The passage in the document referred to, reads as follows:—“pa sende se cyning be Ælvere abbude his *inseġel* to pam gemote at Cwicelmes-hlæpe,” and Hickes endeavours to show that by *inseġel* we must understand, not a seal, but a *monogram*, which, he thinks, was usually *stamped* in ink (but sometimes written) on the instrument; and in support of this interpretation he refers to a charter of William I., printed in the *Gramm. Anglo-Saxon.*, p. 137, in which a cross is made below the writing, with some letters on each side, thus: $\frac{p}{co} | \frac{ill'}{qs}$. It is really mortifying to find so learned a man as Hickes indulging in such unfounded and idle conjectures. There is not a shadow of evidence that the Anglo-Saxons ever made use of Monograms, nor does a single instance exist among the numerous charters that have been preserved, of such a practice. As to the charter of William, if it were even genuine, it proves nothing, but the charter itself is in the Cottonian collection, *Cart. VIII.* 15, and on examination it turns out to be a forgery! It is worthy notice, that in the *Life of Cnut*, by Snorro, the historian speaks of the king’s seal being lost, and uses the same word, *incigli*, as is quoted above in Anglo-Saxon. Hickes of course rejects this testimony, but without any reasonable ground. The discoveries of late years have done much to throw light on the habits and customs of our ancestors before the Norman invasion, and it is not improbable that some fortunate accident may yet bring to light the seal-rings of some of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, and thus give us undeniable testimony on a subject which has so long been a *quæstio vexata*.

F. MADDEN.

² This document is printed by Hickes, *ibid.* p. 4, and in the *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 693, where it is assigned to the years

995-6. The original is in MS. Cott. Aug. II. 15.

Original Documents.

DIVINATION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BY AID OF A MAGICAL CRYSTAL.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. JAMES RAINE, JUN.

THE curious document which is now for the first time printed, occurred to me in the course of a long and laborious search into the registers of the Archbishops of York. It presents an interesting picture of the life of a magician.

As much has been written about the use of the magic crystal, from that consulted by Paracelsus to the recent practices of similar divination in our own time, I shall content myself with making a few observations upon the document before me.¹

The culprit, one William Byg alias Lech, came to Wombwell in the southern part of Yorkshire, about the year 1465. For the next two or three years he earned a livelihood by recovering stolen property through the aid of a crystal. His fame for good and evil began to spread abroad, and he soon found himself in the hands of the vicar-general of the Archbishop of York, upon a charge of heresy. The fear of the heavy pains and penalties which could be inflicted for so serious an offence drew a full confession from the culprit. In it he gives us an account of the manner in which he practised his art, of his experiments and their success.

In the course of his examination Byg mentions one circumstance of interest. He says that he left his books, probably of magic, in his chamber at Greenwich, soon after the death of the late Duke of Gloucester (1446). This is the celebrated Duke Humphrey. Whether Byg had anything to do with Master Bolingbroke or Dame Margery Jordaine, who are said to have flattered the vanity and hastened the end of that popular though ill-fated nobleman, we cannot now tell. At all events, it is probable that the persecution, which at that time arose against the professors of that art, in which Byg was then a student, obliged him to leave the vicinity of London and retire to a secluded village in Yorkshire.

The following punishment was inflicted upon the culprit. He was ordered to walk at the head of a procession in the Cathedral Church of York, holding a lighted torch in his right hand, and a rod with his books hanging to it, by a string, in his left. A paper inscribed with the words—*Ecce sortilegus*—was to be affixed to his head. On his breast and back two other sheets of paper were to be placed, each bearing the words—*Invocator Spirituum*,—whilst his shoulders were to be decorated with similar ornaments, charged with the appalling title of *sortilegus*. Thus attired, he was ordered to make a full recantation of his misdemeanors, and to seal it by committing his books to the flames. A similar repudiation of

¹ See a notice "on Crystals of Augury," by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. v., p. 51. A stone supposed to be Dr. Dee's "Show-stone," a ball of smoky quartz, given to

him, as he affirmed, by an angel, is to be seen in the British Room at the British Museum. It had been preserved in the mineralogical collection.

his errors was to be made in the parish churches of Pontefract, Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham.

It will be observed that Byg's confession before the Commissary Poteman was made on the 22nd of August, 1467. He did not, however, make his full submission before the 23rd of March in the following year, when he was released from the pains of excommunication and received his sentence. The punishment, for such an offender, was but slight. This apparent lenity may perhaps be accounted for. It is very probable that some persons of consequence had required Byg's assistance, and thus the deceiver was rescued by the dupe. With great adroitness he implicates with himself several persons of rank and consideration. By doing so he probably saved himself. The Wombwells were even then rising into importance, and the Archbishop of York, with the princely blood of Neville flowing in his veins, would beloth to lay his hands upon a Fitzwilliam.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to state here, that for the last three years I have been preparing for the press a biographical account of the various dignitaries of the church of York. This work, which I propose to call the "Fasti Eboracenses," was commenced by the late Rev. W. H. Dixon, M.A., Canon Residentiary of York. In it, it is my intention not to content myself with a bare list of names, but to collect the preferments and services of each ecclesiastic at York and elsewhere from every available source, and to arrange them after the fashion of the Athenæ Oxonienses. If any member of the Institute will kindly furnish me with any information which he may possess, he will confer a great favour upon me, and take away from the imperfections of a very difficult and laborious work. JAMES RAINE, JUN.

In quadam causa hereticæ pravitatis et sortilegii.

Willelmus Byg alias Lech, de Wombwell Ebor. dioceseos, de heretica pravitae suspectus, juratus ad sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsum corporaliter tacta, coram venerabili viro magistro Willelmo Poteman legum doctore, in Christo patris et domini, domini Georgii permissione Divina Ebor. Archiepiscopi, &c., vicario in spiritualibus generali, xxi. die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxvj, de fideliter respondendo requirendis ab eodem. Interrogatus et examinatus dicit, quod circiter duos vel tres annos ultime elapsos venit iste juratus ad villam de Wombewell, causa moram trahendi in eadem, et ibidem usque modicum ante festum natalis Domini ultimi preteriti moram traxit. Et dicit interrogatus quod cencies, a tempore quo ipse primo pervenit ad villam de Wombewell, ad reducendum bona furtive subtracta, artem quæ sequitur occupavit, viz., primo juvenem quemdam annorum etatis citra xij usitavit statuere super scabellum coram ipso Willelmo, et in manu pueri sive juvenis hujusmodi posuit, ut dicit, unum lapidem cristallum, ipsum cogendo dicere Pater Noster, Ave et Credo, secundum informationem istius jurati, et tunc verba proferre subsequencia; *Domine Jhesu Christe, mitte nobis tres angelos ex parte dextera qui dicant aut demonstrent nobis veritatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus.* Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit juvenem hujusmodi prospicere in lapidem, et petiit ab eo quid viderit, et si aliquid viderit, juvenis retulit ipsi jurato, et quandoque ut dicit, juvenis hujusmodi vidit in lapide prædicto bona subtracta et quandoque subtractores bonorum in eodem lapide, et quandoque unum angelum, et quandoque duos angelos, et nunquam ultra. Et si primo viderit angelos apparentes, tunc verbis sequentibus usus est ipse juratus eisdem dicere; *Domini Angeli, ego precipio vobis per Dominum et omnia sua nomina sancta, et per virginitatem, gratuite dicatis nobis veritatem et nullam*

falsitatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus, et aperte sine dampno meo et omnium presencium. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit hujusmodi juvenem ipsos angelos sive angelum interrogare, sub hiis verbis; *Say me trewe, chylde, what man, what woman, or what childe hase stolne y^e thyng, and shewe me thing in his hand;* et tunc usus est specificare subtracta. Et tunc, ut dicit, juvenis ipse clare prospiciebat in lapide hujusmodi cristallino subtractores bonorum ac ipsa bona subtracta. Et si juvenis hujusmodi prius noverit personas hujusmodi subtrahentes, voluerit specificare nomina eorundem, sin autem voluit per manum suam designare in qua patria et qua parte ejusdem subtractores hujusmodi moram trahebant. Sed pro majori parte, ut dicit, ipsi qui aliqua bona habuerunt subtracta juvenem secum adduxerunt qui noverit partes suspectas in hac parte. Et ulterius dicit quod (si) juvenis hujusmodi post primam conjuracionem nichil in lapide prospex(er)it, iteravit ipse, (viz. ipse juratus) ipsam conjuracionem, dicentes; *Domine Jhesu Christe mitte nobis tres angelos, etc.* Et dicit, quod habuit ipse juratus firmam fidem de sciendo de hujusmodi bonis subtractis, si angelus vel angeli apparuerit vel apparuerint et juvenis hujusmodi loqueretur. Et dicit, quod vigesies juvenes hujusmodi nullam apparenciam in lapide viderunt, nec ipse juratus aliquo tempore. Et dicit, interogatus, quod primo post adventum suum usque Wombewell ipse juratus per artem suam recuperavit et reduxit, ad instanciam Johannis Wombewell, unum flammeolum ejusdem Johannis furtive per filiam suam propriam subtractam. Et dicit, quod alio tempore citra idem Willielmus xvij vel xix nobilia in auro et argento Johannis Steven, moram trahentis in quadam villa prope et juxta villam de Wombewell situata, ad majus per tria milliaria negligenter per ipsum perdita et omisa, ac per quandam ancillam ejusdem Johannis inventa, ac per ipsam ab eo detenta et concealata, per artem predictam eidem fecit restitui et per eandem deliberari, et habuit et recepit ipse juratus a dicto Johanne Stevens pro labore suo vjs viij^d. Et dicit, quod circiter festum Sancti Andreæ ultimo preteritum venerunt ad istum juratum usque Wombewell quidam Bisshop et Pagett de Derthington, et alii viri quorum nomina ignorat ipse juratus de presenti, et nunciaverunt eidem jurato qualiter duo calices ab ecclesia de Derthington subtractæ fuerunt, desiderantes eum, quatenus vellet, eis suum auxilium in hac parte pro recuperacione eorundem exhibere. Quorum votis applaudit ipse juratus, ut dicit, et tunc habuerunt, ut dicit, ipsum juratum ad quemlibet honestum virum nomine Fitzwilliam armigerum, et ab inde usque Darthington cariarunt, et in presencia ejusdem Fitzwilliam, necnon cujusdam Seurdvill et aliorum quamplurium, produxerunt predicti Bisshop et Pagett duos pueros, et eos sedere fecerunt super ij herpicas, et artem suam predictam in eis exercuit predictus juratus, ut dicit, et alter ipsorum puerorum, ut dicit, vidit in lapide predicto quemdam virum, sed quem nescit, ut dicit habentem calicem argenteum in manibus suis, et aliter, ut dicit, diffamavit nunquam ipse juratus vicarium de Darthyngton seu aliquem alium super premissis. Et dicit quod ipse juratus recepit a seniore Pagett xiiij^d, et a juniore Pagett xx^d pro labore suo in premissis. Et alia quam plura bona diversorum hominum subtracta arte sua predicta ad eorum proprietarios reduxit infra tempus sic prædictum. Et dicit quod premissam artem didicit a quodam Arthuro Mitton a Leycistre, circiter annos tres ultra elapsos, sed habuit libros suos apud Greynwiche cito post mortem ducis quondam Gloucestre in camera ejusdem apud Greynwich, et dicit quod credit firmiter angelos predictos cicius apparuisse per lecturam suam super libros predictos. Et dicit se credere modo ipsos fuisse malos angelos.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1856, HELD AT EDINBURGH,

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

THE Inaugural Meeting took place on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 23, in the Queen-street Hall. LORD TALBOT, on taking the chair, thus addressed his distinguished audience.—It affords me very great pleasure to be able to attend this meeting of the Archaeological Institute. It is the first opportunity we have had of extending the range of our operations beyond the confines of England; I trust it will not be the last. We could not have selected a more appropriate locality, unequalled in the varied interest of its historical associations, than by visiting the ancient capital of Scotland. It is most gratifying to find that the objects in which we take special interest are liberally responded to by this country, and particularly by this city—the Chief Magistrate of which will now address to us his hearty welcome.

The LORD PROVOST then said—I am requested by the Corporation, and I take leave also in name of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to offer to your Lordship and the members of the Archaeological Institute, the expression of a cordial welcome on your arrival in this city. I am glad to assure you that there are amongst us, gentlemen who will readily aid you in the interesting pursuits to which the members of the Institute devote themselves. We indulge the hope that, in this, the capital of our ancient kingdom, there may be found objects of interest which may profitably engage your attention during the time you remain amongst us. There are here many striking memorials of our history, so closely interwoven with that of your own country. Some of them relate to events which we can contemplate with feelings differing widely from those which animated the actors. The memorials of many a well-fought struggle attest the prowess of both nations; they attest, too, our successful efforts to secure our independence, which you are too generous not to admit we should be unwilling to forget. The vast advantages, then unforeseen, which have accrued to both countries from their being united under one Government, might well have prompted the desire, although they did not justify the means, by which in earlier times it was sought to be accomplished. In prosecuting your inquiries, you view those subjects to which your attention is called, divested of that passion which, in some measure, is the invariable accompaniment in scenes where we are the individual agents. We all now readily acknowledge the advantages derived from that union of the two countries, which, at the beginning of the last century, was mourned over by many true patriots as the most dire calamity that could befall their country. Our literature is entwined with yours: we are united by ties which every one would lament to think could, by any contingency, be dissolved. I observe that, amongst other subjects, you are to direct attention to our architecture. In some of

our structures you will find evidence that our architects vied with those of their own age. Of these, Melrose is a striking example; and an interesting specimen till recently existed in this city. We are unfortunately unable to show Trinity College Church, but the materials of which it was composed still remain, and we possess the means for its restoration. The effort for that purpose will, I feel assured, receive the countenance of the members of the Institute. I leave such details to the members of our Society of Scottish Antiquaries, whose pursuits are akin to those which engage your attention. I cannot advert without sincere regret to the absence of one personally known to some, and by reputation, to all of you. I refer to Dr. Daniel Wilson, author of "Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time," and of the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland." His presence, on an occasion like the present, would have been invaluable. We must all deplore the expatriation of one, whose unwearied energy and intelligence might have aroused, at such a meeting, a widely extended interest in our Scottish Antiquities. There are other members of the Society who will readily assist your inquiries and discussions. Amongst those who are to give active aid I observe the name of Mr. Robert Chambers, who has devoted a large portion of his valuable time to antiquarian research, and who is equally known in the literary world in England as in his native country. We shall all, however, accompany you cordially in a pursuit which, I may say, is universally acknowledged as the handmaid of history, and now takes its legitimate place as a science. It seems to me to partake also of the nature of a pious duty to the memory of our ancestors. Some of those memorials to which you direct our attention were formed by them for the express purpose of handing a record of their deeds down to posterity. It is surely a duty incumbent on us to read the lessons which many of these were intended, and all of them are fitted, to teach. And now let me again assure you of a hearty welcome, and of our earnest desire that no effort may be wanting on our part to make your visit at once agreeable to you, and as I trust and believe it will be, instructive to us.

LORD TALBOT then said—It is my duty, in behalf of the Archaeological Institute, to return their best thanks to the Lord Provost for the very kind expressions which he has used, and the cordial welcome which he has offered us on the part of the Corporation and the citizens of Edinburgh. Associated for the purposes we have in view, it is always particularly gratifying to meet with co-operation, but particularly from those institutions which were founded centuries ago, and which ought to be our great bulwarks for the protection of ancient monuments—I mean the Corporations. It is truly gratifying to find that at last we have a corporation of Edinburgh that really and sincerely feels it their duty to preserve the memorials of the ancient greatness of this country, and that it is quite consistent with all the advances of modern science and progress not to destroy venerable and beautiful monuments because they happen to be ancient. It is truly gratifying to find that we have in Edinburgh a corporation that will not, we confidently hope, sanction the destruction of such a structure as Trinity Church, that will not sanction the destruction of a West Bow, and other places of old and venerable associations exposed to the destructive course of modern events. It is truly gratifying to find that public opinion and the opinion of this great city has set itself right in these respects. There do arise in the course of the revolutions to which this world is subject, certain saturnalia in which much is destroyed, which afterwards the very destroyers

would wish to have restored. But there comes a day of repentance, and it is gratifying to find that throughout the length and breadth of this great country such a feeling is increasingly prevalent. One of the great objects of our society is to infuse throughout all classes, high and low, a respect for ancient monuments. Hitherto, the wanton destruction of such memorials has not been confined to one class; the highly-educated classes in many instances have been as guilty as the lowest and most ignorant. We trust that in future this cannot be the case, and not only that there will be an universal feeling for the preservation of these monuments, but that it may be accompanied by a disposition to make available for scientific inquiry all that information which is so essential when any vestiges are discovered. We live in an age when no pursuit partaking of a literary or scientific character can be looked upon as purely a matter of curiosity or of caprice. We live in an age when Archaeology, which used to be the scoff of some years ago, is elevated to the rank of a Science, and takes its place as the handmaid of History, and when it is found to supply many of those deficiencies which we regret in history, and to explain many of those difficulties which the imperfections or the contradictions of the Chronicles of the day continually present to the Historian. I may remark that, in these days of encroachments and annexations, there are one or two annexations which we are fairly entitled to make. We cultivate the most friendly feeling towards kindred societies, particularly the British Association, whose objects are to advance the interests of Science; still we cannot but feel that they occupy some ground which does not in strict propriety belong to them. I cannot but think that their sections of Philology and Ethnography ought to belong to us, and I think we ought to make an effort in order to obtain that concession. With respect to Edinburgh, it is most gratifying to hold our first foreign meeting, so to speak, in this city. It certainly would have been delightful to have held it some years back, and to have had associated with us some of the earliest and most enthusiastic friends of Archaeology. It would have been delightful to have seen among us Charles Sharpe and Patrick Chalmers, but above all, to have had among us that noble writer who has done so much to promote a respect and veneration for things ancient, and who surrounded them with the wizard charm of his genius and imagination. We have also, as the Lord Provost mentioned, to regret the absence of Dr. Daniel Wilson. I hoped we should have had him here on this occasion. It is truly lamentable to think that a scholar of his high capacity and attainments should be thrown away where he is, banished to the wilds of Canada, and I cannot forbear to express the earnest hope that before long he may be recalled in triumph to his native land. If we have to regret the absence of many votaries of our science, we have, however, great reason to be proud of those who are present. We have reason to be proud of Mr. Cosmo Innes, who has done more to extend the knowledge of ancient monastic history and family evidences than any antiquary in our country. We have reason also to be proud of the researches of Mr. David Laing, of the exertions which Mr. John Stuart has so successfully made to give a fresh impulse to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and not least, of his important work on the early "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," the result of many years of indefatigable and intelligent research. One of the chief attractions of the Meetings of the Institute is the Museum. I am assured that, on the present occasion, owing to the liberality of private individuals and public bodies in contributing their treasures for exhibition,

we have never had a more varied and interesting collection since the Institute was formed. I regret that an extensive series of historical portraits has not been included in these remarkable illustrations of Scottish history and antiquities, as I believe there is no country which has greater treasures of that kind than Scotland. Lord Talbot proceeded to state that the Society anticipated the honour of a visit at this meeting from the Duke of Northumberland, who had in the most liberal manner permitted the Institute to place amongst the treasures in the temporary museum many interesting reliques preserved in his museum at Alnwick Castle. That noble patron of their exertions had on many occasions given his valued encouragement to this Society, and engaged in various important enterprises to promote the study of Archæology, particularly in causing a Survey to be made of the Roman Wall and ancient vestiges north of the Tyne. This important contribution to Archaeological literature would shortly be produced, through his Grace's liberality, and the original Survey of the Wall of Severus, recently completed by Mr. M'Lauchlan, would by his Grace's kind permission be exhibited in the Museum. It was gratifying to notice, as they had often to complain of the apparent supineness of the Government wherever science, antiquities and literature were concerned, the course adopted by Lord Panmure with reference to the Ordnance Survey of Scotland. His Lordship had, at the suggestion of the Society of Antiquaries, conveyed through their president, the Marquis of Breadalbane, given directions to the engineers employed in the work to note down, in the course of their investigations, everything relating to antiquities, and to mark correctly all ancient sites connected with the different roads, ancient works or encampments to be metwith throughout the country; those would be a most important record and guide for future antiquaries. Being intimately connected with Ireland, Lord Talbot well knew the benefit derived from the Survey there, where the greatest attention had been paid to everything relating to antiquities; and some of the details of that Survey had been published, containing the most curious and authentic records of matters connected with local vestiges. After some remarks relating to Irish antiquities, Lord Talbot concluded by returning the thanks of the Institute to the Lord Provost and the city for the kind welcome they had received.

The REV. DR. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE then delivered a discourse On the practical Advantages accruing from Archaeological inquiries. (This interesting address will be given in full in the ensuing volume of this Journal).

MR. JAMES YATES moved a vote of thanks to the learned historian of the "Roman Wall," which was carried by acclamation.

MR. COSMO INNES, after begging in name of the Senatus of the University, the Faculty of Advocates, and other learned bodies of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, to give the Institute a hearty welcome to that city, as had been done by the Lord Provost on behalf of the Municipality, proceeded to offer a few remarks on the present state of archaeological study in Scotland. He said—If we look back at the study of antiquities—even as many of us can remember it, thirty years ago—even as pursued by the most intelligent antiquaries—we shall find no reason to be ashamed of its progress. We cannot but remember how glibly we then spoke of Roman bronze tripods and Roman camp kettles. Every brass sword or axe was Roman! Every grave that contained an urn or marks of fire was confidently ascribed to the Romans! Dealing so freely with the Romans, it is no wonder that we took equal liberties with our own people. Our antiquaries

and so-called historians—despising records, and not yet acquainted with the distinctions which limit the periods of each style of middle-age architecture—spoke loosely of churches and castles built before Malcolm Canmore—of surnames older than the Conquest—of historical facts that rested on the authority of Boece and his Veremund, or the later fables of Abercromby's "*Martial Achievements!*" Those were the days for disputes and confident assertions about Culdees, by men who did not seek for their records, and Druids of whom we have no records; while to the skirmishing inroads of Danes was attributed every monument that bespoke peculiarly times of peace and leisure for its manufacture. The delusion had not yet quite passed away which blinded the critics of the last century to the inconsistencies of what were published as "*The Poems of Ossian,*" and prevented their winnowing the corn from the chaff of M'Pherson. If those patriotic hallucinations are not gone quite, they are disappearing. And, not content with abolishing what ought to be obsolete, we have made some progress towards a rational and solid system of national antiquities—apart alike from the credulity of an infant science, and the foolish denial of everything which we in our ignorance pronounce to be improbable. Much of that progress in systematising has been embodied in our friend Dr. Wilson's "*Prehistoric Annals.*" But no one would acknowledge more readily than Dr. Wilson himself, first, that in that work, system has been somewhat too much aimed at; and, secondly, that, however attractive and useful, it deals with but a small and subordinated section of the antiquities of Scotland. Its period is professedly pre-historic, and we must not impute to it as blame that it omits from the national antiquities heraldry—charters—records—architecture—all that concerns written history, literature, and the fine arts. These great fields have not, however, meanwhile lain uncultivated, as we trust to show, and it is as regards them chiefly that we rejoice to have an opportunity like the present to compare our speculations with the more matured and defined archaeological science of our neighbours of England. It is not the least proof of our advancement that such a body as the Archaeological Institute find us worthy of a visit, and regard us as capable of appreciating it. We cannot forget that that body numbers among its members men distinguished in all branches of science and literature, and who have joined to the highest reach of philosophy a genial love of Archaeological inquiry. I must not do more than allude to such men, some of whom are among us, and some are soon to be. You know there are among them the great philosopher who, expatiating among the wonders of physical science, or the deeper mysteries of the human mind, thinks it no unworthy relaxation from severer studies to investigate the architecture and characteristics of our ancient cathedral churches. There are in their ranks men who have placed English history on its true basis, by collecting its materials from the charters of the Anglo-Saxon age, and have shown us a record, not of battles and genealogies, but of the real inner life of our Saxon forefathers. There are not wanting philologists to trace our vernacular tongue to its Germanic fountain, to fix its dialects to each province, and to give precision to the artificial, and to some of us, mysterious, system of old-English rhythms. But while these men are conspicuous in the more abstruse parts of our common study, we see in the lists of the Institute names well known and dear to the lover of ancient and mediæval art, the numismatist, the ecclesiologist, the herald, the collector of seals, to all who have studied antiquities in any of its hundred

branches. And let us not fear that such guests will not find fitting welcome from men worthy of them here. They will find among us, I think, a well-trained band of zealous antiquaries—men who have the true feeling for old learning, old art, old manners, everything old but old error. They will find men here already known to the world, and whom I need not point to—writers who have illustrated their country's history, or gathered with filial care the scattered fragments of her early poetry and song. Others there are, less known beyond our own territory, not less instrumental in aiding the onward progress of Archaeology. We have a few scholars deeply engaged in investigating genuine Roman antiquities, a few zealous numismatists, one or two heralds, one or two—alas! but one or two—philologists, little inclined to benefit the world by their lucubrations on the interesting mixture of tongues among us. We will make you acquainted, too, with some scholars who, conscious though they be of powers that could command popularity and might aspire to fame, yet devote their time to the study of records, statistics, and charter learning; some of them only at rare intervals delighting the public with an occasional essay on early Scotch architecture, others giving the leisure of many years to the patient investigation of a mysterious class of primæval monuments, the result of which is shown in a work like that recent noble production of the Spalding Club.¹ These are the pursuits of cultivated intellect. But you are not to believe that, where these are followed, the subordinate assistants—the handmaids of history and antiquarian science—are neglected. Let the herald, or the lover of ancient seals, of antique gems, pay a visit to the workshop of our friend Henry Laing, and he will find himself in the presence of no common workman, no illiterate collector. But we have among us to-day other archaeologists besides our friends of the Institute, and our brethren of the *Societas Antiquariorum Scotiæ*. During those times when silver Tweed divided hostile kingdoms, and we on this side the Border spoke of our *aid enemies of England*, a common enmity to England united Scotland with France. We borrowed much from her—manners, language, arts, we certainly imitated her architecture; we are said to have copied her cookery. We gave in return that which we could—at all times the staple of our country; we sent bands of hardy, adventurous Scots—young Quentin Durwards, if not Crichtons—to make their way, to push their fortune with the sword or with the pen. The French armies overflowed with them. The French universities were half Scotch. Political circumstances still bound us closely to France when our James V. married successively two French Princesses, and his daughter Mary became for a short space Queen of France as well as of her old narrow kingdom. We are not, then, to be astonished that our history has attracted the sympathy of Frenchmen. While Mignet has given us perhaps the first honest narrative of Mary's life, a countryman of his has published the most extensive and valuable collection of State papers concerning the intercourse of Scotland with France, that has ever been brought together for laying the foundations or illustrating our history. Another scholar of France, who has already done much for philology and early literature, has employed his leisure in tracing the history and adventures of some of those Scotch knight-errants who spent their lives in his country. I have heard that he finds the territory of Aubigny, near Orleans—the Lordship with which our Stuart,

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. By John Stuart, Sec. Soc. Ant. Scot., Aberdeen : printed for the Spalding Club, 4to.

the High Constable of France, was rewarded for his gallantry at Baugé—still tenanted by numerous Stuarts, preserving the name of their heroic Lord through four centuries. He will tell us that he has discovered an idiom, formerly well known in France, as the "*Patois Ecossais*." He can even produce specimens of verse printed in that mongrel dialect.

But now, as to the purpose—the permanent benefit to be derived from a gathering like the present. Shall we do for our modest pursuit—a pursuit that has always attracted scholars and gentle natures—what a greater Association has done for higher science? I think we cannot fail. Let us become acquainted with those pressing forward in the same career; let us measure our achievements, our deficiencies, our powers, with theirs; let us learn to take pleasure in cordial co-operation or in generous rivalry. There is a freemasonry in our subject. All countries contribute to illustrate it; all other studies bear upon it. Every scholar is an antiquary; all good antiquaries are friends and brothers.

Mr. COLQUHOUN, of Killermont, proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Professor Innes, and to the learned institutions of Edinburgh, whose kind feeling towards the Institute he had expressed in so gratifying a manner. Mr. Colquhoun adverted to the important lessons and elevating impulse to which the study of the past, pursued in its legitimate bearing, should ever tend. The acknowledgment was seconded by Mr Joseph HUNTER, V.P. Soc. Ant., and passed unanimously.

A communication was received from His Grace the DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND, expressing his intention to be present during some part of the proceedings of the meeting, accompanied by the Signor Canina, President of the Museums of the Capitol of Rome, and his Grace proposed that distinguished antiquary as an Honorary Foreign Member of the Institute. Signor Canina was forthwith elected by acclamation.²

The meeting then adjourned. The Temporary Museum of the Institute was arranged in the newly completed buildings of the National Gallery, by the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, and with the approval of the Hon. the Board of Manufactures. Various objects of historical or antiquarian interest were also liberally made accessible to the Institute, more especially the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the collections formed by the principal public institutions. Permission to view the Regalia, preserved at the Castle, was granted by the Lord Provost and the authorities; access to Holyrood Palace was conceded by the Chief Commissioner of her Majesty's Public Works; and by sanction of the Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland, an important chronological series of Scottish Charters from the earliest period, and a selection of interesting Historical Documents, were submitted to inspection in her Majesty's General Register House. The visitors of that invaluable depository were received with the most obliging attention by Mr. Joseph Robertson and other gentlemen connected with the establishment.

At the evening meeting in Queen Street Hall,—

Mr. ROBERT CHAMBERS read a memoir on "The Ancient Buildings of Edinburgh and the Historical Associations connected with them." Mr. Chambers said Edinburgh was not a town of much consequence till the

² Whilst this report was in the press, the sad intelligence of the sudden death of this accomplished antiquary has reached us. We cannot refrain from the

expression of deep regret at the untimely loss of one whose refined taste and attainments were scarcely equalled by any of his contemporaries.

latter part of the XIVth century. Froissart speaks of it in 1385 as the Paris of Scotland. He says it did not contain so many as 4000 houses, meaning, beyond a doubt, 400, for it then consisted of but a single street. No houses of that era survive to prove how small, rude, and frail they were; wood continued to be a large material in the domestic architecture of our city throughout the XVth century, during which Edinburgh was gradually becoming a town of importance, a frequent seat of Parliament, and the residence of the monarch. A house had an inner stone fabric, but there was always a wooden front six or seven feet in advance, formed by projecting beams. We do not probably possess in Edinburgh any houses of older date than the close of the XVth century. About that time the Cowgate was building (a name which appears to be a corruption of "Sou'gate," i.e., Southgate) as a new town or suburb for the accommodation of the higher class of people. A few of the primitive houses of the Cowgate, built about 1490 or 1500, still exist, and are interesting as the contemporaries of many castles, the ruins of which are now scattered over the country. They consist of a ground floor, for shops, a galleried floor above, and a series of attics. The style of door seen in all these early wooden houses is remarkably elegant. The next stage of house-building gives us the same form, with merely a little more elevation and the addition of some ornamental work. About 1540, houses were three and four storeys high. The gallery in front of the first floor was usually open. There the family could promenade and enjoy the open air in privacy and comparative safety. Of the wooden-fronted houses of about 1540 we have still several interesting specimens, serving to recal to us Mary's reign. There is a fine example at the head of the West Bow. The covered space in front of the booths is still open, and used for the exhibition of merchandise, though of a humble kind. In this respect, the house forms a last surviving relique of what the High Street was in mercantile respects in the XVIth century. Three or four specimens of this form of house are still to be seen along the north side of the High Street. The characteristic features of all are alike—the strong skeleton-work of stone, with the wooden front six or seven feet in advance, the outside stone stair projecting into the street, and the handsome moulded doorway. One good specimen opposite the head of Niddry Street is worthy of special notice, on account of its double form. In 1572, when the castle and the city were in possession of the Queen's party and beleaguered by the troops of the Regent, the exigencies of the people for fuel led to the demolition of many of the timber buildings. The latest example of houses with wooden fronts is in the Netherbow, dated 1600. The mediæval custom of putting inscriptions on houses was displayed largely in Edinburgh, but not so much before the Reformation as after. Having given many interesting specimens of these quaint inscriptions, Mr. Chambers proceeded to state that houses wholly composed of stone, which before the reign of Mary had been rare exceptions, began after that period to become common. The earliest examples were built by wealthy citizens. The stone mansions of the latter part of the XVIth century were constructed in a very substantial manner. From the reign of Charles I. there was a continual progress towards plainer forms. During the first half of the XVIIth century the growing prosperity of Scotland expressed itself in Edinburgh in a wish for more liberal and airy accommodations. As an example of the taste of that period, we may take James's Court, built about 1728. Conveniences for cleanliness, supply of water, and lighting were, however, almost unknown.

No house in Edinburgh built at that period was without a small closet off the dining-room for private devotional exercise. The latter half of the XVIIIth century saw the Old Town thrown into the shade by the elegant streets of the New.

The memoir was illustrated by numerous drawings, chiefly prepared, with much artistic skill, by Mr. W. F. Watson.

On the motion of Mr. JOSEPH ROBERTSON, a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Chambers, and the proceedings closed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24.

A meeting of the Section of HISTORY took place, by the kind permission of the Royal Society, in their rooms at the Royal Institution, COSMO INNES, Esq. (President of the Section), in the Chair.—The following Memoirs were read:—

“Contract betwixt the Town Council of Edinburgh and William Aytoun, for completing the building of Heriot’s Hospital, Dec. 1631, and Feb. 1632; with a brief notice of the foundation of the Hospital.” By DAVID LAING, F.S.A.Scot.

“The Ossianic Controversy.” By the Hon. Lord NEAVES.

“On the Condition of Lothian previous to its Annexation to Scotland.” By J. HODGSON HINDE, V. P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle.

“Notice of a Document relating to the Knights Templars in Scotland, in 1298.” By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, F.S.A. Scot.

The Section of ANTIQUITIES assembled in the Queen Street Hall, EDWIN GUEST, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge (President of the Section), in the Chair.

A memoir was communicated by EDWARD CHARLTON, Esq., M.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, “On a Runic Inscription discovered during the recent works of restoration at Carlisle.” A paper on the same subject was also contributed by the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland.

A memoir was read, “On the Barrier of Antoninus Pius, extending from the shores of the Forth to the Clyde.” By JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq., of Glasgow.

JAMES SMITH, Esq., of Jordan Hill, communicated a notice of the Discovery of the City of Lasea, in Crete.

JOHN STUART, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, then read a valuable dissertation “On the Early Sculptured Monuments of Scotland.” He observed that they might be considered the earliest existing expressions of the ideas, and the most genuine records of the skill, of the early inhabitants of the country. He referred to the general use of pillars as memorials of events from the earliest period, and to the occurrence of such pillars in Scotland, both singly and in circular groups, as sepulchral memorials. The earliest notices furnished to us by our national historians serve only to show that the purpose and meaning of the sculptured pillars had been forgotten before the time when these notices were written. According to Boece, the hieroglyphic figures on them were borrowed from the Egyptians, and were used by the natives in place of letters; and both he and subsequent historians have assigned a Danish origin to many of them—an idea which is quite repudiated by the present race of Danish

antiquaries. Mr. Stuart stated that the class of stones to which he desired to call attention comprised about 160 specimens. These consisted either of rude unhewn pillars, on which were sculptured various symbolic figures; of oblong dressed slabs, having crosses and other figures cut on their surface; and in a few cases of cruciform pillars with sculpture. The symbols of most frequent occurrence were stated to be—1st, two circles connected by cross lines (familiarily termed the spectacle ornament), which was sometimes traversed by a figure resembling the letter Z; 2nd, serpents, sometimes alone, and at other times pierced by a figure the same as that last mentioned; 3rd, a crescent; 4th, an animal resembling an elephant; 5th, a mirror and comb; 6th, a fish.² Besides these figures, the stones presented instances of priests in their robes with books, men shooting with the bow and arrow, bird-headed human figures, processions of religious, centaurs, monkeys, lions, leopards, deer, and beasts of the chase, besides many others. It appeared that while the same symbols perpetually occurred on different stones, yet on no two stones was the arrangement the same, which seemed to imply a meaning and intention in the arrangement of them. Their geographical distribution was then adverted to, and it appeared that of those stones between the Dee and the Spey by far the larger number were rude pillars, having incised symbols without crosses; while in the country on either side, the stones combined elaborate crosses with the symbols as well as with scenes of various kinds, exhibiting in many cases minute pictures of dress, armour, hunting, and other subjects. The symbols, except in two cases, were not found in the country south of the Forth, and were thus confined to the ancient country of the Picts. There was one stone having an inscription, in letters hitherto undeciphered, but which to the learned eyes of the late Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, presented the appearance of the Phœnician character; four of the stones had inscriptions in the ancient Ogham character, and one presented an inscription in letters not unlike those of the old Irish character. Mr. Stuart then pointed out various points of analogy and difference between the Scotch crosses and those in Ireland, Wales, and the Isle of Man. He adverted to the striking similarity of the style of ornament on the Scotch crosses to that in the ancient Irish and Saxon manuscripts, and drew the conclusion that while there were many points common to the crosses of all the countries referred to, yet those in Scotland bore most strongly the impress of Irish art, as exhibited on remains of various sorts, ranging in point of date from the VIIth to the XIth century. Nor was this different from what might have been expected, for while the genial influences of Christianity were imparted to different districts of Scotland through other and earlier missions, yet to that of St. Columba and his followers must be attributed the widest range and the most abiding impression. In Ireland it was customary for St. Patrick to consecrate the pillar stones of the heathen to Christian uses, and the erection of crosses seems to have followed; while several instances existed to show the erection of crosses at Iona in the time of St. Columba to mark events of various sorts; and it might be supposed that crosses were erected in Scotland by the early missionaries, in place of the older stones of the native inhabitants, with the view of altering and sanctifying the principles, whatever they were, which led them to set up their rude pillars. Of the Scotch stones referred to, above sixty have been found in some degree of

² The principal symbols here enumerated, are noticed, Arch. Journ. vol. vi. p. 89.

connection with ancient ecclesiastical sites, and most of those which have been dug about have shown traces of human sepulture. It appeared also that diggings had been made in several stone circles called "Druidical," and that there also sepulchral deposits of various sorts had been discovered. It was stated that the sculptured stones occurred in groups in various parts of the country, as well as the unsculptured pillars which were so often found in the shape of circles. The recent discovery of a sarcophagus at Govan had enabled us to trace the ornaments and figures of men and animals so common on the crosses to a use undoubtedly sepulchral; and the fact that some of the symbols had been found on silver ornaments dug from the sepulchral mound at Norries Law, led to the same result.⁴ With regard to the sculptured stones, Mr. Stuart was inclined to hold them as sepulchral monuments, and that the circles were also intended to serve for this end, and probably others not known to us. As to the ornamentation on the crosses and on other mediæval remains, Mr. Stuart supposed that it might have descended from the central reservoir of Roman civilisation; but if the symbols could also be derived from this source, we should naturally expect to find them in other countries open to the same influence. Hitherto, however, no instance of the symbols had been found in other countries, and the only inference which remained was, that most of them were peculiar to a people on the north-east coast of Scotland, who used them, at least partly, on sepulchral monuments; that the early missionaries found them in use on their arrival, and adopted them for a time, in a more elaborate shape, on their Christian monuments, as is seen on those stones where the cross and other Christian symbols occur along with the figures on the ruder pillars. Mr. Stuart's observations were illustrated by drawings of the different symbols referred to in the paper, in their simple form as they occurred on the rude pillars, and also in their elaborate shape on the sculptured crosses; and the volume of representations of the Sculptured Stones, newly completed for the Spalding Club, was submitted to the meeting.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Stuart, referred to the great value of his memoir, and of the indefatigable research with which he had pursued the investigation of a subject of great interest. Archaeologists were deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart for the admirable work recently produced by him under the auspices of the Spalding Club, by which a fresh light had been thrown on an important class of ancient remains hitherto scarcely known to the antiquary, except through the illustrations of the monuments of a limited district, produced by the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers.

By the kind invitation of the Lord Provost and the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, the members of the Institute were received at that Institution, and inspected the architectural features of the structure, as also various ancient reliques there preserved. At two o'clock they partook of a collation in the hall, and subsequently proceeded under the guidance of Mr. Robert Chambers to visit the more remarkable ancient buildings and sites of historical interest in the Old Town, the Canongate, &c. terminating with the Castle.

An evening meeting took place in the Queen Street Hall. A discourse

⁴ These ornaments are figured in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 249, and they were exhibited by Mrs. Dundas Durham in the

Museum of the Institute at the Edinburgh Meeting.

was delivered by the Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., on the Sculptures of Trajan's Column, and the illustrations which they supply in regard to the Military Transactions of the Romans in Britain. A complete series of representations of the Sculptures on a large scale was displayed, prepared under Dr. Bruce's direction.

A notice was also communicated of the Diplomatic Correspondence regarding Public Affairs in Scotland and England at the latter part of the XVIth century, comprised in the official reports or *Relazioni* made by the envoys of the Republic of Venice to the Doge and Senate; with a transcript and translation of one of the most interesting portions of the Collection, concerning the succession to the throne, and the position of Mary Queen of Scots. These valuable historical materials were brought before the Institute by the Rev. JOHN DAYMAN, Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, by the kind permission of Henry Howard, Esq., of Grey-stoke Castle, in whose possession the Diplomatic collections are preserved.

Thursday, July 25.

An excursion was made by special train to Abbotsford, and the Tweedside Abbeys,—Melrose, Dryburgh, and Kelso. In the evening the members were received by the Hon. Lord Neaves and Mrs. Neaves, at a *Conversazione*, and a very numerous party enjoyed their kind hospitalities on this occasion.

Friday, July 26.

The Historical Section assembled at the apartments of the Royal Society, COSMO INNES, Esq., presiding, and the following Memoirs were read:—

On the Progress and Prospects of Science in Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century, as compared with the same at Cambridge a century later; with illustrations of several remarkable coincidences between the Genius, the Studies, and the Discoveries, of Napier of Merchistoun, and Sir Isaac Newton. By MARK NAPIER, Esq., Advocate.

The Four Roman Ways.—By EDWIN GUEST, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

On the Connection of Scotland with the Pilgrimage of Grace.—By W. HYLTON D. LONGSTAFFE, Esq., F.S.A.

In the meeting of the Section of Architecture, the chair was taken by the Rev. W. WHEWELL, D.D. (President of the Section). The following Memoirs were received.

Sketch of the History of Architecture in Scotland, Ecclesiastical and Secular, previous to the union with England in 1707.—By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scotland. (Printed in this volume, p. 228.)

Notices of the various styles of Glass Painting, chiefly as accessory to the Decorations of Ecclesiastical Structures; illustrated by parallel examples of design in MSS., Sculptures and Fresco decorations in the Middle Ages.—By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A.

On Dunblane Cathedral, and the Correspondence between its Architectural history and that of the Cathedral of Llandaff.—By EDWARD FREEMAN, Esq., M.A.

On the Remains of Sweetheart Abbey (*Abbatia dulcis cordis*) in

Galloway, afterwards called New Abbey, and their architectural peculiarities.—By the Rev. J. L. PETIT, F.S.A.

In the afternoon an excursion was made, through the hospitable invitation of the Right Hon. R. C. Nisbet Hamilton, M.P., to Dirleton Castle, where luncheon was kindly provided for the numerous visitors, and the remarkable remains of that fine example of the Edwardian fortress were examined under the obliging guidance of Mr. Joseph Robertson.

At the evening meeting in the Queen-stret Hall, Professor SIMPSON delivered a discourse on the Vestiges of Roman Surgery and Medicine in Scotland and England. He observed that there were in Britain, during its occupation by the Romans, two classes of physicians—those engaged in the public service, and private practitioners. There was no doubt that the Roman army was accompanied by a medical staff; there were incidental references to them in ancient authors, and monumental tablets to Roman army physicians had been discovered in this country. The existence of private practitioners appeared by the fact that a considerable number of medicine-stamps had been discovered, bearing the name of the physician, of a disease, and of the medicine used for its cure.⁵ He alluded also to surgical instruments, which had been found in this country, especially the remarkable collection in the possession of the Hon. Sir George Clerk, Bart., at Pennycuik House near Edinburgh. Some of them are similar to those discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The learned Professor remarked that some of the noted inventions, usually regarded as of the most recent times, had been forestalled centuries ago. Reference was made to relics of Roman pharmacy, and some medicine bottles of various forms were shown; the so-called lachrymatories found in graves, he suggested, might be medicine bottles buried with articles of food and dress, which were believed to be necessary for the departed in another world. The Professor also exhibited a nursing-bottle, discovered at York with Roman remains; these objects are occasionally found in the graves of children. A reference to dietetic vestiges and relics was followed by some remarks on the medicinal herbs introduced into this country by the Romans—a subject regarding which very little is yet known. The amount of information possessed by Roman physicians, as to all diseases, Dr. Simpson observed, was very remarkable. They were defective in anatomy and physiology—the dissection of the human subject was not then practised—but all diseases which were matter of direct observation were well described, and Galen noticed 120 diseases of the eye, as many perhaps as are known at the present day. They were acquainted with all the mysteries of dental surgery, and false teeth were very common among Roman ladies and gentlemen, if we may believe Martial. All the principal surgical operations now known were described by Roman authors, and they were acquainted with the use of anæsthetic agents for producing sleep in operations which were attended with pain, mandragora being used for that purpose. Professor Simpson alluded to some other matters in which the Romans were farther advanced than modern nations in times of boasted civilisation, such as cities fully drained, extramural cemeteries, and baths in a state of great perfection. Professor Simpson has subsequently published an interesting memoir,⁶ to which we may refer those of our readers who desire

⁵ See Professor Simpson's valuable memoirs on medicine stamps of the Roman Period, in the Monthly Medical Journal.

⁶ Published by Sutherland and Knox, Edinburgh, 8vo., 1856.

further information on subjects connected with the knowledge of medicine in Roman times. It is entitled—"Was the Roman Army provided with Medical Officers?" It is accompanied by a representation of the inscription to the memory of *Anicius*, found at Housesteads on the Roman Wall.

At the close of the meeting the members of the Institute proceeded to the residence of the Lord Provost and Mrs. Melville, by whose kindness a very agreeable *Conversazione* terminated the varied occupations of this day.

SATURDAY, JULY 26.

At ten o'clock a meeting was held at the Queen Street Hall; Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding. Mr. J. M. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on the antiquities of the Heathen period, with more especial reference to the illustrations of their types and peculiar character presented by examples and drawings, exhibited in the Temporary Museum. He referred first to the specimens of ancient urns which had been discovered in recent times, drawing particular attention to those found in Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland. Some are exceedingly elegant in design, and display much taste and skill in the execution of their ornament. In others, of the Anglo-Saxon period, this beauty of shape and decoration is not found. From these circumstances, he was led to draw a distinction between the periods to which they belonged. It appeared to him, when he looked at the elegant form and beautiful ornamentation of some of these urns, that it was inconsistent to suppose that so much taste for design existed contemporaneously with the productions of the inferior specimens. He then proceeded to make some observations on the weapons of warfare employed by the ancients, and referred at length to the implements of stone; there was no reason, as Mr. Kemble observed, to suppose that these did not exist in many cases contemporaneously with, as well as previously to, the weapons and implements of metal, inasmuch as, long after the discovery of metals, men would continue to use the ancient form of implements. This would more particularly be the case in reference to matters connected with religion. In reference to implements of stone, nothing was more remarkable than the similarity of their forms all over the world. This was, no doubt, owing to the nature of the material of which they were made. Arrow-heads were amongst the objects which, it might readily be supposed, had been made of stone, long after metals had been used for purposes both of war and peace. The arrow was a thing to be thrown away, and therefore would be made of the less valuable material. The same might be said of spear-heads and other missiles intended to be thrown at the enemy. He then proceeded to remark that nothing was more common than to assert that bronze weapons were of Celtic origin. But this was unquestionably erroneous. Bronze, it was shown, was among the ancients the heroic metal, and was, doubtless, spoken of by Homer poetically, in allusion to the arms of his heroes, when the metal in question was not literally referred to. Bronze had been employed long prior to the use of iron, and no doubt was capable of forming a weapon that would readily take a sharp edge.

Mr. DAVID LAING, F.S.A. Scot., then read a communication on the Portraits of Lady Jane Grey.

Mr. A. H. RHIND, F.S.A., read a Memoir on the History of the

Systematic Classification of Primeval Relics. (Printed in this volume, p. 209.)

The meeting then adjourned to the Museum, where Mr. Kemble resumed the subject of his discourse, and gave some highly instructive observations on the vestiges of the Earlier Periods, as illustrated by the extensive series of antiquities of stone and bronze, from all parts of Great Britain, and Ireland, there brought together, as also by the extensive display of drawings representing reliques of the same classes, preserved in the museums at Dublin, at Hanover, and other collections in Germany. This remarkable assemblage of drawings was contributed to the Museum of the Institute by the Council of the Royal Irish Academy and by Mr. Kemble.

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, Jun., F.S.A., also gave an interesting discourse in the Museum, in explanation of the extensive series of drawings of examples of mediæval art, and of the use of mosaic decorations as accessory to architecture, prepared by his skilful pencil and displayed in the Museum. Mr. Scharf subsequently gave, in the Museum, a detailed and artistic notice of the extensive series of sculptured ivories, contributed by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., Mr. Webb, and other collectors, whose kindness had enriched the display there presented, accompanied also by a large assemblage of casts from sculptures in ivory sent for exhibition by the Arundel Society.

A numerous party accompanied Mr. Robert Chambers at a later hour, and under his kind direction visited St. Giles' Church, Holyrood Palace, and the *Maison Dieu*, the Magdalene Chapel, Cowgate, with its windows of stained glass, stated to be the only remains of their kind, of earlier date than the Reformation, now existing in Edinburgh. Mr. J. H. Parker offered some remarks on the architectural peculiarities of these and other buildings to which the attention of the party was addressed, and the examination terminated with a visit to St. Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage, and the elegant little vaulted structure known as St. Margaret's Well, now entombed in the sub-structure of a Railway station.

In the evening the members of the Institute assembled, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chambers, and found a very hearty welcome at their residence in Doune Terrace. A selection of Scottish songs and ancient melodies, chiefly of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, formed a very pleasant and appropriate feature of this gratifying soirée.

MONDAY, JULY 28.

A meeting was held, at ten o'clock, in the rooms of the Royal Society, COSMO INNES, Esq., presiding; and the following Memoirs were read:—

Notice of an unpublished letter from James V., king of Scots, addressed to Henry VIII., in 1526. By JOSEPH BURTT, Esq., Chapter House, Westminster. (Printed in this volume, p. 270.)

On King Edward's spoiliations in Scotland, in 1296: and unpublished evidence relating to the Coronation Stone. By JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq., V.P. Soc. Ant. (Printed in this volume, p. 245.)

Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., made a communication regarding the antiquities of Orkney and Shetland, and described various interesting remains of a very ancient date. He in particular referred to the cathedral

of St. Magnus, Kirkwall.⁷ He described the state of decay into which it had fallen previous to Government spending about 3000*l.* upon it in 1846. He then spoke of certain differences which had arisen between Government and the Burgh Council—the latter having now taken the matter into their hands, and committed, as the Institute must consider, some barbarous outrages. They had entirely screened off the choir from the nave, in order to use the former as a parish church, the screens closing up the spaces between three of the finest arches. They had raised the floor four feet, thus hiding all the bases of the pillars, and had put in a gallery that hid the capitals, and the erection of which had knocked off considerable portions of the foliage. In fact, they had just dealt with these ornaments as a man had done some years ago, who, on being told to clean the cobwebs and dust from these beautiful carvings, thought he had made a great discovery when he hit upon the plan of knocking them off altogether. They had dug up the remains of Bishops and Earls without any care for the preservation of their tombs. They had built a chimney going up from the transept, and had knocked great holes under the windows of the aisles to admit ventilating pipes. He hoped his Scotch friends would keep a sharp eye on these doings, and not allow these venerable buildings to be thus sacrilegiously dealt with.

Lord NEAVES remarked that he was formerly Sheriff of Orkney, and he was glad to say he had no concern whatever in this sacrilege, nor, as he believed, had his successor in that office. He could speak with the highest commendation of the constant zeal and enthusiasm with which Sir Henry Dryden had devoted himself to the investigation of the antiquities of Orkney and Shetland. He regretted exceedingly the disgraceful condition to which, as Sir Henry had stated, the venerable cathedral of St. Magnus had been brought through the recklessness of the local authorities.

Mr. ROBERT CHAMBERS read a paper on Edinburgh Castle as it existed before the siege of 1573. He said that in the present Edinburgh Castle, under the mask of a modern military station and barrack, were the broken and degraded remains of a national fortress and royal residence of the old days of Scottish independence. He proposed to attempt to trace the history of the principal old buildings, and to show as far as possible what the Castle was before the great alterations which it sustained in consequence of the memorable siege of 1573. Previous to that time the buildings of the Castle were less numerous, as it showed scarcely any beyond the limits of the upper platform of rock or citadel, towards the east. On the lower and wider platform, towards the north and west, there was little besides a wall of defence running along the summit of the cliff, with turrets at intervals, and having in it a postern whence it was possible to descend the face of the rock. Notwithstanding its limited accommodation, however, it appeared to have been proposed in 1523 to have a garrison of 400 soldiers within the Castle. On the upper platform were various buildings, some of which still existed, while others have been demolished in the siege referred to, or had given way to more common-place structures. At the north-east angle was a palace which had been used by successive Scottish Sovereigns before Holyrood existed. We have no means of

⁷ This highly interesting fabric, commenced, as it is believed, by Earl Ronald, in 1138, forms the subject of several plates in Mr. Billings' *Baronial and*

Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii., plates 42 to 47, which may enable the reader to appreciate the injuries noticed by Sir H. Dryden.

tracing this palace to a very early date. The saintly Queen Margaret, consort of Malcolm Canmore, lived in Edinburgh Castle at the end of the XIth century, but none of the existing buildings could be identified as of her time, with the exception of the small chapel standing detached on the loftiest pinnacle of the rock, which, after a long period of neglect, had been repaired a few years ago. The massive series of buildings which rose from the rock at the south-east angle of the upper quadrangle or parade-square constituted strictly what remained of the palace as existing previous to 1573. It was evident that in this angle we had the structures of a series of ages. In a central situation, and now constituting the officers' barracks, was an ancient building, still exhibiting the characteristics of the tall square towers of which so many examples survived in Scotland, which had evidently been built isolatedly; this might probably have been the palace of David I., and was at all events, apart from the chapel, the oldest structure in the Castle. On the south side were the traces of an ancient hall, originally a noble apartment 80 feet long by 33 broad, and 27 feet in height, lighted by tall mullioned windows from the south, and having a ceiling of fine timber arch-work in the style of the Parliament House, but now, with inter-floors and partitions, constituting the garrison hospital. This hall was connected with numerous historical associations. Adjoining to the east side of the primitive tower, and constituting the south-east nook of the quadrangle, was a portion of the palace, either built or refitted for Queen Mary, including the small bed-room in which she gave birth to James VI. This building originally extended further to the north than it now appeared to do, but the northern part having become ruinous, a new building was engrafted upon it in 1615, with a goodly front towards the square, and many handsomely ornamented windows and a battlemented top. In this modern part of the building was the fire-proof room, in which the Scottish regalia were kept. It had evidently been prepared for this purpose at the re-edification of the building in 1615, as it rested on a strong vaulted chamber, now forming part of the garrison tavern. During many ages the Castle was occasionally used as a state prison, and for some time in the reign of James VI., it was used as a prison for debtors. In 1541-2 a Register-house was built in the Castle, but its situation was not now known. The eastern front of the Castle towards the city presented a considerably different appearance from what it now did, and its former aspect, Mr. Chambers observed, must have been more striking and picturesque. The central object was a donjon or keep, rising sixty feet above the summit of the rock, and known by the name of David's Tower, a fabric believed to have been erected by David II. From this tower a curtain wall extended along the front of the rock to a comparatively small or slender tower, which still existed at the north end of the Half-moon battery, but almost merged in the later buildings. The curtain wall then extended northwards till it joined another tower of greater importance, which, as nearly as could be traced, rose from the rocky platform exactly over the site of the present portcullis gate of the Castle. This was the Constable's Tower, being the residence of that officer. It was fifty feet high, and was accessible by a stair which ascended the face of the rock, in the style of that seen under the castle of the well-known armorial bearings of Edinburgh. Indeed, there could be little doubt that this heraldic castle and its stair—though such objects were always more or less conventional—was mainly a representation of the Constable's Tower. By this stair,

and through the tower, was, if he judged rightly, the sole access to the upper platform or citadel. On the curtain wall, thus divided into three parts, a range of cannon was disposed, but the wall being low, a second or smaller range of cannon was placed on the summit of the rock within. At what time any exterior defences were added did not appear, but they found that, when Kirkaldy of Grange held the Castle for Queen Mary, against her son's Government, from 1570 to 1573, there was a triangular court in front below the rock, bounded by a wall twenty feet high, and denominated the Spur. This was ultimately found to be a disadvantageous arrangement, owing to the number of men required for defending it, and in 1649 it was demolished by order of the Scottish Estates. Mr. Chambers then proceeded to describe the siege of the Castle by the Regent Morton, with an auxiliary force sent by Queen Elizabeth under Sir William Drury, with a train of artillery. Five batteries were opened against it, and in nine days David's Tower and the Constable's had been wholly beaten down, and the besiegers effected a lodgment in the Spur. Perishing for want of water, for the well had been choked up by the fall of David's Tower, Kirkaldy capitulated. Of the whole eastern front, from the royal lodging to the southern extremity, it did not appear that any part survived, except the small intermediate tower, now embedded, as it were, in the Half-Moon Battery. The present eastern front was mainly as it was fashioned by the Regent Morton after the siege. The Half-Moon Battery was the principal feature in the renovations, and a considerable work it was for the time, and furnished one of Morton's motives, said several historians, to debase the national coin. Underneath the site of the former Constable's Tower, and designed as a substitute for it, in the modern economy of the fortress, was a strong, square building containing an arched passage, which had one time a portcullis and three hinged gates, and which formerly had a battlemented top, instead of a mean, slated roof as at present. On this the author of the paper had detected certain cognizances of the Regent, which he believed to be those alluded to in a contemporary history as indicating his ambitious character. The memoir concluded with some remarks as to the origin of the name of "*Castrum puellarum*," or Maiden Castle, given by early writers to Edinburgh Castle, a name common to many ancient sites, both in Scotland and England. It had been suggested by the late Mr. Chalmers, of Auldbar, that the derivation was from *Mai-dun*, a fort commanding a wide plain or district.

Lord TALBOT conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Chambers, not only for this memoir, but for the kind services he had so courteously rendered throughout the meeting of the Institute.

The following memoirs were also read :—

"On the Analogy of Scottish and French Baronial Architecture." By J. H. BURTON, Esq.

"On the Genealogy and Succession of the St. Clairs of Roslyn." By ALEXANDER SINCLAIR, Esq.

"On the Houses of Fitz-Alan and Stuart; their Origin and early History." By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A. (Printed in this Volume, p. 333.)

At the close of the meeting, a numerous party proceeded on an excursion to Borthwick Castle, Hawthornden, and Roslin Chapel.

In the evening, a *Conversazione* took place in the Museum of the Institute, and the entire suite of the galleries was brilliantly illuminated for

the occasion. The attendance was very numerous, each person holding a ticket for the meeting being permitted to introduce a friend.

Amongst the distinguished visitors by whose presence the Institute was honoured on this evening, were—their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, the Earl of Southesk, the Earl of Kintore, the Earl of Airlie, the Hon. Lady Ruthven, the Lord Provost and Mrs. Melville, Lord Neaves, Lord Handyside, Lord Curriehill, the Commendatore Canina, Dr. Waagen, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Sir Robert and Lady Arbuthnot.

TUESDAY, July 26.

The Annual Meeting of the Members was held in the rooms of the Royal Society, at nine o'clock. Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding.

The Report of the Auditors for the previous year (printed page 191, *ante*) was read, as also the following Annual Report of the Central Committee, and both were unanimously adopted.

In submitting to the Society the annual review of the progress of the Institute, as also of the results of investigations and efforts for the extension of archaeological knowledge, the Central Committee viewed with renewed pleasure the retrospect of the past year. The influence of the Institute in promoting a taste for the study of archaeology, and the higher appreciation of all vestiges of antiquity and art, has been increasingly evinced.

The friendly correspondence with antiquaries in all parts of the country, and with many provincial archaeological societies, has constantly brought before the meetings of the Institute an ample provision of remarkable facts, and ensured speedy intelligence of the discoveries which have occurred. Whilst, moreover, many new members have joined the ranks of the Society, such communications have often been received from persons not enrolled on its lists. The continued demand for the publications of the Institute, and especially for the Journal, claimed notice, as evincing that their varied and instructive character had proved acceptable to the public at large.

Not only, however, had the last year been marked by friendly co-operation on the part of numerous archaeologists and archaeological societies in our own country. The proceedings of the Institute had excited considerable interest on the Continent; an exchange of publications had gradually been established between various foreign societies and our own. Early in the past year a most gratifying communication was addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France, signifying the desire to establish friendly relations with the Institute, to maintain with our society the mutual communication of all such facts and observations as might tend to throw light on the earlier history of France and England. M. Fortoul proposed at the same time to present to our library the various works produced under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction, and he requested that the Journals of the Institute should henceforth be sent to him, in order that our future researches might be duly noticed in the Bulletins published in France under his direction. The increasing publicity thus given to the proceedings of the Institute cannot fail to produce a very advantageous extension of our relations with foreign lands, and the communication with which we have thus been honoured by the French minister, has doubtless tended to invite attention to the proceedings of our meeting in North Britain, which has been attended by some French *savans*, whose names have long been associated with the progress of archaeological science and of art.

Amongst recent archaeological investigations of special interest, the Committee regarded with renewed gratification the important undertaking achieved by direction of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, in the detailed survey of the Roman Wall. The admirable ichnography executed by Mr. Maclauchlan, who had carefully delineated the features of that remarkable barrier, the camps, earthworks, and military positions, had been produced by his Grace's kind permission at the Shrewsbury meeting. On the present occasion the Society had enjoyed the satisfaction of inspecting the first portions of the survey, reproduced by the aid of lithography from the original drawings: and they had thus received an earnest of the continued liberality of the Duke, in the furtherance of archaeological science, and the assurance that at no distant time this valuable survey, by which so much light must be thrown on the earlier history of the north of England, will be accessible to the numerous students of the vestiges of Roman occupation. The Duke had, with his accustomed gracious liberality, permitted selection to be made amidst the treasures in his museum at Alnwick Castle, to augment the interest and instructive character of the Museum of the Institute formed during the present meeting.

The Committee had viewed also with satisfaction the liberality and good taste shown by the Earl Bathurst, to which allusion had been made in their Report of the previous year. The building erected by that nobleman at Cirencester to form a suitable depository for the reliques of Roman times, the mosaic pavements and other objects discovered on the site of *Corinium*, had been completed, and the removal of the tessellated floors successfully achieved under the direction of Professor Buckman, who had communicated, at one of the London meetings of the Institute, a full report of that difficult operation. (Printed in this Volume, p. 215.)

It had frequently been a cause of complaint, that no public commission for the conservation of national monuments should have been constituted in this country, as in France, and that no control should be available to avert the injuries too frequently caused by caprice or neglect; as also, in suitable occasions, to supply the requisite funds for the preservation of those structures or remains of national interest, for which the protection of the state might justly be claimed. The Committee had received, with the highest satisfaction, the report of Mr. Salvin in regard to the works of restoration at Holy Island, carried out under his direction by authority of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Public Works. During the previous year the attention of the Institute had been called to the neglected state of the Abbey Church of Lindisfarne, and the imminent jeopardy in which those interesting remains, situated on crown lands, actually were. The matter having been subsequently brought under the consideration of the Government, a liberal grant was forthwith made for the requisite repairs, and the work had been entrusted to the skilful hands of Mr. Salvin. Those members of the Institute who might be disposed to combine a pilgrimage to Holy Island with their visit to Edinburgh, on the present occasion, would view with gratification the conservative precautions which had been adopted, and witness the good results of such well-timed liberality on the part of the Government. The Committee could not refrain, also, from the expression of their gratification, in stating the course pursued in regard to the ancient Pharos and Church within the walls of Dover Castle. Complaint having been made at the meeting of the Society in November last, that those interesting remains had been disgracefully desecrated, a memorial had been addressed

to Lord Panmure on the part of the Institute, requesting his consideration of the evil. That appeal had been most courteously received, and Lord Panmure in reply had given the fullest assurance that those venerable structures should henceforth be preserved with suitable care.

The Committee have referred, in their Reports of previous years, to the lively interest and satisfaction with which they viewed the growth of a series of national antiquities in the rooms recently appropriated to that purpose in the British Museum. On former occasions they have been called upon with regret to complain of the remissness of the Trustees on this important point. But they would now, with gratification, advert to the purchase of the instructive Museum of Antiquities collected in the City of London by Mr. C. Roach Smith, which has been ultimately deposited in the National Collection. A more vigilant care and cordial recognition of the value of such collections, as materials tending to illustrate the History, the Arts and Manners of our own country, seem to have marked the proceedings of the Trustees. Frequent acquisitions for the collection in the British Room have been made, and there is reason to hope that our National Antiquities will soon occupy the position which they claim so justly in the great national depository. In making mention, however, of the name of Mr. Roach Smith, in connection with recent proceedings at the British Museum, the Committee, whilst deeply regretting the loss of the "Faussett Collections," of which English antiquaries had so earnestly desired the acquisition for the national depository, could not omit to recognise the important service rendered to English archaeologists in the publication of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*," the original record of the investigations so successfully pursued by the Rev. Bryan Faussett, in forming those collections. That volume, edited with great care and ability by Mr. Roach Smith, from the MS. in possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer, might indeed be regarded as a leading feature in the progress of archaeological science during the past year.

The losses which the Institute has sustained by the deaths of members are less numerous than in some former years. There are, however, some of our earlier and valued friends, now no more, whose names must on this occasion be remembered with sincere regret. At the last visit of the Institute to the northern parts of the realm, the Society received valuable assistance and co-operation from one whose persevering devotion to the cause of historical and antiquarian investigation, for many years, fostered the growth of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, an institution which now pursues its course of intelligent and energetic operation in the Northern Marches, under the encouragement of its noble patron, the Duke of Northumberland. The name of John Adamson, so many years Secretary of that Society, will always be associated with the pleasing recollections of the welcome which the Institute found, in 1852, on the banks of the Tyne. Nor can we recall, with less deep regret, that accomplished and zealous fellow-labourer in another locality, the Rev. William H. Massie, of Chester, who gave the impulse to the formation of an institution in that city, for purposes kindred to our own, and which attained, under his auspices, a position of influential activity in a county so rich in historical recollections, and where the encouragement of intelligent regard for national antiquities is so much to be desired. The friendly interest with which Mr. Massie promoted the success of our proceedings at the last annual meeting in Shrewsbury, will be gratefully remembered by all who had occa-

sion to appreciate his amiable character and attainments. Of another member, who, for many years, has constantly aided our investigations, by his vigilant observation of archaeological discoveries, always imparted to us with friendly readiness, special mention must be made—the late Mr. Allies, formerly resident at Worcester, and an indefatigable collector of all that might illustrate the earlier antiquities of his native county. In 1840 Mr. Allies produced a work, the principal object of which was to throw light upon the vestiges of Roman occupation in Worcestershire, regarded by Nash and other writers as not established to any extent. The results of this inquiry were subsequently extended, in a second edition, in 1852, comprising “The Ancient British, Roman, and Saxon Antiquities and Folk-lore” of that county,—a mass of curious materials thus rescued from oblivion. Amongst other members of influential position, or by whose co-operation at our annual meetings encouragement has been given to the proceedings of the Society, we must name with regret the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle; the Rev. William Walker, Rector of Slingsby, by whom the proceedings of our meeting at York were aided; the Rev. G. J. Cubitt, of Winchester; and Mr. Vernon Utterson, so long known through his extensive acquaintance with our early literature and poetry; we would also make honourable mention of the late Mr. Godfrey Meynell, of Derbyshire; of Sir B. F. Outram; Mr. Joseph Neeld, M.P.; Mr. Orlando Mayor; Mr. Martin, librarian to his Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn; Mr. Lardner, of the British Museum; and of Dr. Nelson Clark, whose friendly assistance at the Oxford meeting claims cordial acknowledgment.

It would be unfitting to close this report without adverting to the auspicious circumstances which have marked the present meeting. The Institute will take leave of this ancient and beautiful capital of Scotland with a grateful sense of the encouragement received from the Lord Provost and municipal authorities, with many other of the most distinguished of its citizens, as also from the learned societies and institutions of Edinburgh, especially the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and their noble President, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Honourable Board of Manufactures, the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, the Royal Society, the Faculty of Advocates, and from many persons of note and influence, whose names are honourably associated with the encouragement of science and art.

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Society nominated to fill the vacancies, were then proposed to the meeting and adopted.

Members retiring from the Committee:—The Hon. W. Fox Strangways, *Vice-President*; R. R. Caton, Esq.; the Rev. J. B. Deane; H. Porteous Oakes, Esq., M.P.; Frederic Ouvry, Esq.; Edward Smirke, Esq.; T. H. Wyatt, Esq. The following gentlemen being elected to fill the vacancies:—The Viscount Holmesdale, *Vice-President*; William Burges, Esq.; Augustus W. Franks, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., British Museum; John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., M.A.; George Nicholson, Esq.; Sir S. M. Peto, Bart., M.P.; Sir Charles Price, Bart.

Lord TALBOT then invited the attention of the members to the choice of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Several invitations had been received or cordially renewed, evincing the friendly interest with which the annual proceedings of the Institute were generally regarded. Amongst the requisitions addressed to the Society on the present occasion, the repeated

assurances of welcome received from the city of Chester, as also from the institutions kindred to their own, established there and at Liverpool, had encouraged, as Lord Talbot believed, a very general wish that the meeting in 1857 should take place at Chester. An unusual attraction to that locality would moreover be presented in the ensuing year by the exhibition of Art-treasures of the United Kingdom, announced to take place at Manchester during the summer of next year. One important feature of that remarkable project was the illustration of the progress of ancient and medieval arts and art-manufactures, on a scale of classification never hitherto contemplated in any country.

The following invitation from the city of Chester, to which the common-seal was appended, was then submitted to the meeting.

"At a monthly meeting of the Council of the City and Borough of Chester, duly convened and holden at the Exchange in the said City and Borough on Friday, the 11th day of July, 1856.

"Resolved—That the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland be requested to hold their Annual Congress for 1857 at Chester."

A very cordial renewal of their former invitation, presented at the Shrewsbury meeting, was likewise received from the Council of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The proposition was unanimously adopted, that the meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Chester.

The proceedings of the meeting of members having thus been brought to a close, the following memoirs were read.

On the Round Towers of Abernethy and Brechin.—By T. A. WYSE, Esq., M.D.

Notices of the Family of the Murrays, of Perdw, in Fifeshire, and of two of their sepulchral memorials, in Dunfermline Abbey.—By W. DOWNING BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.

Account of Excavations made on the site of the ancient city of Panticapæum, in the Crimea, and of the tombs in the neighbourhood of Kertch.—By DUNCAN M'PHERSON, M.D., late Inspector of Hospitals, Turkish Continent. A detailed narrative of these researches, with numerous illustrations representing the antiquities now deposited in the British Museum, will shortly be published.

Mr. A. HENRY RHIND, F.S.A., read a memoir on Megalithic Remains in Malta. Referring to plans, drawings, sections, and some relics recovered from the ruins, Mr. Rhind described the more prominent features of the remains at Hagar Kim and Mnajdra in Malta, and in connection with them incidentally adverted to the "Giant's Tower" in the neighbouring island of Gozzo. For further details he indicated the various existing sources of information,¹ and then proceeded to examine the opinion invariably urged, that these monuments were Phœnician temples. Conceiving that the question of their origin was of very material importance, from the obvious influence which its decision must exert on various channels of research, he would venture to inquire whether in reality it had been accurately determined. In the first place, it would be well to observe in what sense the name "Phœnician temple" was used, for it might be applied in two

¹ Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, iv. Della Marmora in *Annales Nouvelles de l'Institut Archæologique*. Admiral Smyth and Mr. Vance in the *Archæologia*, vols. xxii. and xxix. Gerhardt, in the

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akad. der Wissen. zu Berlin, for 1846. The *Malta Magazine* for 1840. Dr. Vassallo, *Monumenti Antichi nel Gruppo di Malta*, &c.

different significations. According to one way a given structure of unknown origin being selected, it might be simply asserted that Phœnicians reared it at a period antedating their recorded works, or according to a fashion not traceable in any extant allusions to their practice; and a statement of this kind would amount only to a convenient mystification similar to that so stubbornly bound up in the common epithet *Druidical*. The other method was to examine the structure with reference to the various attainable sources of information relating to the people in question, after historic data first reveal them to us, to pronounce accordingly, and so to make use of their name in the only manner which would attach to it a real meaning. There was also the medium course of finding by the latter means germs of identity, or indications of similarity sufficiently marked to refer the structure back to a time when recorded forms were not so fully developed as they subsequently became. With regard to the Maltese ruins the legitimate system, at all events, had been followed; and as it had been the habit to search for specific evidence to ascribe them to the Phœnicians, he proposed to direct attention to the nature of the arguments which had been thus adduced by the various authors already named, and by others whose works were also quoted.

It had been pointed out that the same species of ornament, small circular indentations which cover some of the megaliths in these buildings, was found on vases with Phœnician inscriptions; but as a precisely similar decoration was common on Mexican pottery, was present on a perforated button stone from a so-called "*Pict's House*" in Caithness, produced to the meeting—in short, was to be met with everywhere, from the Cyclopean Gateway at Messena to the paddles of the Sandwich Islander, no weight could be allowed to the analogy, as this and other simple decorative designs likewise adverted to, were too universal to prove affinity. There was, however, at Hagar Kim, another specimen of ornamentation, sufficiently peculiar to be fairly viewed as characteristic, namely, a plant or tree sculptured on the sides of a very remarkable rectangular pedestal. This figure Mr. Vance averred to be a palm, stating that the discovery of the fact first led him to look to the Phœnicians as the designers; for that tree was emblematical on the coins of Tyre and Sidon.² But Mr. Rhind expressed his inability, after some experience in the region of the palm, to recognise in this sculpture an approximation to the outline of that tree; neither did it seem to him conceivable that any one should have planted it in a species of flower-pot, as it there appeared, and have delineated it in a manner entirely at variance with its real form. Moreover, what was quite as much to the purpose, the Phœnicians did not represent it in any such conventional and inaccurate style, for on their coins³ it stands out in its natural and unmistakable contour.

Again, it had been asserted that certain rude statuettes discovered in Hagar Kim, being seven in number, were effigies of the Cabiri; and accordingly the ruin was declared to have been a temple to that brotherhood, erected by the Phœnicians who worshipped them. It is well known that there is nothing in ancient mythology more uncertain than any definition respecting the Cabiri. Even in Strabo's time the whole question was involved in such confusion that he devotes a long disquisition to show that

² Eckhel *Doctrina Nummorum*, iii., 385.

³ *Gesensii Monumenta Phœnicia*. Tab. 38.

not only their names but their number was very doubtful. Granting, however, as the desired basis, Sanconiatho's statement, that, excluding Esculapius, they were seven, the ingenious speculation in question, which is advanced by Dr. Vassallo, would still fall to the ground; for although he seemed to have perceived feminine characteristics in only two of the figures, Mr. Vance had previously described them all as female, a decision in which the author's examination of them in the Public Library at Valletta, where they are preserved, led him to coincide, and which will not harmonise with any account of the sex of the majority of the Cabiri. Moreover, Dr. Vassallo appeared to have overlooked the actual number of statues brought to light, as a contemporaneous record, the "Malta Magazine" for 1840, gives it as *eight*, and Mr. Vance, who, as having been the finder, must be held as the correct authority, distinctly specifies *nine*.

Another argument had likewise been brought forward, to the effect that these ruins in Malta and Gozzo present in their arrangement a resemblance to the Paphian temple of Venus. But let any one examine the plan of the latter and of one of the former, as given by Gerhardt himself who makes the allegation, and it would be seen that the coincidences are slight and inconclusive, while the discrepancies are so many and so marked, that the result is about as satisfactory as would be a comparison between the Egyptian Temple of Dendera and the Mosque of Omár.

After discussing several others of the more tangible reasons adduced for terming those monuments Phœnician temples, Mr. Rhind concluded by pointing out that it was well to remember there was a more comprehensive method of viewing the question. Even had the alleged resemblances been made out, individual, much more if supposititious, points of contact in cases of this kind were far from conclusive. In short, the reasonable system of criticism had not been followed, of taking into account all, and not fragments of, the existing data which could help us to decide what Phœnician edifices really were or were not. If, then, we set about the inquiry in this manner, and examine the few available sources of information regarding this extraordinary people from the earliest dawn of history until their glory had departed—if, among other facts of an indirect nature, we remember the species of skill which distinguished them as the artificers of Solomon's temple, and the peculiar development thereby evinced—if we recognise any force in the corroborative testimony that Menander and Dios, ancient writers cited by Josephus,⁴ mention the temples to Hercules and Astarte built by Hiram with a roofing of cedar, as towering above what are termed the spacious and magnificent buildings of Tyre—if we give any weight to the narrative of a native of Spain, Silius Italicus,⁵ descriptive of the brilliant decorations admired by Hannibal in the shrine at Cadiz, said to have been the original structure raised by the Phœnicians on the first establishment of their colony, at least 1100 years B.C.—if, above all, we note the architectural subjects on Phœnician coins regarded as representations of sacred fanes, we shall unquestionably find that any idea we can on these and other grounds form of Phœnician temples, will in no sort or degree be realised by the Maltese megalithic remains.

It was, as before implied, entirely another question whether in times so remote as to be unrevealed to us, the Phœnicians might not, in keeping

⁴ Antiq. viii. 2, and apud eund. Cont. Apion, lib. ii., cited in *Ancient Universal Hist.* ii. 5.

⁵ Lib. iii.

with their then mode of architecture, have reared the fabrics in question. Neither did it bear upon the discussion that the erection of megaliths was at one period undoubtedly practised in the East, and that even in or near the territory once possessed by that race, a circle of rude stones still stands. For, granting that Phœnicians in primordial ages, when unknown to us by that or any other name, followed very different forms in the structure of their temples from those which they employed in historical times, it would not be the way to throw light upon the subject, to attempt an identification by misapplying to the old order of things, which must be at best only an ethnographical speculation, evidence relating to the new which has the more definite basis of recorded facts. Indeed, such an anomalous method would produce a degree of confusion hardly less complete than if, some hundreds of years hence, supposing the architectural results of modern civilisation, and the vestiges of semi-barbaric antiquity to be then alike in ruins, an inquirer of the period possessing only a few scattered allusions to Gothic edifices, were to apply odds and ends of these to the monoliths on Salisbury Plain, and decide that Stonehenge was the remnant of an English Cathedral.

The author hoped on another occasion to review the analogies or discrepancies which, as compared with ancient relics elsewhere, the Maltese remains exhibit, and so to deduce from them at least something of archaeological significance; but he expected to be better able to enter into this general discussion after a contemplated examination of certain monuments in other islands of the Mediterranean.

A memoir was also read, communicated by Mr. BARNARD DAVIS, F.S.A. On some of the Bearings of Ethnology upon Archaeological Science. (Printed in this volume, p. 315.)

The following communications were likewise received:—

Notes on Masons' Marks, preserved among the operative masons of Scotland. By ANDREW KERR, Esq., of H.M. Board of Works: with notices of similar marks occurring at Holyrood Chapel, communicated by DAVID LAING, Esq.

Observations on ancient Tenure Horns. By WESTON S. WALFORD, Esq., F.S.A.

Notice of a sculptured monument inscribed with Runes, recently found built into the church tower at Kirk Braddan, in the Isle of Man. By the Rev. J. G. CUMMING, M.A., F.G.S., of Lichfield. A cast from this curious fragment was sent for exhibition in the Museum of the Institute. A detailed work on the Runic and other monumental remains in the Isle of Man, has been announced for publication by Mr. Cumming.*

The Roman inscriptions existing on the rocks at Coome Crag, Cumberland. By the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN.

The noble president then announced that the proceedings of the meeting being concluded, the agreeable duty devolved upon him to express the hearty thanks of the Society to the numerous friends and public bodies by whom they had been so graciously received. Lord Talbot adverted especially to the kind facilities afforded to the Institute by the Royal Society, in whose rooms they were then assembled; by the Hon. the Board of Manufactures, also, through whose approval, with the sanction of the Lords Commissioners

* This volume will comprise illustrated notices of thirty-six sculptured crosses; some of which are elaborately sculptured.

Subscribers' names are received by Mr. Lomax, Lichfield. The price will be 12s. 6d.

of Her Majesty's Treasury, every facility had been granted at the National Gallery for the purposes of the temporary museum. Their cordial thanks were justly claimed by those who had so liberally sent the valuable objects or antiquities in their possession, to enhance the instructive character and historical interest of that attractive collection; and amongst those who had conferred such favour on the Institute, their grateful acknowledgment was especially due to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, to the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl Morton, with numerous contributors to the Museum, who had freely confided the treasures in their possession; whilst the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and various provincial institutions, at Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Cupar, Peterhead, Inverness, Kelso, and Montrose, had with most friendly consideration placed at the disposal of the Institute the antiquities preserved in their respective museums. On no former occasion had so extensive and remarkable a combination been presented to the archaeologist, of the vestiges of the ancient races by which North Britain had been peopled. To the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, Lord Talbot desired also to express the warm thanks of the Institute, regretting that the project at one period entertained by the Academy, in regard to the formation of an exhibition of Scottish Historical Portraits, had not been realised. He hoped that so interesting an object might be successfully achieved on some future occasion. To those who had taken part in the proceedings of the Sections, their thanks would be unanimously rendered, and not only to old and tried friends of the Society, —Dr. Whewell, Dr. Guest, Mr. Kemble, and many whom he had here met with gratification, but to those who had now first joined their ranks—to Lord Neaves, Professor Innes, Mr. Robert Chambers, Professor Simpson, Mr. Napier, Mr. Burton, and more especially to Mr. Rhind, who had so indefatigably exerted his influence to arouse, in favour of the Institute, the sympathies of antiquaries and of scientific institutions throughout Scotland. To none, however, were they more indebted for that ample measure of kindred interest and hearty co-operation in their cause, by which the gratification and success of the previous week had been insured, than to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—to Mr. John Stuart, their secretary; to their treasurer, Mr. Johnston, to Mr. Robertson, Mr. David Laing, Mr. Boyle, and other influential supporters of that Institution. No small part of the friendly consideration with which the Institute had been welcomed, had arisen from the fact that the Society of Antiquaries had won, in Edinburgh, more than merely local renown, through the attainments of such men as Daniel Wilson and Patrick Chalmers—of those, likewise, who now so honourably promoted the cause of historical and archaeological research. Lord Talbot concluded by presenting to the Museum of that Society an extensive series of models, exemplifying all the rare or peculiar types of the earlier antiquities of Ireland, as a small mark of his obligation for the zeal and goodwill which the Antiquaries of Scotland had evinced in giving their valuable assistance towards the extension of the archaeological series in the Dublin exhibition in 1852.

Mr. STUART, on behalf of the Society, returned their thanks for such a valuable acquisition; and after a very gratifying expression from Lord HANDYSIDE, of the satisfaction with which the visit of Lord TALBOT and the members of the Institute to Edinburgh would be long remembered, the meeting concluded.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the meeting, and the general purposes of the Institute. The Town Council of Edinburgh, 50*l.*; the Royal Academy, 50*l.*; the Lord Provost, 5*l.*; the Marquis of Breadalbane, 20*l.*; the Duke of Buccleugh, 5*l.*; the Duke of Roxburghe, 5*l.*; Lord Murray, 5*l.*; Lord Handyside, 5*l.*; Lord Neaves, 3*l.*; the Right Rev. Bishop Terrot, 2*l.*; Hon. B. F. Primrose, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Sir James Ramsay, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir John Maxwell, Bart., 10*l.* 10*s.*; Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir R. K. Arbuthnot, Bart., 2*l.* 2*s.*; the Solicitor General, 5*l.*; Sir W. Johnston, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Sir John Watson Gordon, 2*l.* 2*s.*; the Dean of Faculty, 3*l.* 3*s.*; F. Abbot, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. W. Adam, 1*l.* 1*s.*; the Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. H. Burton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Adam Black, Esq., M.P., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. John Brown, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. T. Boyle, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; David Bryce, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. G. Burt, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Robert Cox, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Sir W. Gibson Craig, Bart., 5*l.*; J. T. Gibson Craig, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; Robert Chambers, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Alex. Christie, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Clarke, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; David Cousin, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Charles Cowan, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; Sir H. Dryden, Bart., 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Dundas, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Baillie Brown Douglas, 3*l.*; Barron Graham, Esq., 3*l.*; E. S. Gordon, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Fraser, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, 5*l.*; G. Harvey, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. Horne, Esq., 5*l.*; Baillie Hill, 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. O. Hill, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Cosmo Innes, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; T. B. Johnston, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; David Laing, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Miller, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Professor More, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. K. Mackenzie, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. MacLagan, Esq. M.D., 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. McLaren, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; David Muir, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. H. Hay Newton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mark Napier, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; George Patton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. Noel Paton, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. H. Rhind, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; G. B. Robertson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Robertson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; George Seton, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. M. Smith, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. Dr. Stevenson, 3*l.*; John Stuart, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Professor Swinton, 2*l.*; John Thomson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Professor Simpson, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Rev. J. M. Traherne, 2*l.*; George Traill, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; Major-General Yule, 2*l.*

Monthly London Meeting.

November 7th, 1856.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq., M.A., in the Chair.

A communication from the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings was read, accompanying the present of a copy [of the "Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, the late House of Commons, drawn from actual survey and admeasurements, made by direction of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Works, accompanied by observations on the original and perfect state of the Building." The official letter stated that "the drawings, comprising the plans, elevations, and sections, with their various architectural details, were executed by direction of the Government, after the fire of the Houses of Parliament, for the purpose either of restoration, or for the preservation of a memorial of that interesting building. As the First Commissioner considers this work to be of a nature

which cannot fail to afford interest to the antiquarian, the architect, and the public at large, he has much pleasure in placing it at your disposal, with a view to it being deposited in the library of the Archaeological Institute."

A special vote of thanks was directed to be recorded for this valuable present.⁷

Mr. KEMBLE gave some account of excavations at Mereworth Castle, in Kent, the seat of Viscount Falmouth. This noble mansion was erected in the first half of the XVIIIth century by John Earl of Westmorland, from the plans of an Italian artist, upon the site of an earlier structure. In the course of last year, during some alterations of the park, a few hundred yards from the house, the labourers discovered several pieces of ancient pottery, flanged tile, and much oxydated iron. As this pottery, upon examination, appeared to be Roman, a further investigation was made in the month of October in this year. The examination of the ground in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the sherds had been discovered, made it probable that it was the site of an ancient barrow, which had probably been levelled during Lord Westmorland's works, partly by cutting down the barrow itself, partly by raising the adjacent ground, the house itself having been surrounded by a moat. A trench was therefore driven in the usual direction, and the workmen almost immediately came upon a stone structure, similar in every respect to those which we find in the circumference of the Saxon barrows in Germany, viz., a low wall of loose stones, about three feet thick, and two or three courses high. Proceeding towards what was presumed to have been the centre, they found considerable quantities of a black substance, which might be charcoal or lignite, the result of decomposed wood, and several large iron nails of a kind well known to archaeologists. Together with these were an iron pin about four inches long, and several sherds, of which hereafter. The earth at this point was much mixed and darkened, and it was easy to follow the different strata. As the trench, which was about four feet deep, advanced, a heap or cairn of small stones was found, in and about which were numerous pieces of charcoal—not lignite,—and which, on being removed, disclosed a great number of fragments of pottery of very various kinds. The inclement weather prevented his continuing the excavations at that time, but a few days later, Lord Falmouth having again set his labourers at work upon a part of the ground still closer to the site of the first discovery, exhumed several flat tiles, which appear to be Roman, some fragments of pottery of a very curious description, and one large brass of one of the Antonines, probably M. Aurelius, in an extremely worn condition, indeed, almost unrecognisable. This lay between two of the tiles, and near it was a fragment of Samian ware, with the scallop pattern, also very much worn at the edges. Unburnt bones of some animal, perhaps swine, were also remarked. Some of the fragments of pottery were exhibited by Mr. Kemble. A portion of them were unmistakeably Roman, comprising portions of very fine Samian ware; but there were several large fragments which the student recognises at once as Saxon; and among the portions of iron discovered, was a small socketed bill-hook, which has every characteristic of Saxon manufacture. It is obvious that a very interesting interment has here been

⁷ This sumptuous volume, in Atlas folio, comprises plates, from careful drawings by Mackenzie, one of which gives a res-

toration of this highly interesting structure.

discovered, which will probably throw a good deal of light upon some disputed points with regard to the Roman occupation of West Kent, and the localities of some of their stations. Mr. Kemble reserved, however, all further observations upon these points till the excavation, which it is Lord Falmouth's intention to renew at a more favourable season, shall have been carried to a greater extent.

Mr. Kemble also gave some details of an excavation made by the Rev. L. B. Larking and himself on the site of the cromlech or stone kist called "The Adcombe" or "Coldrum" Stones in Kent, with the adjoining magnificent stone circle, and exhibited specimens of the pottery exhumed by them, some of which was undoubtedly of Saxon manufacture. He pointed out the significance of the name, derived from Anglo-Sax.—*ád, a funeral pile*, and the coincidence between Surrey and Kent, in both of which counties, side by side, are found Ádes cumb and Ádinga tún. We do not give any further details, however, at present, as the excavations will be resumed next year, and Mr. Kemble will then enter into a close examination of the results obtained, and the important archaeological and ethnographical conclusions to which they have led.

The Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland, communicated the following observations on Roman Inscriptions on Coome (or Combe) Crag, Cumberland:—

"The romantic rocks, called Coome Crag, are situated on the margin of the river Irthing, about two miles west from the station called Amboglanna (now Birdswald), on the Roman Wall, and about a quarter of a mile on the south side of North Wall and Vallum. They are chiefly remarkable for a Roman inscription, which, as I venture to read it, may perhaps be allowed to have some importance in the controversy respecting the authorship of the Great Barrier.

"The Lysons, in their 'History of Cumberland,' direct attention to this inscription, of which they offer the following reading:—

S E V E R V S

A I

V

"They say—'the name Severus may have been intended for that of the Emperor Septimius Severus, the builder of the Roman Wall, or of Alexander Severus, in whose reign considerable buildings and repairs appear to have been carried on at the northern stations.' Other antiquaries have visited these Crag, and appear generally to have partially adopted the reading of the Lysons—namely, Severus Alexander.*

"Having had opportunities of inspecting this important inscription, and correcting my views of it by careful rubbings, I venture to lay before the Institute a reading totally at variance with that given by the Lysons and other antiquaries. I also send for examination full-sized tracings (from the rubbings) of the letters of this, and of some other inscriptions which I have discovered on the face of these Crag. The double lines show where the letters are still distinct and visible; the double-dotted lines where the letters, or parts of letters, are not so plain, but where traces may still be seen and felt by careful examination; the single-dotted lines represent those parts where there are no decided traces or vestiges now remaining. The letters appear to have

* Mention is made of these crags by Dr. Bruce, Roman Wall, pp. 63, 258.

He suggests the reading of the chief inscription—SEVERUS ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS.

been cut very deep at first, and pitted with the point of the pick, and thus some parts of the letters would probably be shallower than the others. These shallower parts have probably been obliterated by the corroding effects of time and the weather—the deeper-cut parts only being left. In consequence of the uneven face of the Crag the rains may have taken into those letters which are now remaining, as channels, and may thus have had the effect of wearing and keeping them deeper.

“The chief inscription consists of three lines, and I venture to suggest that it may be read thus (see wood-cut)—L. SEP. SEVERVS (for Lucius Septimius Severus) IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS.

“The lower part of the letter L, for Lucius, is traceable, but the upper part is gone. The second letter is very evidently an S. The third letter has no marks on the right side of the upright stroke so as to make the letter E, as supposed by the Lysons, while the lower part of the loop of the letter P is distinct and pointing upwards, the top of the loop being quite gone—the lowest side-mark on the left side is also distinct (but probably only a very small part of it is now left), and there is also a trace of the middle side-mark, so as to make the tied letters EP; and thus we have the letters SEP for SEPTIMIUS.

“There appears to be room between my third and fifth letters for the letter S only, of the beginning and end of which we find traces. The letter V is as evident as any letter on the rock, although the Lysons do not copy it correctly: and there are good traces of the side-marks so as to make the tied-letters EV. The same may be observed of the next letter, which may be read ER. The letters V and S cannot be mistaken. Thus we obtain the word SEVERUS. The Lysons read the first line as SEVERUS only, either overlooking the V, or misplacing the letters V and E. Now the letter V in the word Severus is one of the most distinct letters in the whole word—in fact, one of the first to catch the eye on the discovery of the inscription, and it is almost impossible to imagine how any mistake could have occurred respecting this letter. It is also quite evident from the tracing of the letters that the doubtful space between my letters P and V is not sufficient to contain the two separate letters V and E. The only letter which is not fully traceable is the first S in my word ‘Severus,’ and that one letter is sufficient to fill up the entire space. With the exception of some slight abrasions the other letters are all sufficiently manifest. If we suppose this line to have contained the word ‘Severus’ only, then it must have been spelt ‘Seevrus’ instead of ‘Severus’—a blunder to which it is difficult to reconcile our notions of Roman inscriptions.

“In the second line the letter I is traceable, and has a pick-hole near the top deeper than the other part of it. In the second letter M the first stroke is traceable, while the last two strokes are very distinct, although supposed by the Lysons to be the letter A. The third letter is evidently the letter P, having the upright stroke perfect, and also the lower part of the loop, with a good trace of the remainder. There is no trace whatever of any mark on the right side of the upright stroke of this letter, either diverging at right angles from the bottom, or pointing downwards from any point higher up, so as to form the letter L in Alexander. The stem of the T,

L SPSEVRVS
I MPATOR

M EVSTVS

and the left side of the O, are distinct enough, and so is the terminating side of the R. The remaining marks and traces of this line are sufficient to indicate the word 'Imperator.' The face of the rock shows that there could not be space enough for the word 'Alexander.'

"In the third line we find only slight and partial traces of the tied-letters A and V. The principal part of the second letter is clear, and was not an unusual form of the letter G, but reversed. The remaining letters are good. The letters in this line are much smaller than in the two preceding lines. The word is undoubtedly 'AUGUSTUS.'

"Having thus attempted to show that the chief inscription ought to be read 'Lucius Septimius Severus Imperator Augustus,' and not 'Severus Alexander Augustus;' I shall now proceed to notice the other inscriptions on these crags. I believe I am correct in stating that no explanation has been hitherto offered of these inscriptions, and that some of them have not been previously discovered.

"About fifteen inches above the 'Severus' inscription are the traces of some letters, some perfect and some not visible, which I venture to read as the word MATHERIANUS. (See woodcut.)

"My reason for reading these letters as Matherianus is simply this: About four yards on the south side of the 'Severus' inscription, on the same face of the rock, and almost close to the ground, I found the same word in clear and perfect letters. (See woodcut.) This word is very satisfactory, and admits of no doubt, the only imperfect part being the side loops of the tied-letters E and R, of which however there are traces. It is probably as perfect as any Roman inscription now in existence. The face of the crag slopes inwards, and rather projects above it, and to this cause we are probably indebted for its excellent preservation. The name 'Materianus' occurs in 'Spartian's Life of Severus,' in the list of persons put to death by the Emperor, soon after his accession, and hence we may infer that such a name was in use among the Romans at that time.

"About five yards on the north side of the 'Severus' inscription are the letters DE very well defined, and about two feet below these letters we find nearly the whole of the word AUGUSTUS, some parts of the letters being about half an inch in depth. About a yard on the north side of the word 'Augustus' are marks and traces of letters, which appear to be

centurial, and which, I think, may not improperly be read as follows—C.LAEG.VI.C. or CENTURIO LEGIONIS SEXTÆ CENTURIO, i. e., the centurion of the Sixth Legion. The centurial mark C, reversed, both precedes and follows the name of the Legion. The reversion of the letter C is noticed by Heinesius, pp. 55, 722. Instances are also given in Camden, and elsewhere. On this rock we have also examples of the reversion of the letter G.

"On a part of the rock, a little distance above this centurial line, we may perceive traces of letters, which however may be pronounced to be now illegible.

"These inscriptions (thus read), when viewed in connection with an inscription, found at the distance of only a few miles, in an ancient quarry on Haltwhistle Fell,⁹ in the immediate vicinity of the Wall, where the Sixth Legion was also recorded, raise a probability that this part of the Wall was built by the Sixth Legion: and these inscriptions, when viewed in connection with the inscription on the Gelt Rocks,¹ where reference is also made to the time of Severus, raise another, and apparently a very strong probability, that the Wall was built by Severus. I would observe, however, that whether these crags were actually used in building the Roman Wall, or in repairing it, or for some other purpose, must be now merely a matter of opinion."

Mr. JAMES CARRUTHERS, of Belfast, sent the following notice of a supposed discovery of Roman Remains in Ireland. The rare occurrence of any reliques of that age in Ireland, gives an additional interest to any discovery which may appear to present such vestiges, whilst at the same time it renders the careful investigation of their claim to be regarded as of Roman date the more indispensable.

"About five years ago, a man who lives in the townland of Loughy, near Donaghadee, county of Down, Ireland, when moulding potatoes in his field, being obliged to remove some of the subsoil, observed a quantity of black earth in a hole about two feet deep, which, on examination, was found to contain a large number of beads of various sizes, several armillæ, many articles of bronze, a brass coin, and the bowl of a very small spoon.

"A few months ago, the following portion of this discovery came into my possession:—a pair of bronze tweezers, a bronze fibula (similar to one in Plate XLI., Vol. I. of C. R. Smith's 'Collectanea Antiqua'), two bronze finger rings, one spiral and the other plain; a little bar of bronze, about the thickness of a straw, an inch and a-half long, having a small knob at each end: it is quite perfect, and has not the appearance of being a portion of any other article—I cannot imagine what its use could have been; the bowl of a very small spoon, apparently made of base metal, and very much decomposed; one hundred and fifty-two glass beads, blue, green, purple, yellow, semi-transparent white, displaying beautifully-executed spiral ornaments in yellow enamel, and a small one in amber: one of the



Beads of glass and amber, with reliques of bronze, found in Co. Down.

Scale, one-half.

⁹ Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 63. This inscription has been wantonly destroyed.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

purple beads is ornamented with three small yellow knobs, placed at right angles; two armillæ, one made of purple glass, which, from its appearance, evidently had been cast in a mould, the other is of Kimmeridge shale; they are of a small size, being only two inches and three-quarters each in diameter.

"Mr. C. R. Smith, in his '*Collectanea Antiqua*,' Vol. III., page 35, gives a valuable and interesting account of the manufacture of shale bracelets and beads, in the following words:—'The bracelets and beads, formed of the so-called Kimmeridge coal, are particularly interesting, as specimens of a native manufacture, which has only been discovered, or rather understood, of late years. Circular pieces of bituminous shale, found almost or quite exclusively in the bays of Kimmeridge and Worthbarrow, in Dorsetshire, and commonly called '*Kimmeridge coal money*,' have been long known and collected, but their origin for some time remained unsuspected. Mr. W. A. Miles attributed them to the Phœnicians, who, he imagined, 'made and used them as representatives of coin, and for some mystical use in sacrificial or sepulchral rites.' The late Mr. J. Sydenham was happier in his explanation, and proved not only that there was nothing mystical about them, but that they were the rejected portions of pieces of shale, which had been turned in the lathe by the Romans, who occupied the district, for making bracelets. In a paper read at the meeting of the British Archaeological Association, at Canterbury, Mr. Sydenham entered at length into the subject, and set the question at rest. Of the waste pieces thrown out of the lathe as the refuse nuclei of rings, large quantities are found beneath the pastures of the Purbeck district. There is an extensive bed of the material on that part of the Dorsetshire coast, and it appears to extend a considerable distance, and a vein of it was pointed out to me by Mr. C. Hall, on his land at Ansty. The Kimmeridge shale seems to have been extensively worked by the Romans, and manufactured, not only for personal ornaments, but also for various other purposes. Professor Henslow discovered an urn formed of it, and Mr. C. Hall possesses a leg of a stool, carved in the same material.'

"Having visited the finder a few days ago, for the purpose of obtaining all the information possible regarding the discovery, I learned that the grave contained, in addition to what came into my possession, a bronze needle, about four inches long; a number of large amber beads, which were carried away by the neighbours, who had assembled on hearing of the discovery; several glass and shale armlets, which were broken while removing the earth from the grave.

"I was anxious to ascertain if there had been a coin with the remains, as I expected a Roman one. I asked the indirect question, 'Did you observe a coin like a half-penny?' The man replied, 'No, but that he found one a little larger than a farthing, but much thicker, and so yellow that he thought it gold; but, on sending it to be examined by a chemist in Newtownards, it was pronounced brass.' I have no doubt it was second brass of the upper Roman empire. The discovery of this coin in the grave seems to prove that the interment was Roman. I made inquiry if there had been either glass or pottery, such as a lachrymatory or urn, found with the remains, but none had been discovered.

"It is a difficult matter to assign a cause for a Roman interment in Ireland, as that people never had a settlement here. It is not improbable that

the deceased had been voyaging past the county Down, and had either died unexpectedly on board, or in a fit of sickness, after having been removed on shore. In the latter case, the locality where the grave was discovered, from its sheltered situation, would have been most suitable for an invalid."

By the kindness of the Council of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, we are enabled to place before our readers the accompanying representation of some of these reliques, from a drawing by Miss Carruthers. It will be observed that apparently nothing distinctive of Roman character is found in these curious objects, which seem rather to be cognate with ornaments such as commonly occur in this country with remains of the Anglo-Saxon age.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, V.P., described the results of his recent explorations at Chesterford, in a field between the wall of the station and the river Cam, where he had been led to suppose that an ancient cemetery had existed. Some interments had been brought to light; in one instance a coin of Constantine was found close to the skull, possibly deposited as a *Naulum* for the transit of the Styx. Two days previously to the meeting, a small low wall was found, alongside of which lay the remains of five infants; no other traces of buildings being noticed near the spot. Mr. Neville had found low walls apparently of similar character, with cinerary urns deposited adjacent to them, at Linton and Icklingham, and he desired to invite attention to the occurrence of such constructions of masonry in cemeteries of the Roman period, with the kind promise that at the next meeting he would give a more detailed account of his late excavations at *Icianum*.

The Rev. J. H. HARWOOD HILL, Rector of Cranoe, Leicestershire, sent an account of the discovery of Roman reliques in the parish of Hallaton, in that county, upon the property of N. Simkin, Esq. The deposit, supposed to have been of a sepulchral character, was found in draining and ploughing up a piece of green sward, which had been previously under the plough; the remains were found at the depth of about two feet in cutting the drain, and were unfortunately much broken in taking them out, and still more through the ignorance of the labourers, by whom the vases were broken in pieces in search of money. Mr. Hill sent sketches of the various objects discovered, comprising a skilnet or *trulla* of bronze, the handle perforated with a trefoil for suspension, in this vessel were found bones, with some kind of unguent; fragments of bronze vessels, in very mutilated condition, one of them being the upper portion of a *præfericulum* or jug, of fine workmanship, with a band of foliated ornaments round the neck; a portion of a bronze ladle, as supposed, in very imperfect state; a handle of a vessel, with the figure of a youth dancing, and the straight, reeded, handle of a *patera*, of the same metal, terminating in a ram's head. Of glass, there were found the handle and the long neck of a bottle of deep violet-coloured glass, similar probably to that found in one of the Bartlow tumuli, (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. ii. fig. i.)² four small *unguentaria*, of the kind usually designated as lachrymatories, and of light green colour, and a ribbed dish of the same colour, broken into many fragments. Of fictile ware, there were several portions of "Samian," comprising, when put together, a dish and two small cups of the ordinary forms, such as

² Compare also the glass vessel found at Litlington, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pl. xlv. fig. v.

were found in the Bartlow tumuli and elsewhere.³ In their general character, indeed, these various reliques, the mutilated remains of vessels of great beauty, closely resemble the objects discovered in those Roman tombs, as also at Shefford, Bedfordshire, and at Topesfield, Essex.⁴ It is remarkable that in all these deposits the bronze handle of the *patera* occurred terminating in the head of an animal, being in the discovery last mentioned, that of a lion; at Bartlow the perfect vessel was found, with the ram's head and reeded handle, similar to the fragment described by Mr. Hill. Of the bronze skillet, the only vessel in the deposit at Hallaton, which was preserved entire, examples have frequently occurred. Two, found in Arnagill, Yorkshire, have been figured in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 47. References to other examples may be found in the Museum Catalogue, Transactions of the Institute at the York Meeting, p. 10. The site of the discovery described by Mr. Hill is a commanding position on the flank of a steep ascent facing the south, where two ancient roads seem to have intersected one another. The space occupied by the remains was about 5 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in.; there was no indication of a barrow, but the deposit had evidently been placed in a cist of wood, and was probably sepulchral. Before the enclosure of Hallaton parish, an ancient road, the remains of which are clearly seen, passed close to the spot; it was the nearest way from Medbourne, a Roman station on the *Via Devana*, to Burrow Hill, on which are vestiges of an extensive encampment. There are also traces of entrenchments on all the highest hills between those places; a few hundred yards from the spot where the reliques were found there is an encampment, on a hill called Ram's Head, where a few years since other antiquities were brought to light, in forming plantations on Lord Berners' property in the parish of Keythorpe. Mr. Hill sent also sketches of three sculptured coffin-slabs found a few months previously at Hallaton, in the churchyard.

Mr. JOSEPH FAIRLESS, of Hexham, communicated the following note of an ancient interment found near that town. About the close of August, in the present year, in a deep cutting through dry gravel for the works of the Border Counties Railway, a little north of the confluence of the Tyne, the workmen came upon a stone cist, containing a male human skeleton, the lower extremities doubled up, with an urn of common type, measuring about 5 inches in height, and faintly scored with a lozengy pattern; it contained some carbonised mould or ashes. The grave was formed of flat stones placed edgeways at the sides, top and bottom, and covered by a large slab, about 5 ft. in length, and 8 inches thick. The internal dimensions of the cist were, length, 42 in.; breadth, 24 in.; depth, 18 in. A small cup or *patera* was found near it, similar in form to those discovered at Harpenden, Herts, in 1844, as described in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 254. The doubling up of the body, its position north and south, the inclination to the right side, and the arms crossed over the breast, with the presence also of a small urn containing ashes, indicating possibly partial cremation, are features of interest in regard to the period of this interment.

The Rev. EDWARD THOLLOPE sent a notice of an extensive discovery of sepulchral urns, of the Anglo-Saxon period, in Lincolnshire. They appear to be of the same age and fashion as the urns disinterred by

³ Similar cups of Samian occurred in the deposit at Topesfield, Essex, *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. pl. v.

⁴ Brayley's *Graphic Illustrator*, pp. 344, 378. *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 24.

Mr. Neville at Little Wilbraham, and other examples from Anglo-Saxon graves.

"A few months ago, in the process of working a sand-pit in the parish of South Willingham, Lincolnshire, the labourers suddenly brought to view a number of cinerary earthen vases. Some of these were broken, but I have the pleasure of forwarding for your inspection correct drawings of three of them, two of yellow, and one of dark-grey clay. They are now in the possession of G. F. Heneage, Esq., of Hainton Hall, the owner of the sand-pit. An old Roman road from Caistor to Horncastle passes through South Willingham parish about half a mile from the spot where the urns were found, but it has evidently no connexion with them."

The Rev. JAMES RAINE, jun., sent a notice of the use of a magical crystal, for the purpose of recovering stolen goods, in the XVth century. (Printed in this volume, p. 372.)

Mr. SALVIN reported that the works of restoration at Holy Island having been successfully carried out, through the grant liberally devoted to the purpose by the Government, as stated by him at a previous meeting (see p. 283 *ante*), it had been found requisite to form a protecting fence around the ruins. A further sum having been appropriated to the purpose, H.M. Commissioners of Public Works sanctioned the construction of a sunk fence on the north and east sides of the church; in making this, a leaden plate had been found outside, near the east end, recording the removal of the remains of three of the monks, in 1215, "*ab orto monachorum*." Two stone coffins were found at no great distance. Mr. Salvin produced a ground-plan of the ruins, with sections and elevations of the buildings in their present state, showing the portions lately restored under his directions.

Mr. GEORGE GRAZEBROOK communicated a proposition for the renewal of Heraldic Visitations through the medium of the Assessed Tax Papers; proposing that they should be accompanied, for one year, by a separate leaf with suitable heading, and that each householder, entitled to arms, be requested to insert a description or sketch of his armorial bearings, with any particulars regarding his descent, or the origin of his family. These returns to be collected, and systematically arranged.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER presented two arrow-heads of flint, as specimens of the manufacture of imitative reliques of that description practised in the neighbourhood of Whitby. He observed—"I should like it to be generally known that they can be purchased at Whitby near the church, and that most of them are made by a man who resides, or used to reside, at Fylingdales, close to Robin Hood's Bay. Many of these shameful forgeries have a dusty or earthy appearance well calculated to deceive the unwary. This, as I understood, is caused by their being boiled in mud, and then dried, when the mud adheres to all the inequalities of the surface. These flint forgeries have been made in very large quantities. Amongst others, I was offered a flint fish-hook. Those I send were given to me. I have now little doubt but that the flint weapons I sent last year for exhibition are spurious." (See p. 85, *ante*.) It will be remembered that the Institute had received a similar caution from Lord Londesborough in regard to the Yorkshire fabrications (p. 105, *ante*).

By Mr. HENRY J. ADEANE.—A bronze *lituus*, as supposed, or augur's staff,

lately obtained at Rome. The lituus is frequently represented on ancient works of art, but it is remarkable that no original example has hitherto, it is believed, been found. Possibly the material employed was perishable. Cicero describes it as "*inflexum bacillum*," and Livy as "*baculum aduncum*." The object exhibited may have been formed of ancient fragments of bronze, destined for certain purposes unconnected with the purpose they now suggest; it seems desirable to call attention to the subject in order to invite inquiry as to the existence of any remains of the *lituus* in continental collections, or any precise indication regarding the material customarily used.

By Mr. G. R. WARDLAW RAMSAY.—Two bronze socketed celts in remarkably fine preservation. They were found on his property at Tillycultry, a village situated at the foot of the Ochil hills, about ten miles from Stirling. They lay at about the depth of ten feet, one of them embedded in moss, but in a sandy soil; the other, a specimen with very highly-polished patina, in a bed of green sand, which possibly had been the cause of its perfect condition. It is of a type usually occurring in the southern parts of England, at Kingston, in the bed of the Thames, &c. The sides are ornamented with raised lines, and circles, in similar manner as the celt figured in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 328, fig. 8, but in different arrangement. Compare another socketed celt, with more simple ornamentation, of the same kind, figured in Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 257.

By Mr. G. P. MINTY, of Petersfield.—A bow formed of the horn of an animal, well polished. It resembles in form the ancient Grecian bows, having a double curvature, probably caused by their being constructed of two curved horns united together at the handle, like the bow of the Lycian Pandarus, described by Homer.⁵ It was stated to have been found in the Cambridgeshire fens, between Waterbeach and Ely, some years since, when it came into Mr. Minty's possession through his relative, Professor Miller, of Cambridge. Its length, when complete, was 42½ inches; it was formed of a single horn, and one end, being the part where the horn had joined the skull, has been broken off.⁶ On Trajan's column the Dacians and Sarmatians are represented using bows of the same form, as are also German warriors on the Antonine column. On Roman sculptures in England it occurs on an altar found at Corbridge (Horsley, No. cv.); Rob of Risingham appears to have held a bow of the same fashion, and it appears on a sculpture formerly at Housesteads (Bruce, Roman Wall, pl. xiii.). It has been suggested, considering the great durability of horn, that there is no improbability in the supposition that this bow may have been brought to Britain by some soldier in the service of Rome, and lost in the fens, in which so many Roman relics are found. Mr. Kemble remarked that the "*horn-boga*," or bow of horn, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf and other writings of that period.

Mr. MINTY produced also a large ovoidal pebble of great weight, supposed to be of chert (?), found about 3 feet deep on the side of a tumulus lately in part destroyed on Petersfield Heath. There were several other tumuli, recently removed, but nothing had been discovered with the ex-

⁵ Representations of the Grecian bow, of the double curved form, may be seen in Hope's Costume of the Ancients, pl. 22, 124, 135, 139, 148. Compare also the Parthian, pl. 13.

⁶ See the abstract of an interesting memoir, by Dr. Buist, on the Seythian Bows and Bows of the Ancients, compared with those of India. Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. i. p. 237.

ception of this stone, which attracted attention, as no pebbles of the same kind occur in the neighbourhood; it was supposed, from its regular form and well-polished surface, to be artificial, and the finder had demanded a large price for it.⁷ It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and is evidently a natural water-worn pebble, which may have been deposited in the tumulus, through some superstitious notion, or as an object of rarity. Mr. Kemble observed that in Teutonic tombs stones occur deposited, doubtless from some supposed virtue or superstition; the ætites, or eagle stone, and echini, often occur in tombs in Germany, and in the Hanover Museum there are two egg-shaped objects from the Luneburg tumuli, formed apparently of Carrara marble. He had never, however, met with a stone of such large size in any ancient grave. Such a stone might have served, he remarked, in the process of "puddling," in mining. Mr. Minty, in regard to this observation, stated that iron mines had been worked in the locality where the stone was found, and it was supposed that they were known in Roman times.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A representation of a bronze spear of remarkably elegant form and large dimensions, exhibited in the Museum formed during the recent meeting at Edinburgh. It was dug up on the hill of Rosele, in the parish of Duffus, Morayshire, and is now preserved in the Museum at Elgin. This fine weapon measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.



By the Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE.—A small bronze boat-shaped spoon, with a loop at one end for suspension: its length is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was found with Roman remains at Chesterford.—Two iron spears, probably of the Anglo-Saxon age, found with three others in railway operations at Finchinbrook, near Bishop's Stortford: one measures about 16 inches in length including the socket, which is open on one side for greater facility in fitting the shaft, and has an iron rivet near the lower end. Mr. Kemble remarked that this open socket appears to be exclusively Saxon: spears of that construction have been found in Cambridgeshire, Wilts, and Gloucestershire, with remains of that period.—The other spear is of very large dimensions, the socket lost: this weapon Mr. Kemble thought might be Roman; it is of very uncommon type.

By the Rev. RICHARD GORDON.—Drawing of a bronze finger-ring to which a key is attached, so as to lie flat on the finger. It was found at Scarborough, and presented lately to the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. A similar key-ring is in Mr. Neville's collection.

By Mr. THOMAS HUGHES.—A diminutive gold ring found at Chester, set with a sapphire; inscribed around the hoop, ✠ DMOAIEVAICLANSIEPAM: the signification of these letters remains unexplained. Date, XIVth century.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Sketch of a cross-slab found at Darley-le-Dale, Derbyshire, in 1855. The cross is placed on a grice of two steps, beneath which is a rudely-designed animal, bearing some resemblance to a horse. This,

⁷ Such water-worn pebbles occur, as Mr. Tucker stated, on Northam Burrows, near Bideford; also in abundance at


Budleigh Salterton, and on the Chesil Bank near Weymouth.

with four crescents, or horse-shoe shaped ornaments, introduced in the angles formed by the shaft and the horizontal limbs of the cross, had led to the supposition that the slab had commemorated a smith or farrier. It is of diminutive size, measuring only 32 inches in length, and is now fixed in the porch. By comparison with other cross-slabs, for example at Hanbury, Staffordshire, and at Bredon, Worcestershire (Cutt's "Sepulchral Slabs," plate 6, 59, &c.), it seems more probable that the horse-shoe symbols are merely part of the conventional treatment of the varied forms of the decorated cross introduced on grave slabs. Another slab, noticed at Darley by Mr. Hewitt, has a cross, sword, horn, and kite-shield.

By Mr. LE KEUX.—A collection of sketches chiefly by Deeble, executed about 1816, and representing architectural subjects in Kent and Dorset. Amongst them are very interesting views of the Pharos and ancient church at Dover Castle, Reculver church, St. Martin's, Canterbury, &c.

By GEORGE CARY, Esq., of Tor Abbey, through the Rev. Dr. OLIVER.—Several deeds, preserved amongst the muniments of the Cary family, at Tor Abbey, Devonshire.

1. Date, *circa* 1190.—Grant by Radulf de Buile (*sic*) to Radulf de Hanton in frank marriage with Joan his daughter, of the services of divers lands late in the respective tenures of Richard Rufus, Randulf de Trewint, Robert Halhedey, Robert de Trewint, Stephen de Trewint, Roger Warin, Robert Rufus, Galfrid "de molendino," Alfred "de molendino," "Magister" John de Wichel and William de Polglas, in his manor of Tredawel, and his mill of Tredawel, with the whole suit (*cum tota sequela*) of his whole manor of Tredawel, as well of freemen as of rustics (*rusticorum*); to hold of him (Radulf de Buile) and his heirs, to the said Radulf de Hanton and his heirs of the said Joan begotten, for ever; and also a reasonable allowance out of his wood of Tredawel for the repair of the mill. Warranty of the premises to the said Radulf de Hanton and his heirs of the said Joan begotten, in free socage, rendering therefor yearly a pair of white gloves at Easter for all kinds of services. "Testibus, domino Reginaldo de Botriaus, Rogero de Trelost, Henrico de Alnet', Guidone de Nouant, Reginaldo de Nimeth, Ricardo de Tregrilla, Nicholas de Ferrs, Willelmo Wisa, Willelmo Walens cum multis aliis."

Seal, of green wax, pointed oval; the device a fleurdelys; legend— s'RAYDVLEI DE BEVIL. This seal claims notice as an example of the use of the pointed-oval form by a person not an ecclesiastic. The ancient Cornish family of Beville, said to have come over with the Conqueror, had their chief residence, as Lysons states, at Gwarnike, near Truro. The manor of Tredawel is in the parish of Altonon, about eight miles west of Launceston; Trewint is a village in the same parish.

2. Undated, probably about 1220. Grant by Richard de Greynville, son and heir of Richard de Greynville, to Alexander Rufus, of a messuage in the town of Bideforde that Robert de Gardino held, which was his (the grantor's) escheat, (*Escheetta*) and also six acres of land. "Testibus, Domino Waltero filio Willelmi, Gregorio de Greynville, Rogero de Fontenay, Willelmo le Turnour, Johanne Tyrel, Rogero de Gilescode, Willelmo Russel, Alexandro de Collecote, et aliis." Seal lost.


3. Date, *circa* 1250.—Grant by Gilbert Bondi to John, his uncle, rector of the church "de Valle Wintone" (Alwington, Devon) of the land of Habedesham which he had of his said uncle. "Testibus, Gilberto Allutario Aldremanno de Valle Winton, Edmundo Allutario Winton,

Nigello Keeke ballivo de Soca Winton, Roberto le bal', Petro nobis clerico de Valle, Willelmo plumbario de valle, et multis aliis."

Seal of dark green wax, of escutcheon form; device, a lion rampant turned sinister, possibly not heraldic; legend—s': GILL'BERTI:

Endorsed in a later hand—"Abotisham."

4. Date circa 1250.—Grant by Juliana de Gylescote to John de Raleghe "*filio* (?) meo" of certain burgages in the town of Bydiforde, and a certain "*pratum forinsecum*." "Testibus, Thoma de Greynville, Ricardo Suellard, Waltero Ganet, Johanne Asketa, Gervasio Giffard, Waltero Sypman, Stephano le Dunne tunc preposito ville, et aliis."

Seal of green wax, of pointed-oval form; device, a rudely-designed flower; legend— s' IYLIANE: D' GILESC'.

5. Date 1275.—Agreement and Bond respecting a rent of nineteen-pence sterling, out of the tenement "de la Olleheghes," which had been released by Hugh de Churletone to Hugh de Curtenay. "Hiis testibus, Dominis Johanne de Hydone, Wydone de Nouaunt, et Henrico de Raleghe, militibus, Aluredo de Porta, Johanne de valle torta, Henrico de Somertone, Henrico de la Wylleyerd, Petro Pudding, Johanne Cacepol, Ricardo de Crokeheye."—"Datum apud Whymple die mercurii proxima ante Cathedralis sancti Petri, anno domini, M.cc. lxxv." Seal lost.

6. 30 Edw. III. (1356).—Agreement for a gift in frank marriage, on the marriage of John Kary with Margaret, daughter of Robert de Holewey; dated at Wynkaleghe on Saturday after the Assumption of our Lady, 30 Edw. III. Whereby the said Robert covenanted to give with the said Margaret the reversion of all his lands and tenements in Holeweye, together with the reversion of all rents and services which he had in the parish of Northlyw, and the reversion of all the lands, rents, and services, in the parish of Beuworthi,⁹ to hold the said reversions, after the deaths of Dame Margaret de Kelly and Robert de Holeweye, to the said John and Margaret in frank marriage; and the reversion of all the lands, rents, and services, in a certain place called Luttedford, in the parish of Northliwy (?),¹ after the death of the said Robert and Joan his wife; and the reversion of all other lands and tenements, rents and services, in the parish of Mortone "*susdit*," after the death of the said Robert. And the said John de Kary was to enfeof the said Margaret of all the lands, rents, and services, in Uppekary, to hold to her and the heirs of the body of the said John and her; and to grant a rent-charge of 10*l.* a-year on the lands and tenements in Uppekary, in whose hands (*meynt*, probably for *meynz*) soever they might come, or by statute merchant or by any other security, according to the ordinance and election of good counsel (the legal adviser) of the said Robert. Neither the said John and Margaret, nor their heirs, were to implead Emma, the daughter of the said Robert and sister of the said Margaret, of the lands, rents, and services, and reversions, nor of any parcel (of them) in Aysbury, Binslond', Bouwode, (*erasure*), so that the said Emma and her heirs might not hold them as her purparty,² and in allowance of³ all the lands, rents, services and reversions which the said

⁸ Parchment injured where *filio* occurs.

⁹ Beaworthy, Devon, near Launceston. Northlew is a parish near Oakhampton, Devon.

¹ This word is obscurely written over an erasure.

² Namely, as her share (of her father's estates).

³ In compensation for.

Margaret, daughter of the said Robert,⁴ in Holewey, Northlyw, Fenne, and Morton, as was more fully above written. For the observance and performance of all the aforesaid covenants on both sides, the said Robert and John were assured by their faith⁵ the day and year above mentioned, in the presence of Thomas de Affetone, Adam de Mileforde, Laurence de Holiwille, William Oliver, Robert de Kary, and the aforesaid Robert and John were agreed that these covenants should be fully performed, in the feast of Saint Michael the year aforesaid.

Seal, of dingy-white wax; an escutcheon within a cusped panel: the bearing appears to be,—on a bend three roses, (the arms of Cary of Cockington, according to Pole). A rose is introduced on each side of the escutcheon. Legend—✠ SIGIL' IOHANNIS D' CARY.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Two sculptures in bone, XIV. cent., portions of shrine work, or of the decorations of a casket.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Casts from sculptures in ivory in the collections at the Louvre and the Imperial Library at Paris, one of them being a representation of Our Lord, with a cruciform ornament behind the head (not a *nimbus*), Greek art, XIIIth cent.; also, the Raising of the Widow's Son, an example of Xth cent., from the Maskell Collection, now in the British Museum.

By Mr. FALKNER, of Deddington.—A representation of a mural painting recently discovered in Horley church, near Banbury, Oxfordshire, on the wall of the north aisle, opposite the south door. The church is of the Perpendicular style of architecture. The painting represents St. Christopher, bearing the infant Jesus; his staff breaks in twain, and on a scroll from his mouth may be decyphered the words, in black letter—"What art thou that art so he . . . bar I never so hevye a thyngge." The Saviour makes reply,—"Yep (?) I be hevye no wunder nys, for I am the kynge of blys." Beneath appears a man fishing, and fish in the river.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A poniard with a brass crescent-shaped termination to the hilt; the blade flat on one side, and grooved on the other. Found at Gloucester, in forming a drain. Date, about the time of Henry VI.

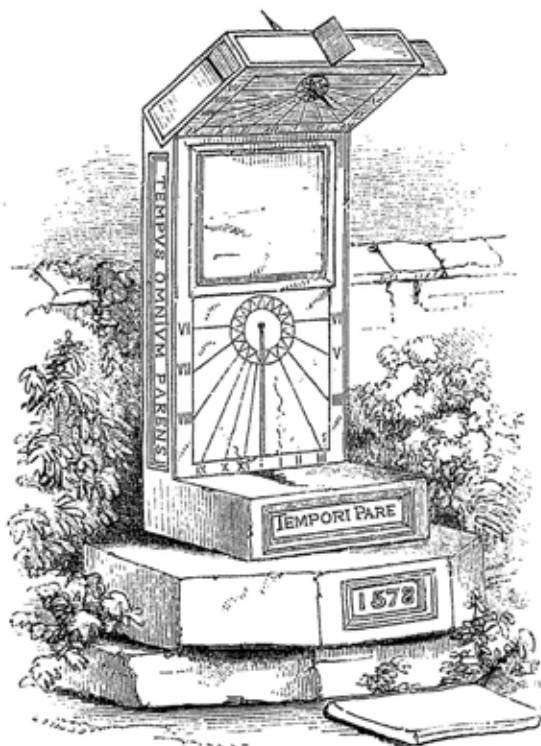
By Mr. J. M. KEMBLE.—A sketch of an engraved tablet of slate, (measuring 17 inches in height, by 8½) in Ightham church, Kent, placed in the recess behind the bust of Dorothy, relict of Sir William Selby, on the mural monument to her memory. She died in 1641. It had been asserted that Lady Selby "was traditionally reported to have written the letter which proved the cause of discovering the Gunpowder Plot." (Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 248, where the epitaph is given. See also pp. 314, 415.) This conjecture had doubtless been suggested by an expression in the epitaph—"whose arte disclosed that plot" taken in connection with the subjects represented on the tablet. On one side appears the papal conclave, the devil is seated amongst the persons at the council table, and Guy Faux receives his commission. On the other side Guy is seen approaching the Parliament House, in the vaults of which appear faggots covering the barrels of gunpowder. The lower part of the tablet is occupied by a representation of the sea agitated by a tempest, sportive fish, and ships wrecked, doubtless the destruction of the Armada; along

⁴ There is probably some omission here to the effect of—"would have."

⁵ Had pledged their faith.

the top of the slate is inscribed—"Trinuni Britannicæ bis ultori in memoriam classis invincibilis, subversæ, submersæ; proditionis nefandæ, detectæ, disjectæ;" and other inscriptions appear in various parts expressing zealous protestant feeling, of which several similar memorials exist. Of one of these, "in æternam papistarum infamiam," an engraved plate at the residence of Sir Chetham Mallett, at Shepton Mallett, Somerset, closely resembling the tablet at Ightham, a rubbing was exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Bristol Meeting. (Museum Catalogue, Bristol Volume, p.lxxxiv.) There can be little doubt that the supposed allusion to Lady Selby, as having written the letter to Lord Monteagle, is wholly unfounded. It is said that some of her needlework was suspended behind the monument, and this very possibly may have been the production of the lady's "arte," displaying some subjects of the popish machinations, similar to that above described.

By Mr. R. R. CARON.—Sketches of a sun-dial of remarkable construction, existing on the terrace in the gardens of Park Hall, near



Sun-dial on the Garden Terrace, at Park Hall, near Oswestry

Oswestry, where the members of the Institute were welcomed with such friendly hospitality during the meeting at Shrewsbury in 1855. At the period when this dial was erected that eminent mansion was the residence of a family named Ap Howel, or Powell, a junior branch of the royal

line of Powis; and in their possession it remained from about 1538 to the death of Thomas Powell, High Sheriff of Shropshire in 1717. His line terminated in an heiress who sold the estate to Sir Francis Charlton, Bart., and by his marriage with his heiress it became the property of the present possessor, Richard H. Kinchant, Esq., (originally written Quinchant) whose family fled to England at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There are several dials at Park Hall, one of them dated 1552, but none of such curious character or in such perfect condition as that here represented. On the back of the dial is the following inscription:—

PRÆTERIT ÆTAS NEC REMORANTE
LAPSA RECEDVNT SÆCVLA CVRSV.
VT FVGIT ÆTAS VTQVE CITATVS
TVRBINIS INSTAR VOLVITVR ANNVS,
SIC QVOQ' NOSTRA PRÆCIPITANTER
VITA RECEDIT OCYOR VNDIS.

On one side, shown in the woodcut, is inscribed—TEMPVS OMNIVM PARENS, on the other—TEMPVS EDAX RERVIV. There has evidently been an inscription on the square panel in front of the dial, now wholly defaced and illegible. There are not less than seven dials combined on this curious example. It measures about 4 feet in height, exclusive of the two footing courses (about 1 foot in height) of which the upper bears the date 1578. There appear to exist several dials in Shropshire of about the same period, and of singular and elaborate forms. One of these, at Madeley Court, has been noticed in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 413.

By Mr. T. BLASHILL.—A drawing of a slab carved with a cross, of very rich design, found at Mansell Gamage, Herefordshire, in digging for the foundation for a new buttress. (See woodcut.) It lay about three feet deep, covering a leaden coffin, and is now affixed to the north wall of the chancel. Date, about 1280.

By Mr. CHARLES TUCKER.—Impressions from the common seal of the city of Exeter, the seal of the Mayor, and the seal for Statutes Merchant. The first is of circular form, and appears to be a reproduction of a seal of more ancient date. It represents two lofty round towers connected by an embattled wall, and between them appears a building of two floors, possibly intended to represent the Guildhall. Above is introduced a sun, a crescent, and a disk between them, which may typify the earth; and at the side of each tower there is a key, the symbol doubtless of the patron saint, St. Peter, and in the exergue are two wyverns. * SIGILLVM : CIVITATIS : EXONIE :—The Mayor's seal is of oval form, and bears a demi-figure of St. Peter, within tabernacle-work, of which the lower part represents two towers and an embattled wall, with an open gateway in the middle. The apostle is portrayed with a lofty *regnum* on his head, having a single crown, in his right hand he bears the symbol of a church, in his left a cross-staff. In the field, on the dexter side, appears a sword, on the sinister side, two keys erect, and in the exergue a leopard's face crowned. * s' MAIORATVS : CIVITATIS : EXONIE. The privilege of electing a mayor was granted to Exeter by King John's charter, about 1200.—The seal for statutes Merchant is circular, and displays the head of Edward II. with a lion passant in front of the bust. On either side of the head is introduced a castle, doubtless in allusion to his mother, Eleanor of Castile, as found also on the great seal of the same king. The inscrip-



T. BLASHILL DEL.

J. W. L. CUTTING SC.

Sepulchral Slab found at Mansell Gamage Church, Herefordshire.

From a drawing by Mr. Thomas Blashill, of Stratford.

tion is as follows—* s' EDW' REG' ANGL' AD RECOGN' DEBITOR' APVD EXONIAM. Seals of this kind originated under the statute of Acton Burnel, 11 Edward I., which introduced such recognisances. By that Act the obligation made on the acknowledgment of the debt was required to be sealed with the debtor's seal and the king's seal. It is not clear that Exeter had a seal under it. The only cities or towns mentioned in it are London, York, and Bristol; and at the foot Lincoln, Winton, and Salop are also stated to have had similar statutes. The 13th Edward I. reenacted and amended that Act, and required the obligation to be sealed with the debtor's seal, and also the king's seal provided for the purpose, which should be of two pieces, and the greater should remain in the custody of the Mayor or Chief Warden, and the less with the clerk whose duty it was to write out the obligation. Of this statute there exists no original roll: it is printed from a copy at the Tower, that does not show what cities or towns besides London had seals under it. But on it is the following, "Consimile statutum de verbo ad verbum habent Major et cives Exonie," and immediately follows a memorandum stating that a copy under the king's seal had been transmitted to Lostwithiel (at that time a place of considerable importance as the sole mart for tin), and which memorandum is dated in September, 5 Edward II. It is doubtful when the Tower copy was made. In 5 Edward II. that unfortunate king was controlled by his barons, and obliged to concede certain ordinances limiting his power and correcting some practices of mal-administration. They were forty-one in number, and are given at length in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. i., p. 281, et seqq. The thirty-third, which relates to this subject, shows that the Act of 13 Edward I. had been abused, and ordained that the Statute of Merchants, made at Acton Burnel, should thenceforth hold only between merchants, and that the recognisances should be made and witnessed by four "*prodes hommes et loiaux conuz*," and that only merchants' burgages and their chattels movable should be taken under it. Moreover, it ordained that the king's seals, which are assigned for witnessing such recognisances, be delivered "*as plus riches et plus sages des villes souzdités, a cele garde esleuz par les communautés de meismes les villes*." The towns mentioned are Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Nottingham, Exeter, Bristol, Southampton, Lincoln, Northampton, London, Canterbury, Salop, and Norwich. This seems to contemplate seals being sent to all these cities and towns, though some of them had certainly seals before; yet possibly Exeter may not have had a seal till then, and the entry on the Tower Roll may have been made at this time. Several of these seals have been engraved, e.g., Bristol, *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., p. 86; Norwich, *Blomefield*, vol. iii. 8vo edit.; and Winchester, *Milner*, vol. i. p. 374, some observations on which last by Mr. J. G. Nichols may be seen in the Winchester volume of the Institute, p. 109. Many of the matrices exist; those which we have seen are of silver.

By Mr. W. H. BRACKSTONE.—Impressions from a small brass seal of the XIVth cent., of the class termed "love-seals." The device being two heads in profile, male and female, respectant, the stem of a tree between them. *IE SV SEL DAMOVR LEL. The matrix appears to have been gilt; it was found at Bridgwater.

By Mr. ROBERT FITCH.—Impression from a gold signet ring found at Pulham, Norfolk, and now in the possession of Mr. C. Cooper of Norwich. The device appears to be the gamb of a bird and a cock's (?) head erased, with the motto *pu to wæðr*. Weight, 11 dwts.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CRANIA BRITANNICA. Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Early Inhabitants of the British Islands; together with Notices of their other Remains. By JOSEPH BARNARD DAVIS, M.R.C.S. Engl., F.S.A., &c., and JOHN THURNAM, M.D., F.S.A., &c. London, 1856. Imperial 4to.

CONVINCED that the passion for antiquarian pursuits so remarkably manifested since the commencement of the present century, is truly one of the developments of that earnest and deeply rooted feeling of sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of humanity, which pervades the writings of the most original thinkers, and flows from the pens of the greatest poets of the age, we can give no credit to the assertion of a late captious writer on metaphysics, that "Enthusiasts alone essay their ineptitude in loading glass-cases with whatever most completely unites the qualities of rarity and worthlessness."¹ On the contrary, we believe that it is by careful and reflective study of the remains of past ages alone, that the psychologist can form any correct idea of the varying phases into which the ever active inner life of the soul has drawn itself forth, or which it has assumed under the ethnic systems of antiquity. National faith, civilisation, and ideality—individual character, feeling and taste, are not more clearly communicated to us by perusing the immortal writers of antiquity, than by studying the equally venerable relics that have been preserved to our days under cover of the sheltering earth,—nay, in some instances, the latter supply the whole fund of information we possess respecting their times. Nor is knowledge thus obtained so imperfect as might reasonably be supposed from the paucity of materials from which it is deduced; for the emotional character so obvious in nearly every relic that has come down to us, addresses us almost with the distinctness of vocal sound. By these we learn that the intuitive conviction of a happy futurity beyond the grave animated the heart of the painted Briton, centuries before the Roman legions, impelled by craving lust of power, reduced his existence to a state of slavery—more than that, we become acquainted with his simple conception of its joys. By the store of valued trinkets deposited with the corpse of wife or daughter, we not only arrive at certain conclusions regarding domestic economy, but are convinced that the ties of nature were then as strong, and the affections as tender, as at present. In later times we may trace the same element of earnestness struggling for sympathy, throughout the whole range of art—from its infancy—through the conventionality of the middle ages, till it attained remarkable brilliancy at the beginning of the XVIIIth century; and notwithstanding all the sordid objections that utilitarianism can advance, and the destruction that iconoclastic zeal has been able to effect, we rejoice to find that the simplest monuments of antiquity are now meeting with the respect that their importance demands, and their silent appeal to the better feelings of our nature claims from every thoughtful mind.

¹ Natural History of Enthusiasm, p. 6.

It must, however, be granted, that the study of our national antiquities was, previous to the close of the last century, pursued in such a manner as to afford some ground for the want of respect with which it was treated. Its connection with ethnology and psychology was but imperfectly seen; and enquiries were carried on without much regard to inductive reasoning. Indeed, it was only by the discriminating labours of Douglas, that this branch of archaeology began to assume in its details and conclusions, an exactitude and coherence never arrived at before. Since the publication of the "*Nenia Britannica*" by that author, the world has been supplied with a succession of archaeological works, based upon his investigations, whereby an invaluable collection of notices descriptive of the discovery of every variety of utensil, weapon, and ornament, in the graves of the primeval inhabitants of the land, has been accumulated to await the period when some master spirit shall embody the whole into a coherent system. Yet, strange to say, little or no notice has been hitherto taken of the most important of all vestiges—the human skeleton, or of that most expressive work of Creative Power, the human skull. This apathy may be attributed to unconsciousness of the value of these perishable remains, as it is only within the last few years that ethnology has exhibited to the archaeologist a more rapidly widening field wherein to extend his enquiries, than has heretofore been allowed him; indeed, we believe that its important influence upon antiquarian research is even still imperfectly appreciated. That it is yet destined to unravel many obscurities, and to remodel some generally received opinions concerning the primeval population of our island, as well as of the continent of Europe, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is, therefore, with the most unfeigned satisfaction that we receive the first instalment of a publication expressly calculated to fill up the void of which we have already made mention, and which opportunely appearing in the infancy of antiquarian ethnology, is itself mature. It is not saying too much to affirm that this work, the joint product of the assiduous researches of Mr. Barnard Davis and Dr. Thurnam, carried on for several years, will become the text-book of the science of which it treats, and that it will henceforth be indispensable to every student of British antiquities. A just idea of its importance cannot possibly be conveyed without copious extracts, but the following summary of the leading points of the introductory chapters will indicate that subjects of no ordinary interest are brought under review. The first section opens with a rapidly sketched retrospect of the deductions of Blumenbach, and the chief of the subsequent writers upon comparative craniology, followed by some judicious remarks upon the much contested subject of amalgamation of races, typical form of skull, and the subordinate variations which it presents in individuals of the same race and country. The following observations on the latter subject are especially worthy of consideration, as meeting an objection very frequently urged in opposition to conclusions deduced from the cranial peculiarities of any given race, such being represented as promiscuously occurring in all.

"That the forms (of the cranium) are permanent, and not transmutable in the different races, may be esteemed as a postulate. The peculiarities impressed upon the true Negro head in the days of ancient Egypt or ancient Etruria, are still inherently attached to it. So of other races, as far as they have been examined with precision by the aid of sufficient materials. This fundamental axiom may be regarded as a fixed star, whereby to direct our steps in the present inquiry; almost the sole light

shining with steadfastness. It should, however, be premised that not every skull presents the primitive ethnic peculiarities : they are rather to be deduced from an examination of many. The most cursory observation is sufficient to perceive a considerable variety of form of head in the same nation, tribe, or even family. A more careful investigation will develop the limits of this variety, and enable us to determine the central point round which variation revolves. We ought therefore to be prepared to find diversities of form in any one given people, however ancient. This is in accordance with what we observe in all the other departments of nature." (Page 3)

The writer then proceeds to caution the student against too hasty generalisation from these premises, and points out the fallacy of results obtained from the skulls of females and young persons, which seldom possess the gentilitia character in a high degree. The question of amalgamation of races is next treated in a dispassionate and luminous manner, many examples in different parts of the globe being enumerated, which have a direct bearing upon this intricate enquiry. At page 17 are some clearly expressed instructions for ascertaining the measurement of skulls in various directions, and for gauging their internal capacity according to the most approved system. The chapter is concluded with a glance at the national interest attached to the subject. Chapter II. contains a resumé of all that has hitherto been written by previous observers, respecting the physical conformation of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and the continental nations, from which it is assumed that these islands received their population, commencing with the well-known description of Cæsar, and continued to the latest observations of the northern ethnologists. One of the most curious discoveries that has yet been made in connection with this subject is recorded in this division, namely, the prevalence of an elongated form of cranium in skeletons found in the megalithic structures, commonly distinguished by the name of "Chambered Barrows." Whatever significance this fact may have in reference to the theory of a pre-Celtic population having occupied this country, it is remarkable that the same peculiarity has been observed in Northern Europe. The skull from Uley, in Gloucestershire, engraved in the present decade of the "*Crania Britannica*," is an example of this lengthened type of head.² The colour of the hair and eyes, and the prevailing contour of the face, next engage the author's attention ; every authority, ancient and modern, having been examined in order to afford some intelligence upon these particulars. The next chapter is headed "*Anatomical Explanations*," a title which sufficiently expresses its scope ; it is, however, so pleasantly and lucidly written as to convey to the reader, within the compass of a few pages, an amount of necessary information which must otherwise have been sought with much labour in professional works. The last section that we shall now notice is devoted to the consideration of the singular custom of artificially distorting the skull by compression, which has prevailed among ancient as well as modern nations. The facts here stated are perhaps of a more remarkable character than in any other part of the book, and the most interesting examples of abnormal form are illustrated with engravings upon wood. Although it appears to be clearly established, that artificial compression of the skull was

² See a memoir on the remarkable chambered tumulus at Uley, given in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 315.

practised in the south-east of Europe at a remote period, and that it does even yet exist in some parts of France, we think sufficient evidence of the existence of the custom in Britain has not yet been adduced; most of the anomalies apparent in the heads discovered in this country, having been obviously caused by posthumous conditions, numerous examples of which we have seen.

It only remains to be said, that this first decade is sumptuously printed upon imperial quarto paper, to afford space for full-size representations of the skull. It contains ten lithographic plates of heads—Celtic, Roman, and Saxon, drawn upon the stones from the originals themselves, without the intervention of any copy, by Mr. Ford, who is eminent among the anatomical artists in lithography. Two large plates, and numerous well executed wood engravings of accessories, illustrate the letter-press descriptions which accompany the skulls, serving to record the circumstances of their discovery, and point out the characteristics of each specimen. The beauty and fidelity of the engravings are beyond all praise. In conclusion, we cordially recommend the "*Crania Britannica*" to every lover of his country's antiquities, as a work of national importance.

THOMAS BATEMAN.

Archaeological Intelligence.

It is proposed to combine with the great Exhibition of ART TREASURES to be opened in Manchester in May next, an extensive Series of Antiquities, from the earliest periods, with the object of illustrating, in as instructive a form as possible, the Manners and Arts of bygone times. The progressive development of manufactures, from the rudest Celtic period, through the exquisite productions of the various Arts of the Middle Ages, will be displayed to an extent, which must render these collections highly interesting to the Archaeologist, and of great practical advantage to the manufacturer. Mr. J. M. Kemble, it is understood, has been requested to undertake the arrangement of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon department, with which he is so eminently conversant. The Society of Antiquaries of London, with several kindred institutions, have cordially pledged their co-operation, and tendered the loan of antiquities from their museums. Colonel Meyrick, of Goodrich Court, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Hastings, Sir A. Rothschild, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Stirling, M.P., Mr. Wylie, Rev. Walter Sneyd, Mr. Joseph Mayer, Mr. Hailstone, and other owners of valuable private collections, have placed them at the disposal of the Executive Committee. All antiquaries must cordially sympathise in such an undertaking, and those who may possess choice antiquities available for the occasion, should forthwith communicate with J. B. Waring, Esq., Superintendent of the Archaeological Collection, or George Scharf, Esq., jun., 100, Mosley-street, Manchester.

MR. J. W. PAPWORTH is about to publish his long desired "*Ordinary*," comprising about 50,000 coats, ancient and modern. It is the converse of Burke's "*Armoury*," and enables the inquirer readily to ascertain the family to whom any given coat belongs. A simple and very ingenious plan will be found to present perfect facility of reference by means of the alphabetical arrangement of the *arms*. The work is quite ready for press. A peculiar and convenient mode of publication is proposed, in parts; the issue will commence as soon as sufficient subscribers are obtained. His address is, 14 A, Great Marlborough Street.

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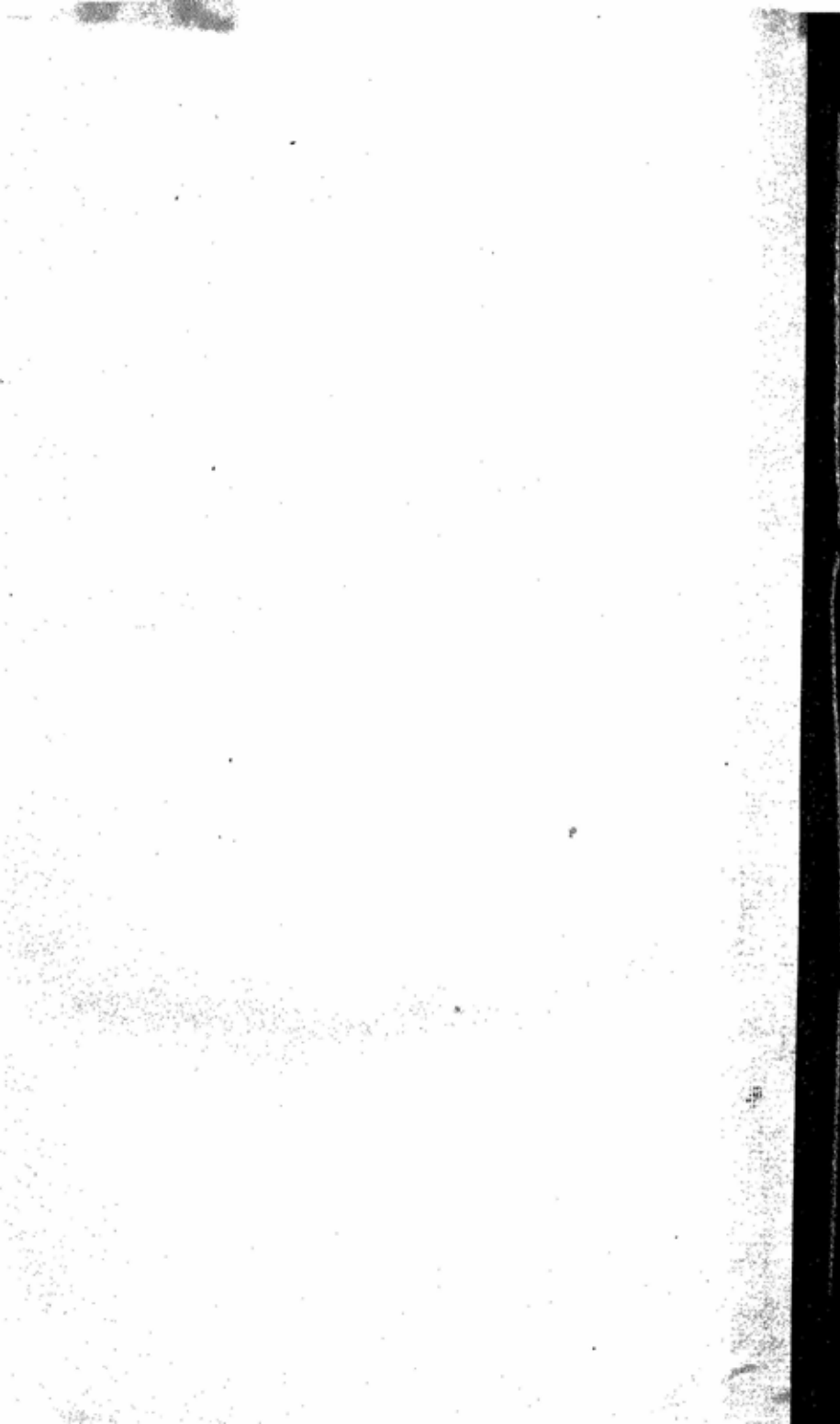
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* For this and some other illustrations of the Memoir on Walsingham, the Institute is indebted to the kindness of the present possessor of the site, the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner.

† These cuts are presented by Dr. Kendrick, M.D., of Warrington.

† For the use of these Woodcuts the Institute is indebted to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

This, and the following illustrations are contributed by Professor Buckman.

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* For the use of this woodcut acknowledgment is due to Mr. Noake, of Worcester, in whose "Worcester in the Olden Time" it had been previously given.

† For this, and the woodcut representing a brank found in Edinburgh, the Institute is indebted to Mr. Thomas Constable, of that city.

‡ These woodcuts are contributed by Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P.

§ Contributed through the kindness of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 80. Sir Henry Ellis observes, in his "Original Letters," vol. iii. p. 47 (1st series), that the Cottonian MS., Nero B. viii. fol. 3, preserves the Latin letter from K. Philip and Q. Mary to the Czar, in favour of mutual commercial intercourse; dated at Westminster, in April, 1557.

Page 112, line 4, before *nostro* add *sigillo*.

Page 181. The document in the Walsingham Register, Cott. MS. Nero E. vii, may be more correctly read, as follows:—

Copia semitæ inter Priorem et Stephanum Blac. Ad curiam tentam apud Walsingham, xv°. die Junii, anno regni regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum x°. coram Roberto Hethe tunc ibidem Seneschallo, Dominus concessit Johanni Priori Ecclesie de Walsingham, et ejusdem loci conventui, quandam semitam ducentem de communi via versus quendam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell, in communi villata de Walsingham parva, ut unum purprise quod non est ad nocumentum aliquorum Communarium ibidem, ut testatum est per homagium. Reddit inde domino per annum obolum in festo Sancti Michaelis. Et dat domino de fine vj. denarios.

[Notes.]

Et nota, quod ista semita jacet sub fovea aquilonari tenementi vocati Blakkes, juxta cruftam vocatam Powerscroft. Et Cabbokeswell jacet in angulo Australi foveæ de Powerscloos, videlicet juxta prædictam foveam de Blakkes.

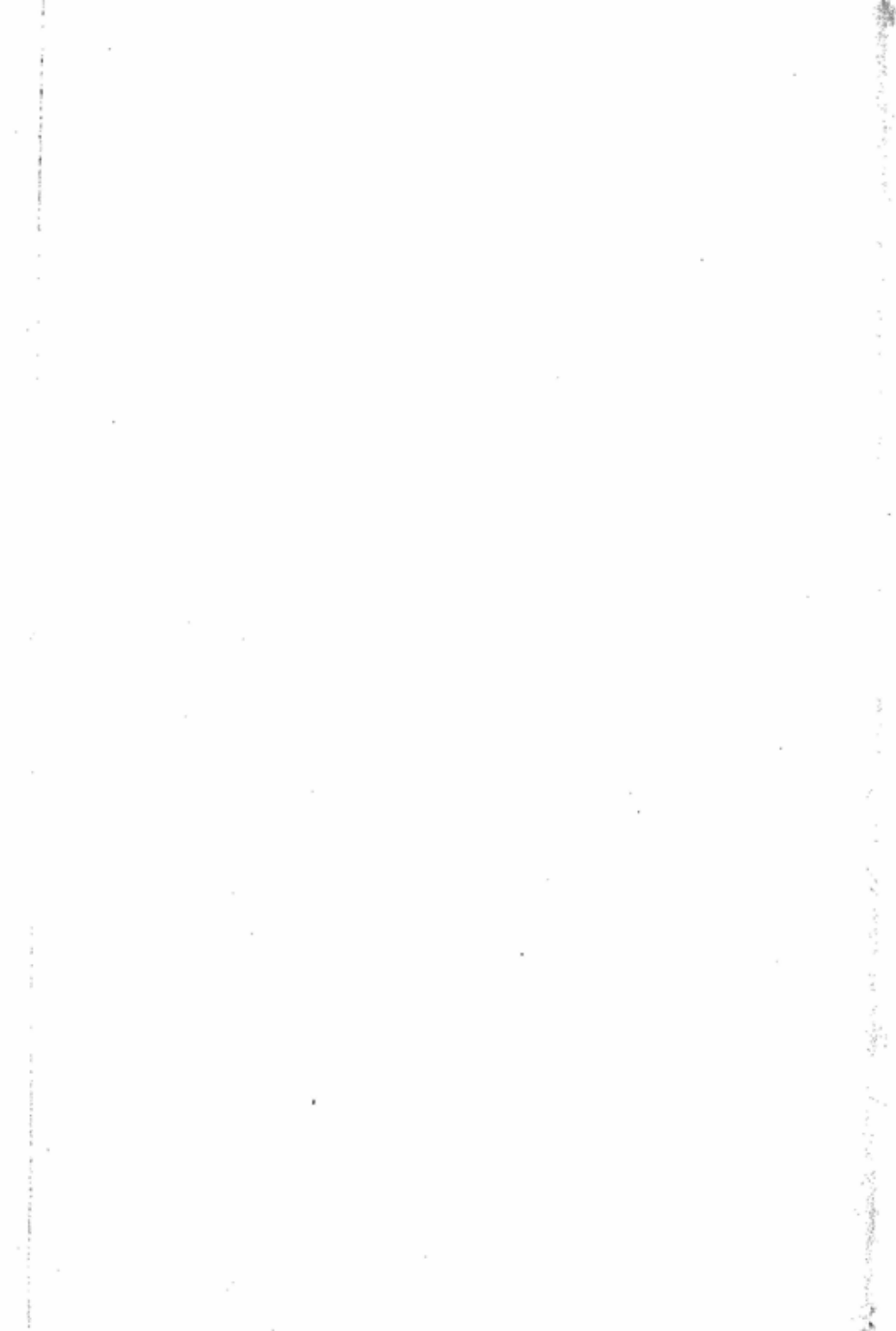
Et nota, quod Dominus Richardus Dux Eboraci postea, tempore Thomæ Hunt Prioris, confirmavit prædictum, et super hoc etiam dedit Prioratui totam parcellam terre ex parte occidentali vocatam Eleemosinariam, quæ jacet inter semitam et prædictam Eleemosinariam.

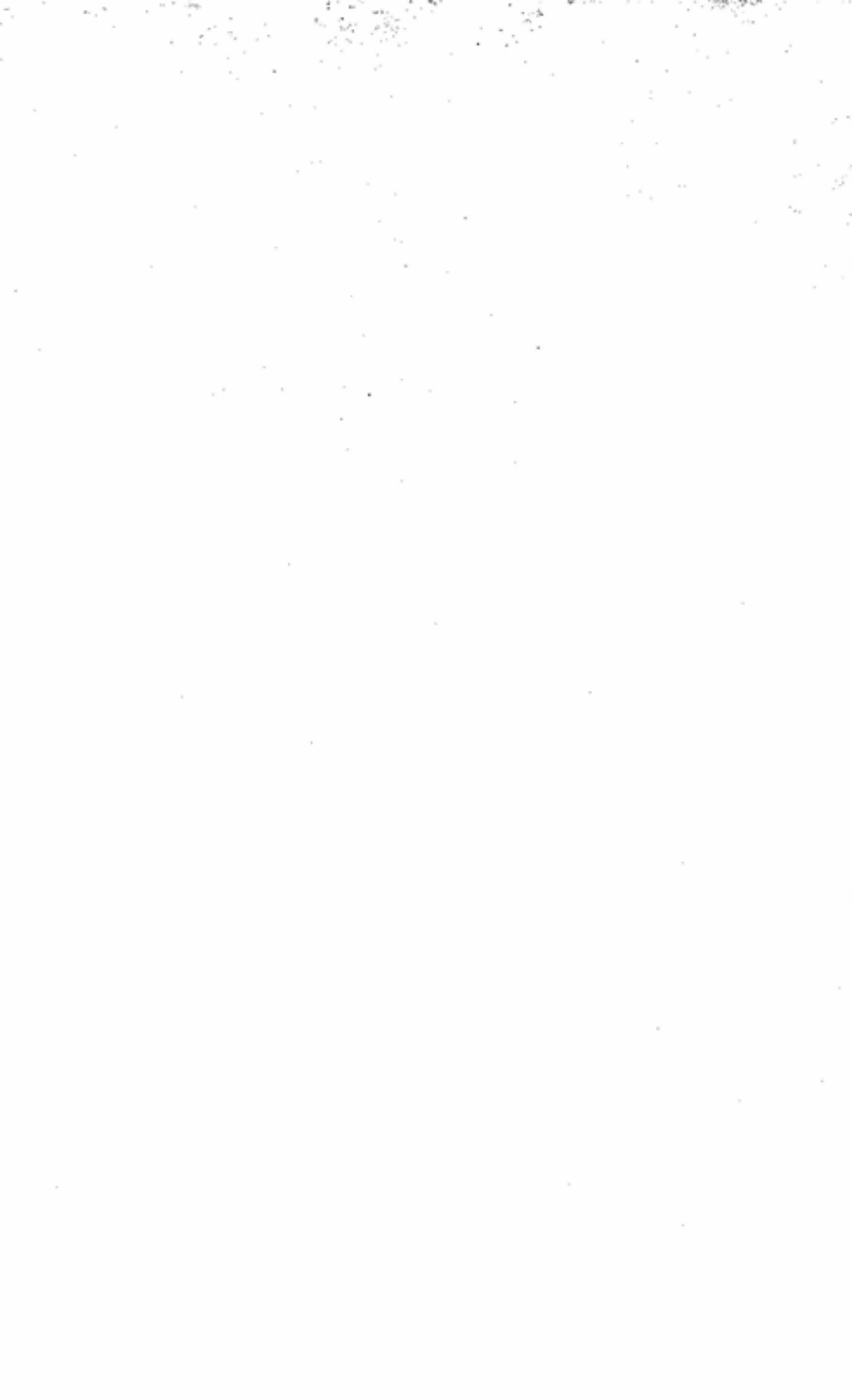
[Endorsements.]

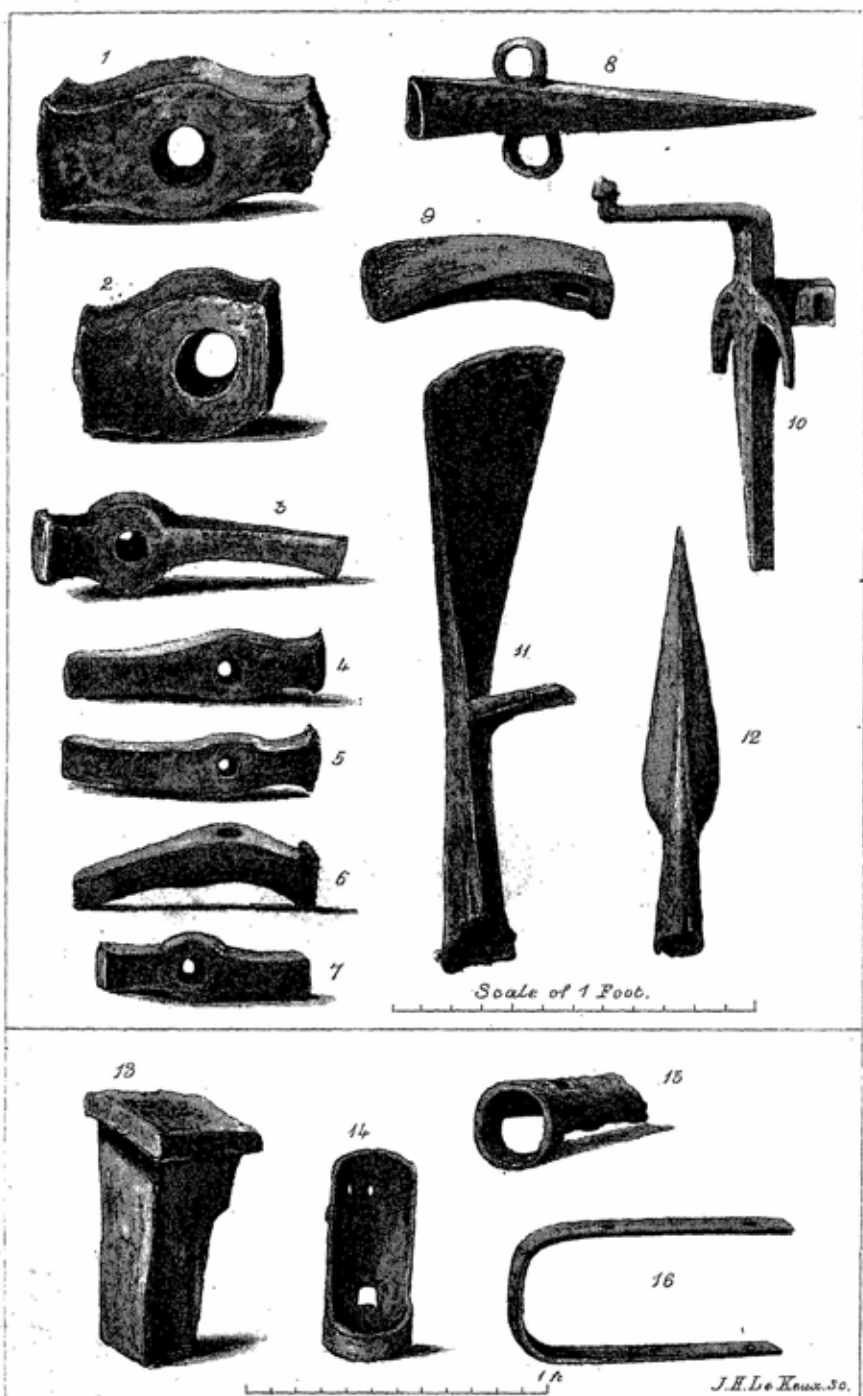
Semita subtus Blackes. Item pars terre vacuæ inter semitam, et vetus Eleemosynarium Prioratus.

Ista Billa facit mentionem de quadam semita ad finem aquilonarem hujus villæ, subtus tenementum quondam Nicholai Blac, postea Jacobi Cawnoel [or Cawnel?]

Page 295, line 10, an impression from the seal here noticed having since been obtained, the name appears to be Fulbert.







ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF IRON, FOUND AT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1856.

DESCRIPTION OF A REMARKABLE DEPOSIT OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF IRON, DISCOVERED AT GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX, IN 1854.

BY THE HON. RICHARD CORNWALLIS NEVILLE, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE discovery of a shaft or cavity filled with Roman implements and objects of iron, in most perfect preservation, has been noticed in a former volume of this Journal.¹ A detailed description was then given of the numerous deep pits at Chesterford, filled with black mould, and containing Roman reliques and débris in great variety. The nature of the receptacle which I now propose to describe would have entitled it to a place in that communication, had it been possible to do justice at that time to a discovery, which, from its importance and singular character, seemed worthy of a separate memoir.

In order to introduce the subject properly, it is necessary to describe some of the contents of the ground in close proximity to the pit which contained the iron, without reference to the numerous other shafts in the same locality. On the 3rd of January, 1854, a sort of square grave was opened by my labourers in the Rectory grounds at Great Chesterford; this contained four skeletons, three of them lying intermingled, the fourth at some little distance. Six armlets of bronze, plain and ornamented, of Roman type, a slight bronze finger ring, the neck and shoulders of an elegant two-handled glass bottle, an iron *falx*, a buckle, a ladle, and a dark coloured vase, broken, were found with the three first; with the fourth skeleton, was found a bronze ring upon the bone supposed to be that of the middle finger, and, besides a bronze bracelet, two iron knives, and a

¹ Archaeological Journal, vol. xii. p. 117.

broken bronze box, resembling one found at Little Wilbraham (Grave, No. 141, "Saxon Obsequies," plate 15), a spoon of bronze with an oval bowl, and a pointed end to the handle, a circular metal plate, an iron spear, in remarkably perfect condition (See plate 1, fig. 12), a perfect urn of gray ware, with bosses on the sides and shoulders, and a small coin of Arcadius were also taken from this large grave. A space of between three and four yards intervened between it and the pit under consideration; the soil continued deep and black, and from it were taken an iron key with a lute-shaped top of bronze to the handle, half an armlet like those before mentioned, and a perfect circular bronze box with its lid attached to the side by a small chain as before. The two last objects were found immediately above a layer of chalk, which proved to be nearly two inches thick, and spread carefully over the mouth of a deep pit. On penetrating the chalk, the point of the pick came in contact with some of the iron objects with which the cavity was filled; the shaft was six feet deep, sunk like the neighbouring pits below the black soil, through the natural gravel of the locality. No difficulty was experienced in emptying it, and the following articles, ninety-six in number, were taken out:—one anvil, one bed of an anvil, five small anvil pegs, two axle or pole guards, one axe, five bars of iron, three flat bands, one beetle ring, two chains, five coulter of ploughs, ten fellow bands, seven hammers, four hoops, four holdfasts, seven hinges, three keys, four locks, one pivot of a millstone, one pail handle, two pail hoops, one pair of shears, eight shackles, one saw, twelve scythes, one square girder, one turf cutter, two wall pegs, one small wheel. These were laid one upon the other, in no particular order, the two large locks were among the first taken out, and the scythes lay at the bottom. The list conveys but an imperfect idea of the interest and variety of the objects, to say nothing of their marvellous state of preservation. The accompanying representations, prepared from faithful drawings of the principal objects, executed by Mr. Youngman, of Saffron Walden, may enable me to attempt a description, which, without their aid, I should have despaired of accomplishing.

The ANVIL is 10 inches high, inclusive of the top; the stem is 3 inches square at the base, and continues of the same size for 6 inches in height, it had been set thus far into a

wooden block ; it then increases to 5 inches, and the marks of its setting are evident by the friction on its sides and shoulders ; the top is flat, 2 inches thick, 7 long by 5 broad, projecting on two sides an inch beyond the stem which it is even with in breadth. Four inches of it would thus be raised above the wooden stand ; but this mode of setting appears to have been unusual among the ancients, since their anvils are spoken of as *upon* rather than *in* the blocks, and there are representations of them with forked ends or feet to stand upon. One corner of the top is broken off, which prevents my asserting, positively, that there was no projecting peg or point, as was usually the case for forging the links of chains or hollow objects. The occurrence of five anvil-pegs among the rest of the find, which appear designed for this purpose, renders it improbable ; besides, such a projection would be at the centre rather than at the corner of the top. (See plate 1, fig. 13.)

ANVIL BED.—This was a large lump of iron, 3 or 4 inches thick, of irregular shape, with a flat surface, and it was at once recognised by the labourers and others, as designed to be placed beneath the anvil block. Not being removed at first, on account of its weight, with the rest of the iron, it was laid aside, and probably appropriated by some Vulcan of the vicinity, since it was afterwards missing.

ANVILS.—Five small anvils or anvil-pegs ; these appear to have been used for forging the links of chains, &c. ; they are of different sizes and form, like a large peg with pointed end and broad, flat, circular top. Three of them measure 9, two 11 inches in length ; all have loops, one on each side, projecting from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches horizontally ; these are 5 inches from the points of the three first, and 7 from those of the other two, and would prevent them from penetrating too far into the block when hammered upon. Their tops would then be elevated 4 inches above the surface of the wood, and correspond with that of the larger anvil. The tops measure from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and have all been much battered. (See plate 1, fig. 8.) A small anvil, of similar form, without the loops, was found some years since by my labourers, in the Boro' field, and then considered a "gate anvil" in modern phraseology.

AXE.—This is nearly a fac-simile, in shape and size, of one found in grave 83, in the Wilbraham cemetery, and im-

properly termed an adze in the "Saxon Obsequies," (plate 39). It is slightly curved, and resembles, also, others taken from Frank graves at Selzen as well as in Normandy. See Lindenschmidt's "Todtenlager," and the Abbé Cochet's "Normandie Souterraine." The blade is 6 inches long, $2\frac{3}{4}$ across near the edge, and 1 at the haft end, which has an oblong hole to receive the wooden handle. (See plate 1, fig. 9.)

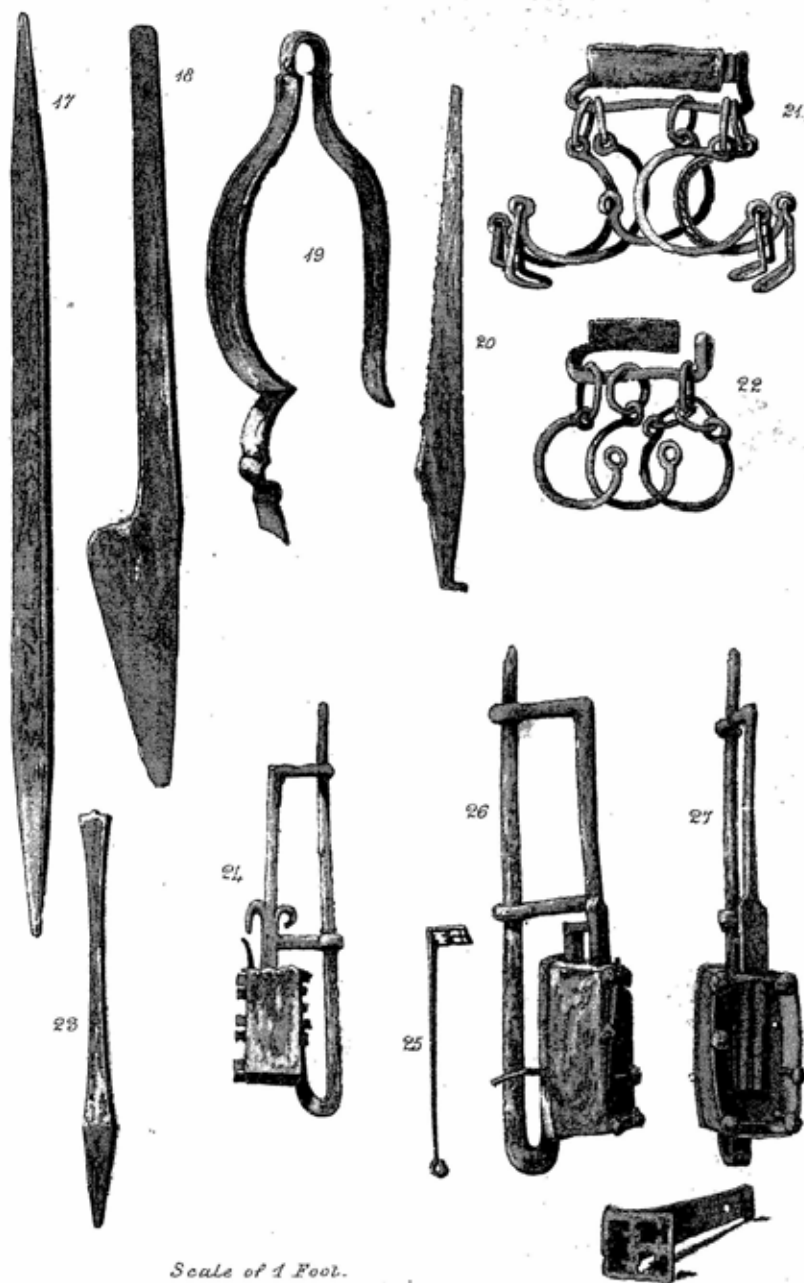
AXLE GUARDS.—There are a pair of these precisely alike: a smith who has seen them informs me he makes the same now for strengthening axles. They consist of a ring $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, to go round the wood, with a sheath 7 inches long, extending from the upper side curved to fit it. There is a large nail hole through the end of this next the ring. (See plate 1, figs. 14, 15.)

BARs OF IRON.—There are five of these, square sided, and pointed at both ends: they vary in length; two of them are 3 feet, and three from 2 to 2 feet 6 inches, but the sides of all are the same, 1 inch by $1\frac{1}{4}$ across. These bars are in wonderful preservation, and ring clear on being struck against each other. (See plate 2, fig. 17.)

BANDS OF IRON.—Three in number, and all flat; one measures $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, 21 inches long, 2 across at the broad end, and tapers to a point at the other. A long nail for fastening it to some object remains through it near the broad end. The other two are $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, 21 and 22 long, and 1 across their whole length. They have likewise been fastened to something, and each of them has nail holes 6 and 7 inches apart. Another iron band affixed as blacksmiths suppose, to some wheeled vehicle, is figured, plate 2, fig. 19.

BEETLE RING.—A circular band, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ diameter, without any nail holes.

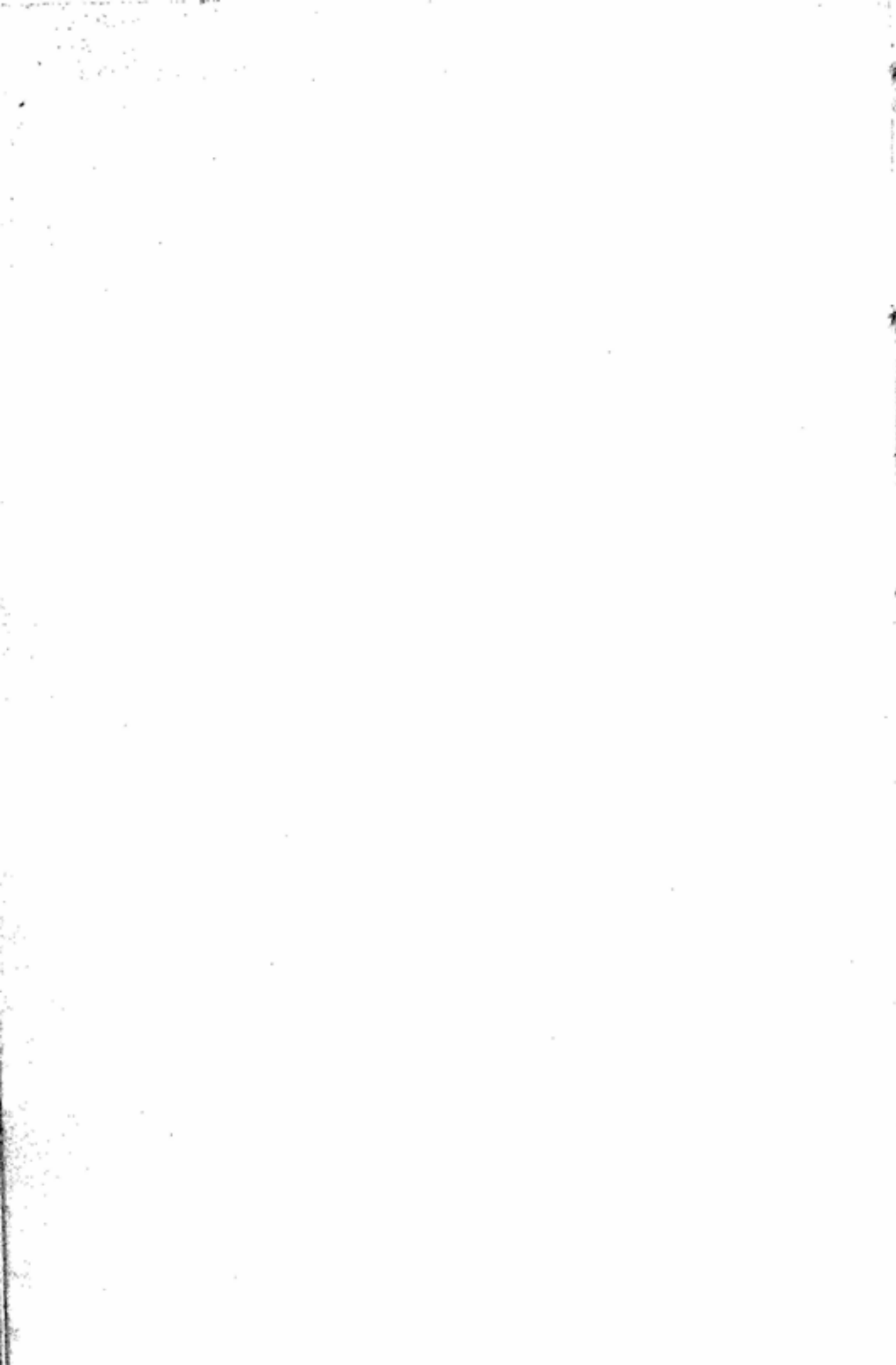
CHAIN WITH HOOKS.—The entire length is 7 feet 7 inches. At the top is a ring, a flat hoop $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick, 1 inch wide, and 5 inches in diameter inside. In the lower part of this is inserted a large ornamented swivel, 6 inches in circumference, 2 in length, to which are attached, by their hooked ends, five cords of iron, 15 inches long, skilfully wrought to imitate rope; these are festooned and brought together at their lower ends, which are also hooked; from two of them depends a single chain of twelve double links, each 3 inches long by 2 across; to the twelfth link a flat



Scale of 1 Foot.

25 Enlarged

J.H. Le Keux. Sc.



knot twisted like cord, 7 inches long, is attached ; from this knot hang two chains of five double links of the same size, each of which has a large hook, 10 inches long, hanging to the end. These hooks terminate in a round knob instead of a point, their backs are 1 inch broad, and ornamented with a plain corded pattern. (See plate 3, fig. 32.)

The simple term chain is quite inadequate to convey a correct idea of this unique object, to the elaborate workmanship of which, my description, even with the powerful aid of Mr. Youngman's pencil, can scarcely do justice ; nor is it easy to explain its purpose, for it must have been intended for use as well as ornament, though quite as much care seems to have been bestowed on the latter as the former, in the construction. Although they afford no clue to its use, my excavations enable me to offer two examples which indicate the people who used it. In 1848, the end of a chain consisting of three double links of similar shape and size, with a hook of similar form, 9 inches long, attached, was found in the Roman building, near Ickleton, and in October, 1854, among the Roman remains at Bartlow, my labourers met with another chain ; two feet of this remain ; it is constructed with a flat ring top, 5 inches in diameter, which has also a swivel inserted in it ; from this, instead of a festoon, two plain ropes of iron, 9 inches long, depend, and are bound together in two places, by a flat band : to the ends of these are attached four double links of the same pattern, but rather under 3 inches in length. It is singularly fortunate that both these discoveries on Roman sites confirm the shape and size of the double links of the large chain under consideration, while each individually identifies a peculiar feature in its construction ; viz. the flat ring and swivel at the top, and the round-ended hook dependent from the bottom.

A SECOND CHAIN.—This measures more than 14 feet in length, and is of a different construction from the first. The links are thirty-seven in number, long and flat, they are composed of two bars of iron, welded together in the centre, but looping at each end. Eleven of them measure more than 4 inches long, seventeen more than 5, six are 6, two 7, and one 8 ; all are 1 inch across their centre, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in girth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across their loops. A hook, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a blunt end, is fastened to the last link at one end ;

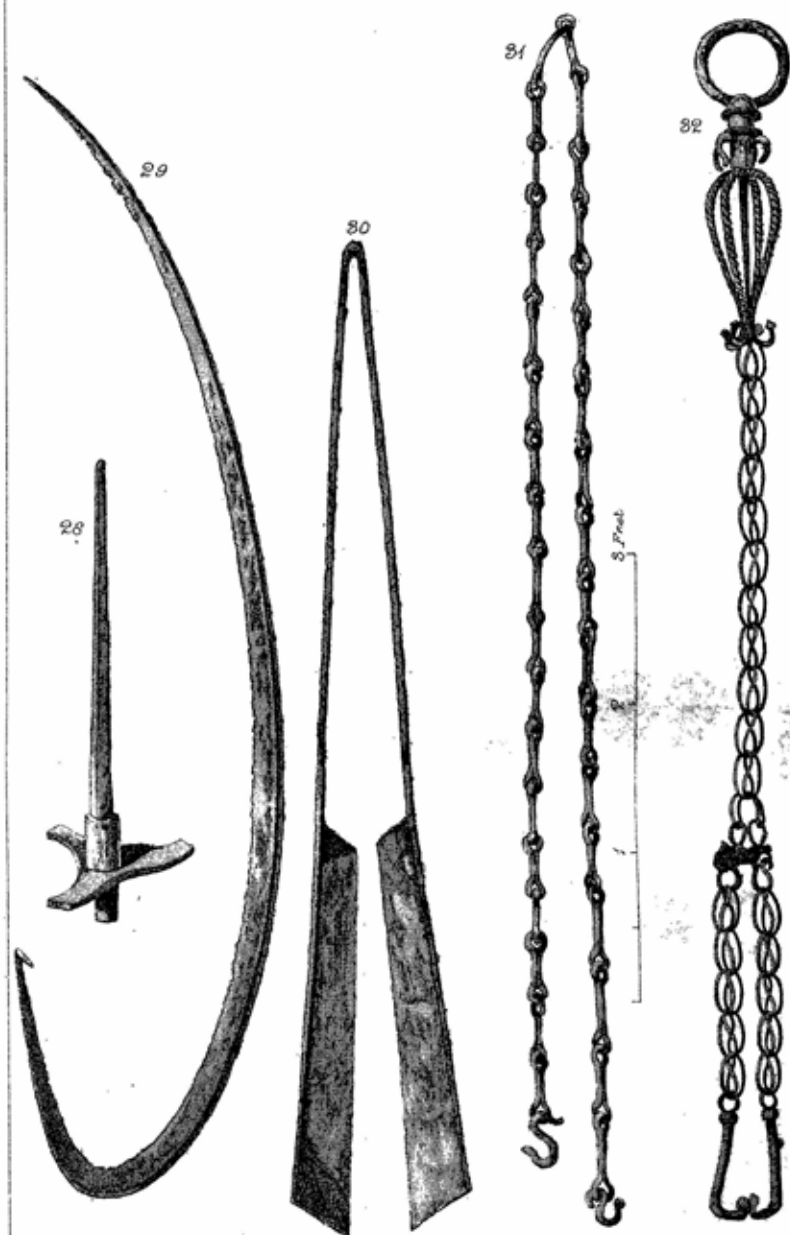
in the last link at the other extremity, when found, there was, what is known in modern harness as a S hook, 4 inches long, which can shifted at pleasure. Blacksmiths, and other experienced persons, are of opinion that this chain was intended for some purposes of draught, but whether for carts, chariots, or ploughs, it is impossible to say, since its strength would adapt it for all these. (See plate 3, fig. 31.) A somewhat similar chain was found in the fens in Cambridgeshire, and is now in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in the University.

COULTERS.—These ponderous implements are five in number, and the carriage of the plough to which they belonged, must have been a strong one, since the weight of the lightest is 14, that of the heaviest 16 lbs. Unlike those now in use, they are made with a stem, and measure from 2 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 11 in. long, inclusive of their blades; the length of the blades varies from 8 to 11 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 inches at their tops; their points $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch across, and all appear to have been much used. The stems of two are octagonal, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, the other three are 2 inches, and square. (See plate 2, fig. 18.)

FELLOE BANDS.—There are ten of these, five large and five smaller, which correspond as the outside and inside of as many wheels; they are very strongly made, and have projecting rims over the outer edges as the modern ones. The diameter of the large ones is 8 inches, that of the smaller $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; breadth of the bands $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches: their rims are $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch across.

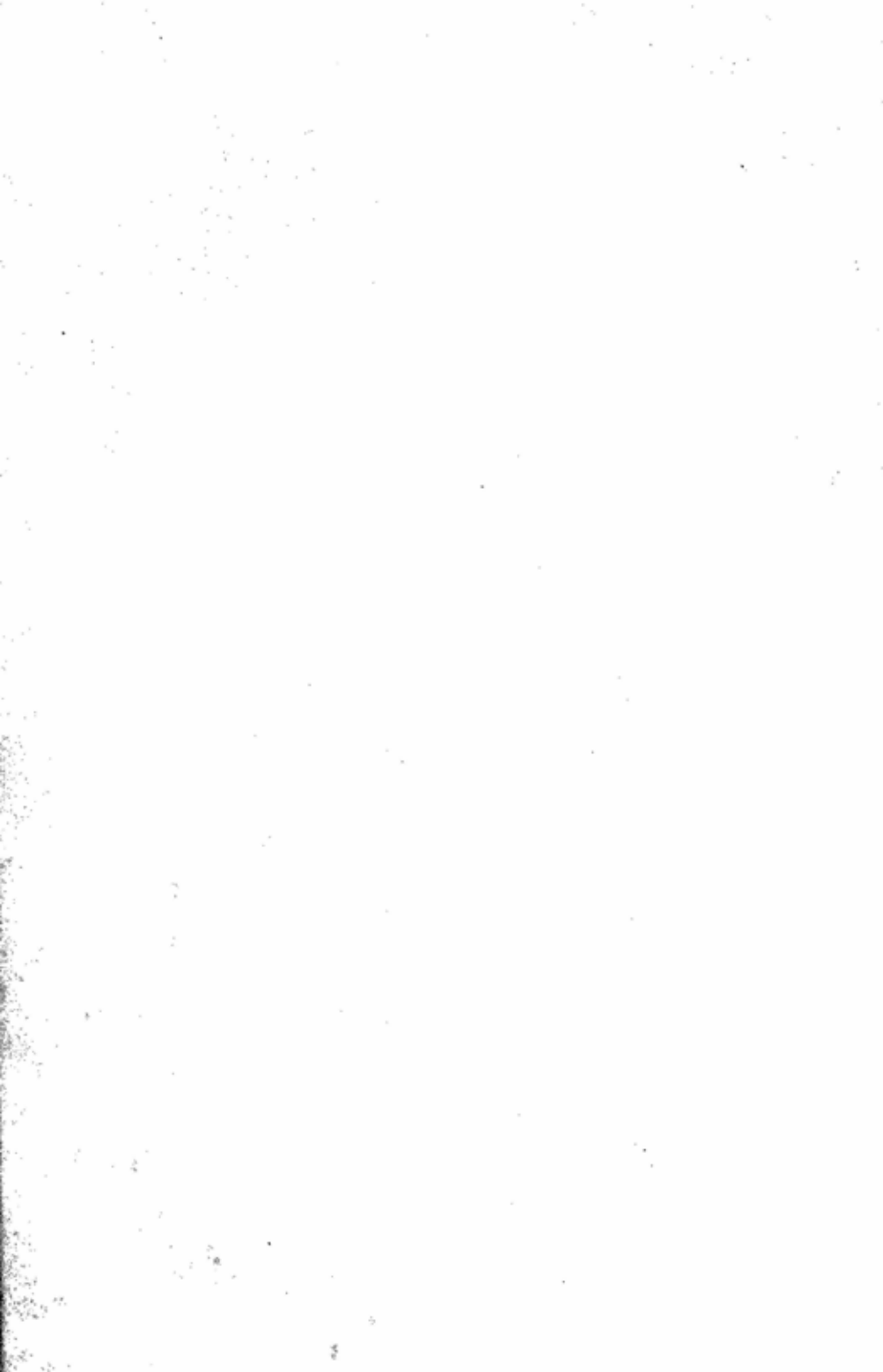
HAMMERS.—There are seven of these of different weights and shapes. All of them are flat, and all more or less curved, excepting one large and one small one, which are quite straight. The two largest answer to our sledge-hammers, weigh 8 lbs. and $5\frac{1}{2}$, measuring 7 and 8 inches in length: the last is a straight one: the weight of the largest of the other five is $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb., that of the smallest $\frac{3}{4}$ of a lb. Two of them are 7 inches long, the remaining three 6 inches. The diameter of the heads is 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the large ones, 1 inch in two, and $\frac{3}{4}$ in three of the small ones. The diameter of the perforation for the handle varies from $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch to $\frac{3}{4}$. They have been much used. (See plate 1. fig. 1 to 7.)

HINGES.—There are seven of these, but only one is perfect.



Scale of Feet.

J. H. Le Gros.



It is made with two flat band sides, one 18 inches the other 6 inches long, and is very much like those now used on barn doors. Both sides have ornamental ends, are 2 inches at widest and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness. The side of one of the broken ones is 20 inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and all of them seem to have varied in size. The rivets from side to side and long nails for fastening remain in several of them.

HOLDFASTS.—These exactly resemble the objects now used for the same purpose; they are made with strong flat sides, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, in form like a staple, to be affixed outside a beam or other object. There are four of different sizes, varying from 13 to 18 inches in length of their sides; the top which connects these is from 4 to 5 inches. In each of the sides, are two nail holes to fasten them on. The blacksmiths are of opinion that they belong to something like the shafts of a cart. (See plate 1, fig. 16.)

HOOPS.—Four large hoops of iron 3 feet 7 inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ across their bands, which are $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick. These appear to be intended for tires to large wheels, though the absence of nail holes through the bands, which are much worn on the inside, seems to contradict that supposition. They are much heavier and stouter than those used for casks, which is the only other purpose that suggests itself for them.

KEY.—A reference to the accompanying engraving (plate 2, fig. 25), will show this to be of very different form from what is usually known by that name. The shank is slight, flat, 1 inch broad, 10 inches long, and has a loop at the top. The wards are contained in a sort of frame $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches square, which projects at right angles with the end of the shank, and is pierced very much as the modern latch-keys, to fit the springs of the large locks found with it. To these it apparently belongs, and the manner in which it was used will be best understood by a comparison with the following description of them.

LOCKS OR PADLOCKS.—Two large padlocks were among the first objects taken out of the hole, and the plate of one being broken off affords a view of the construction of the interior, which is as follows:—A square shaped box or case, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad and 3 deep: into which the springs, eight in number, fixed on four square bars, are introduced perpendicularly through a small aperture

in one of the ends of the lock ; these bars are attached to a rod 8 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in girth, corresponding with the hasp of a padlock ; this rod is connected at its top, and again two inches above its junction with the springs, by means of a horizontal bar with a ring at the end, with another rod of $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which descends perpendicularly at 1 inch distance from the outside of the box to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches below it, then returns upward, forming a loop and is fastened to the lower edge. This rod serves for the other to work up and down on, by means of the horizontal bars with rings, which much must be taken off over its top in order to clear the springs of their case when they are released by the key. The loop at the bottom serves to hold anything locked upon it, which is clearly exemplified by one of the smaller locks upon which are several shackles secured in this manner. There is a narrow slit in the lower end of the spring box, close to the junction with the longest or guiding rod, through which the key, above described, is inserted ; in order to do this, it is necessary to turn the frame with the wards edgeways, and when they are introduced, there is sufficient space between the ends of the bars with the springs and the bottom of the case to allow of their being returned horizontally. It is then only necessary to push the key upwards to compress the springs by the passage of the wards along the bars containing them, sufficiently to allow them to pass through the small aperture at the top of the box. The construction of these locks is very strong, and the boxes are further secured by six rivets, with massive heads, passing through them from side to side. They are both, as nearly as possible, alike in shape and size, the only difference being, that the head above the springs is plain and single in one, while in the other, it has a double end to go into the box, with two recurved projections above. (See plate 2, figs. 24-27.)

KEYS.—Two of the same shape but much smaller than the first, belonging to the small locks next to be described. Length of their shanks, 6 inches ; breadth, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch ; the wards are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch square, and by their form, indicate the locks to which they belong to have had only two bars with four springs. The shanks have loops at the top ; in general form these keys much resemble what are usually described as “lamp-holders,” amongst objects found on Roman sites,

and I have often confounded them at Chesterford with objects of that nature.

LOCKS.—Two small locks on precisely the same principles, but slightly differing in construction from those described above. There is only one horizontal bar, which is fastened to the top of the outside longest rod, and has a hole at the opposite end; through this hole, the short rod with the springs is drawn out perpendicularly and detached when the lock is opened; when it is shut down, the two rods have the appearance of being firmly united by the horizontal bar. These two locks are exactly alike, but one of them has lost the short rod and springs; the other has them shut down, and on the loop at the end of the long rod, are locked five shackles or fetters. (Plate 2, fig. 21.) A lock of similar construction, but rather larger, was found in 1849, in the Boro' field among Roman remains by my labourers. It is now in my collection, with a mediæval one on the same principle, but of more finished workmanship, presented to me by Augustus Franks, Esq., of the British Museum.

SHACKLES.—There are eight of these; five of them are locked upon the small entire padlock, the other three were lying with the broken one. Seven of them are plain round bars, with a ring or eye at each end; in each of these is a link 2 inches in diameter to fasten them on the loop of the padlock. The eighth is of like form, with two links, but made of a flat band, 1 inch across, slightly raised at the edges and ornamented along the centre with a cord beautifully wrought to imitate the strands. This is one of those attached to the first padlock; another of the same form and ornament was found by my labourers in August, 1854, in the Boro' field, with Roman remains. (See plate 2, figs. 21, 22.) Several shackles may be found in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; and two found with Roman remains in Bedfordshire are in the British Museum.

PIVOT FOR A MILLSTONE.—This is a bar 21 inches long. There are three horizontal flat spokes, 4 inches long by 2 broad, which project near the base of the iron bar, at right angles with it, serving to rest the stone upon. The top of the bar tapers to a point. (See plate 3, fig. 28.) Millers and blacksmiths at once declared they had no doubt of the purpose for which this object was intended, and I find, on comparing it with some Roman querns in my collection,

that there is every reason to regard the supposition as probable.

PAIL HOOPS.—Two, round on the outside, flattened on the inside, for close contact with the wood. They are 11 and 9 inches in diameter, but there must have been a third still smaller, if the handle found with them belonged to the same pail, since it is only 7 inches from end to end. The missing hoop would then have been of that diameter, and the pail broader at its bottom than top. In an account of a remarkable pit discovered, near Preston in Dorsetshire, which seems to have been of the same nature with those at Cheshamford, a handle of a pail is mentioned among the contents. This discovery is described by Mr. Waines, by whom the examination was made (*Gent. Mag.* vol. xxi., N. S., p. 185).

PAIL HANDLE.—This is like modern objects of the same kind, and suited to a small-topped bucket, being only 7 inches between the hooks to fit the ears.

SAW.—This is only a fragment; the portion found measures 14 inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ across, through its whole length; it is part of a cross-cut saw, which has had a large handle; a long nail for fastening it on remains through the end of the blade. The teeth commence at 2 inches from it, are triangular, and not very large, there being forty-two of them in 12 inches. Two other saws were found in the Rectory grounds in the vicinity of the iron pit; both these have very small teeth, and one of them is very narrow, long, and tapers to an acute point. (See plate 2, fig. 20.)

SHEARS.—One enormous pair, with broad blades. Their total length, inclusive of these, is 4 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the handles are plain round bars, 2 inches in circumference, the blades are $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 4 broad at their ends, and 3 at the tops. They have a round rim at their backs, probably for the hands to rest on, or to give strength to the blade, but it is difficult to imagine how they could have been used in cutting, on account of the great length of their handles. (See plate 3, fig. 30.)

SCYTHES.—There are twelve of these extraordinary implements. Five of them are a little broken, but seven are perfect. The blades are 2 inches wide in the broadest part. They have a ridge along their backs, on the upper surface, a means of giving strength to the blade, still adopted in the construction of modern scythes. The blades are regularly

curved, measuring across the span (from the point to the extremity of the cutting edge), about 5 feet 4 inches ; and they are formed, as shown by the accompanying representation, with a recurved piece of about 17 inches in length, gradually decreasing in breadth towards its termination, and there is a little point or tang, turned up at right angles, where the blade was affixed to the handle. Their great length would render these scythes inconvenient, even if they were made to be fixed on the sneed in the modern fashion ; but the recurved portion at the end of the blade, makes it difficult to understand how the handles could be attached so as render them available for mowing in the ordinary method. Great excitement was caused by the appearance of these singular objects among those who came to see the contents of the pit, and the prevailing impression was, that they, at least, belonged to the celebrated war-chariots of old, an idea which at first was encouraged by the felloe bands, wheel tire, and axle-guards, also found with them. So unusual is their shape, and so incredible did it appear that they could have been employed in simple harvest-work. (See plate 3, fig. 29.) Compare a broken scythe, in some respects similar, found with Roman remains in the station at Neuwied on the Rhine, and figured amongst numerous Roman implements and mechanical tools, in the "*Römische Alterthümer in Neuwied*," by Dr. W. Dorow, Berlin, 1827.

TURF CUTTER.—This is 14 inches in length, has a triangular blade, 7 long by 4 wide at the bottom, or broadest part, and 1 across the neck which terminates in a long hollow socket for a wooden handle. There is a foot iron, 2 inches long, which projects from the flat side of the blade at right angles with the bottom of the socket. From the position of this foot-rest, the blade could not have been used for paring turf, but must have been intended for cutting borders. (See plate 1, fig. 11.)

WHEEL.—This is a fragment, and small, 6 inches in diameter, with tire 2 wide, from the outer surface of which the broken extremities of three flat spokes project, and present the appearance of cogs.

WALL PEGS (?)—These are objects of very uncertain use, the form of which has been correctly shown by Mr. Youngman. (See plate 1, fig. 10.)

These complete the list of this interesting assemblage of

ancient iron implements. I have confined myself to an accurate description of each object, without enlarging on their several uses, (which are, in the majority, self-evident, from their shape and construction,) in hopes that the account aided by the engravings which accompany it, may elicit some opinion regarding those objects which are obscure. With the objects found in the shaft, one, probably of mechanical use, found with a skeleton in an adjacent grave, is here figured, as a relique analogous in character. (See plate 2, fig. 23.) It is remarkable that in so large and varied a collection, in immediate proximity to a locality which we are accustomed to regard as a military position, no object of a warlike character should have been found. In the adjacent place of interment it will be remembered, as above described, that a spear-head of iron was discovered amongst personal ornaments and other Roman reliques. In the shaft, however, the objects so carefully protected consisted exclusively of implements used in agriculture, or for mechanical and domestic purposes, a fact which suggests the notion that this singular deposit was stored away in times comparatively of tranquil occupation, when the colonists of *Icianum* were free to prosecute the Arts of Peace, and devote themselves to the culture of the surrounding district. The discovery must be regarded as one of especial interest, since we possess few well characterised examples of such mechanical and rural appliances at the period to which these doubtless belong. Iron implements, moreover, are mostly found so decayed with rust, that their forms are very imperfectly defined. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle has supplied, in his "*Arts et Métiers des Anciens*," examples of the mechanical tools and implements of daily use amongst the Romans; and many other objects, highly curious as compared with those above described, have been figured by Dr. W. Dorow, in his "*Römische Alterthümer in Neuwied*," already cited, and are preserved in the curious museum at Neuwied on the Rhine. The greater part, however, of the reliques found at Chesterford are as peculiar in form as they are remarkable in their preservation, and the discovery may well claim the careful consideration of the archaeologist.

There are two features of this curious deposit which require notice before taking leave of the subject. These are its object and date. With regard to the first, it is evident

there must have been some special reason for burying so large a quantity of valuable metal ; nor can there be much doubt that it was done for the purpose of concealment. The layer of chalk spread so carefully over the mouth of the pit, to preserve its contents from moisture and decay, is strong evidence of the intention of using them at a future period. Very few of the articles, however, are new ; many, on the contrary, have been much worn, as the hammers and plough coulter ; the hinges and holdfasts had been attached to doors and beams, as appears by the wood still adhering to them ; but old iron has, in all ages, been of sufficient value to be preserved for some secondary uses. Assuming that concealment was the object therefore for the deposit, it is a subject for conjecture whether these things were buried on some emergency of war, or as a store by some smith, who never returned to take possession of his concealed hoard. The question must, however, occur, whether the deposit is to be considered as entirely independent of the graves so closely adjacent, and the numerous deep pits in the vicinity : it must be remembered that these latter have sometimes been regarded as depositories for grain and other stores. The graves, at all events, may furnish some clue to the date, by the small bronze box and armlets found in them, which correspond with similar objects of each description taken from the soil over the pit, as well as others from the Anglo-Saxon tombs at Wilbraham. At the last place, too, an axe was exhumed, precisely like the one described above. The chains from the Roman sites of Ickleton and Bartlow, the keys and small lock of the same construction, the ornamented fetter, and small anvil, all from the Boro' field, Chesterford, among Roman remains, must not be lost sight of, since all are of peculiar character. All these combine in testimony as to the Roman origin of the deposit ; but the presence of several objects which may also be traced to a later people, induces me to fix its date at the Transition period, about the departure of the Romans and the first coming of the Saxons, in whose cemeteries so many of the coins and implements used by their predecessors are found. This is further confirmed by the numerous coins of Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and the lowest Empire, found in the surrounding soil.

EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES AT CALYMNOS.

MADE, IN NOVEMBER, 1854, BY DIRECTION OF LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE,
H. B. M. AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY CHARLES T. NEWTON, ESQ., M.A., BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT MYTILENE.¹

THE little island of Calymnos,² lying off the coast of Caria, immediately north of Cos, is almost unnoticed by ancient writers, and but little known to modern travellers. It may be, therefore, worth while to explain why I selected so obscure and barren a spot as the field of archaeological operations. Two years ago, in the summer of 1853, I visited the Sporades with no other guide or companion than that most useful and able work, "The Travels in the Archipelago," of Dr. Ludwig Ross.

In the fourth volume of this book, p. 9, Dr. Ross gives an account of a most remarkable discovery of gold ornaments in a Greek tomb at Calymnos, which took place about twelve years ago. These ornaments, which are now probably dispersed through Europe in various collections, are said to have been of the most exquisite workmanship, rivaling the work of the Etruscan artists. I was also aware that great numbers of terra-cotta figures had been found in tombs at Calymnos. A large collection of these was brought to London about six or seven years ago, and some of the best were purchased, if I remember right, by the British Museum.

My first object in landing at Calymnos, was to visit the localities where these objects had been found. My observations and the information which I received on the spot, enabled me to trace out very distinctly two ancient Greek cemeteries extending over a considerable tract of land.

As in these two districts certain features may be recognised which are characteristic generally of Hellenic burial-places, I will give a brief description of them. The land where

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Shrewsbury Meeting, Aug., 1855.

² In antiquity, the name is always written Calymna; in this memoir I have followed the modern Greek form.

the gold ornaments, described by Ross, were found, takes its name from a small church dedicated to the Prophet Elia; but, as it is contiguous to another tract which evidently formed part of the same cemetery, and which is still called *ὁ δᾶμος*, I shall, for convenience, consider this ancient Hellenic name as applicable to the whole district. For the position of the cemetery of Damos, I must refer to Dr. Ross's map, which is based on our Admiralty Survey. It will be perceived, on examining this map, that Damos is situated between the modern harbour of Calymnos, now called Pothia, on the Eastern, and Linaria on the Western coast of the island, and that behind it is a range of mountains crossing the island in a direction North-West by South-East. Between these mountains and the western coast is a small and fertile valley, formed by alluvial deposit. The cemetery of Damos lies on the sloping irregular ground intervening between the mountains and the valley; and here I would call attention to the fact observed by Dr. Ross, that the Hellenic cemeteries in the Archipelago are usually situated on the declivities between the mountain and the plain,—the debateable ground, so to speak, between cultivation and barren nature.

There were reasons for the preference for such sites. Lower down, the land becomes more valuable, and would be more reluctantly given up by the cultivator; higher up, the sides of the mountains, difficult of access, and constantly denuded of soil by the torrents, are for many reasons unsuitable for the purposes of a burial-ground.

This general observation may enable the future traveller to discover many sites of ancient cemeteries as yet unnoticed, by examining the lower slopes of hills in the neighbourhood of ancient cities, and looking out for fragments of Hellenic pottery, always apparent on the surface of the soil where there are tombs. The portion of the district of Damos, which most attracted my attention, is a strip of rocky land which evidently formed an ancient stone-quarry. Here the surface of the rock is cut into steps and grooves. In one place is a monolithic base, containing a square chamber, 9 ft. 7 in. by 7 ft. 8 in., entered by a doorway, all cut out of the solid rock. Above the doorway, the rock is cut into steps. This was evidently a rock tomb, in which the type of the Mausoleum on the opposite

coast of Caria was rudely imitated. Near it is another tomb consisting of an underground chamber or vault, cut out of the rock and roofed over by two immense blocks, one of which has been removed. The chamber is 8 ft. long by 4 ft. 7 in. wide. One of the blocks which cover it measures 7 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. wide, and is 2 ft. 5 in. thick. Adjoining this stone quarry in the north, is a field where a number of graves have been opened. They lie in clusters and have been cut out of the solid rock. This field is bounded on the north by a ravine, beyond which the land bears the singular name of Δραπέτης.

From the stone quarry the district of Damos extends downwards towards Linaria, forming a sort of *lingula* of rock jutting out into the plain in a direction North-West by South-East: on each side is a ravine.

On this isolated tongue of land, are foundations of houses and two Hellenic cisterns, cut out of the solid rock, with steps in the sides, giving access to the water at the bottom. The ground is strewn with the fragments of pottery and painted stucco. It is evident that here stood a town or village. The neck of this little peninsula is separated from the cemetery and the quarry by an Hellenic wall, the foundations of which yet remain. The other cemetery at Calymnos lies between the modern town and the harbour Pothia, nearly opposite the mediæval castle called Pera Castro, and at the foot of the range of hills which has been already described as crossing the island in a direction from North-West to South-East. The general character of the ground in this cemetery is analogous to that of Damos. Where the rock rises above the surface, it has been quarried away for building purposes. Here, a year or two before my final visit, great quantities of gold ornaments were discovered in tombs, which lay in one line in several contiguous fields. It was observed, that the proprietor of part of this Californian territory made frequent unexplained voyages to Smyrna, and after a time suddenly emerged from extreme poverty to comparative competence. In due course, the mystery of his wealth became known. He had found tombs in his field containing gold ornaments; he kept his own counsel, and taking advantage of the season when nearly all the male population of Calymnos periodically quit the island for the sponge fishery, he explored not only his

own, but his neighbours' fields, to which he appears to have been *ninium vicinus*. I was assured that a great variety of earrings and other gold ornaments were found in these fields; the greater part were, I believe, sold at Smyrna and are now dispersed. I purchased one specimen at Calymnos. It was an earring, fashioned in the form of one of the Basilicata vases of the late epoch. Traces of a vitreous paste were observable in the interstices of the ornaments. M. le Comte De la Borde was, I believe, the first to point out the fact, that the gold ornaments of the Greeks were originally filled with vitreous pastes. Such is the case with several magnificent necklaces found at Melos, two of which have been published by M. De la Borde, the third is in the possession of Mr. John Maltass, of Smyrna. The tombs in this cemetery were differently constructed according to the nature of the soil. Some were cut out of the rock, others built of squared freestone blocks, forming stone vaults in a soil of deep sand. In one instance, a coffin made of thick clay was found, it was moulded into a form like a slipper-bath. Perhaps these were the kind of coffins called by the ancients *πέλοι*.

Many members of the Archaeological Institute will recollect the "red grave" made of clay, discovered at Aldborough, and examined on the occasion of the York Meeting.³

Just at the time of my visit to Calymnos, some interesting inscriptions had been discovered in excavations on the site of the ancient temple of Apollo, where the church of Christos now stands. They contained records of the Manumission of slaves in the time of the Roman empire. An examination of the spot led me to the conclusion, that further excavation here would be worth undertaking.

Various other sites which had yielded antiquities were pointed out to me in the island, and it appeared to me that Calymnos, in proportion to its geographical extent, presented a greater number of promising spots for excavation, than any island I had yet visited.

I took an early opportunity of submitting my views on this subject to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford De Redcliffe. In mentioning that name so long associated with our most important archaeological

³ Figured in Mr. H. Eeroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianeae*, pl. x.

discoveries in the East, it is scarcely necessary for me to add how deeply we are indebted to Lord Stratford for those inestimable acquisitions, the Lycian, Budrum, and Assyrian antiquities, by which the British Museum has been of late years enriched.

Immediately on receiving my report on Calymnos, Lord Stratford, with that promptitude and liberality with which he has ever promoted archaeological enterprise, obtained the necessary firman from the Porte to enable me to excavate, and placed ample funds at my disposal. With these means I set to work in November, 1854.

All the ground where I wished to excavate being private property, cut up into small holdings, I met with some difficulties and delays in obtaining from the proprietors the permission to dig. To avoid endless negotiations, it was necessary for me to choose my ground rather where the contract would be most readily concluded, than where the prospects of discovery were most promising. Hence it was impossible to explore the whole locality in as methodical a manner as I could have wished.

I shall now proceed to give an account of what I found. The first grave I opened was in the field containing the ancient stone quarry and rock tombs. This grave was cut in the rocky subsoil, about 4 feet 5 inches below the present surface, and was covered with a stone lid in two pieces, on removing which appeared the bones in very fair preservation. The head was placed nearly to the east. At the feet was a vase of coarse drab-coloured ware unvarnished, and a plain lamp; upon the centre of the body a glass cup or basin, of elegant form.

On sifting the earth about the head, a small silver coin was found, which had doubtless been placed in the mouth as a *ναῦλον* or *δανάκη*, to pay Charon with. It proved to be an unedited coin of Halicarnassus, with a new magistrate's name. In the next field, to the south, I found another grave, containing similar common pottery, and a cup of very thick well-preserved glass; in the next, in the same direction, another kind of interment presented itself; this was a grave lined with large square tiles with flanged edges, and covered with a stone. Outside the tiles were two rows of deep cups placed one within the other, and lying horizontally on their sides. This grave contained many vases, all broken, two

coarse terra-cotta bas-reliefs, a silver ring, two silver fibulae, of very ordinary workmanship, a large chalcedon, polished for engraving, and a copper coin as *ναῦλον*. There were layers of shingle inside.

I found in this field a whole cluster of graves, the bearings of which evidently followed no fixed rules. Thus one was E.S.E. by W.N.W., head to E. Another N. by S., head to S. A third, N. by S., head to N. I next tried the field where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments described by Ross had taken place. This locality I shall call after the name of the proprietor, the field of Janni Sconi. Here I found a number of graves with vases of rather a more interesting character, but no gold, except one small fragment. In this field the vases were found imbedded in the earth, with two or three rough slabs placed over them; but no regular coffins. There were no remains of bones. In one grave, evidently of a female, I found a small marble *pyxis*, with traces of colour on the outside; it resembles one found by Mr. Burgon in an Athenian tomb, and now in the British Museum; in another, I found a lamp on which was painted the head of Leda with the swan.

In the soil, when sifted, were found some beads of a silver necklace, a silver fibula of very ordinary workmanship, and some small beads, which I believe to be pearls. This grave also contained a large two-handled cup, of black ware, a lamp, two vases with covers, and a *lekane* with a cover. All these objects were found about two feet below the surface. I opened seven other graves in this field, several of which were very small, and apparently intended for children. One contained a terra-cotta bas-relief, representing two female figures bidding farewell to each other. The material and execution of this bas-relief were very ordinary; it was so imbedded in the earth that I could only remove it piecemeal. Such terra-cotta works are common in Greek tombs.

The contents of the tombs which I had hitherto examined presented a great sameness, containing always the same coarse pottery. In one instance I found a cup of late black ware, ornamented with Dionysian figures in relief, in the style of the Basilicata vases. In one of the graves in the same field where I had found the tile tomb I recognised a mode of interment which I have observed elsewhere. The body which, it may be presumed, had been burnt, is placed

in a large earthen jar, such as is still used in Greek houses instead of a cistern to hold water, and is called in modern Greek, *Cupa*. With the bones are placed lamps, small vases, and other sepulchral objects; the jar is laid horizontally in the ground, and its mouth closed by a flat stone. About two years ago I took part in an excavation near Renkoi in the Troad, where great numbers of these jars were found in an Hellenic cemetery, lying very near each other, at about three feet below the surface. I have also noticed the same mode of interment in Rhodes, Mytilene, and Crete, and Mr. Finlay has met with similar sepulchral crocks on his estate in Attica. These jars are often found broken, the fractured edges having been anciently riveted with lead. I have not at hand Stackelberg's "Gräber d. Griechen," nor any other work on ancient sepulture, to refer to, and therefore am not aware whether this mode of interment in jars has been described elsewhere. I do not know whether it has been already remarked that the discovery of these sepulchral jars settles a disputed reading in Pliny, who remarks in his account of pottery, Nat. Hist., xxxv. c. 46, "Quin et defunctos sese multi fictilibus *doliis* condi maluere," where Harduin reads, *soleis*. What we call the *tub* of Diogenes was not a tub at all, but an earthen jar, *pthos*, of the kind used in sepulture, but on a larger scale.

Another of the graves in the same field contained a number of broad-headed iron nail-heads, and a bronze arrow-head. The nails may have served to rivet a wooden coffin, *λάρναξ*, since decayed.


After these trials of the ground south of the stone quarry, I returned to the rocky part of Damos, and tried a field adjoining the peninsula or tongue of land, where, as I have already noticed, an ancient town must have stood.

Across the neck of the peninsula I observed the foundations of a wall running North and South between the two ravines. This wall I laid bare throughout its whole length. It is about seven feet wide, very solidly faced with squared blocks on each side, the centre being filled up with unhewn stones. The blocks were of considerable size, the largest about 4 feet long, by 2 feet 5 inches wide. The stone appears to have been cut from the adjacent quarry. This wall may be continuously traced for about 165 feet. At the distance of about fifty-three feet from its Southern extremity it throws

out a square tower, probably intended to protect a gateway. On the East side of this wall I dug down to the ancient surface of the soil, and found it strewn with fragments of red coarse pottery, for the distance of some yards. The depths at which this stratum of pottery occurred varied from three to eight feet. This ancient surface had been covered by soil brought down by the rain, to which the wall had acted as a sort of dam. Among the *débris* I found three handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with the names of magistrates, three grotesque heads in terra-cotta, which had formed handles of vases, a bronze fish-hook, part of a terra-cotta figure, and portions of stucco from the walls of Greek houses. I take this opportunity of mentioning that it is a matter of great interest to note the localities where the handles of Rhodian *amphoræ* inscribed with magistrates' names are found. Mr. Stoddart has shown, in an interesting paper published by the Royal Society of Literature, how much light may be thrown on the history of ancient commerce in the Mediterranean by the collection of these handles.

Having now established the position of the city wall, I naturally looked for tombs in its immediate vicinity. About 100 yards East of the wall, in the same field, there is a kind of natural platform of rock. Examining this attentively, I found several tombs very neatly cut in the bed of the rock, and closed by large stone lids. In one instance a square aperture, like a tank, had been cut out of the rock, at the bottom of which were two graves, placed side by side. The dimensions of these graves were larger than any which I had discovered. One measured in length 6 ft. 10 in., width 1 ft. 6 in., depth 1 ft. 3 in. On each side of the grave was a ridge, or step, cut out of the rock.

The lids were monolithic, and slightly ridged, thus,

The dimensions of the two graves sunk in the square cutting, were as follows:—Depth from  surface of the rock above to bottom of the grave, 5 ft. 5 in.; depth of grave itself, 2 ft. 4 in.; width, 2 ft. 2 in.; length, 6 ft. 4 in. These graves, though very promising in appearance, from their solidity and neatness, yielded only very ordinary pottery. On the Northern side of the same rocky platform I observed a square opening, like a doorway cut through the rock, at the edge of the platform.

The sides of this opening had been lined with cement in

which were fragments of tiles. The entrance was blocked up with earth, but one of my workmen discovered a small hole through which he thrust the handle of his spade to a considerable depth. I therefore had the earth removed, behind which I discovered the entrance to a natural cavern, carefully walled up. Removing the wall, I found the cavern full of earth, the whole of which I caused to be removed and sifted. After clearing away the soil, I found three small graves cut out of the rocky bottom of the cavern, side by side. The cave itself was about 3 ft. 10 in. high, and 8 ft. by 7 ft. 4 in. in area. The graves measured in length 5 ft. 4 in., depth 1 ft. 7 in., width 1 ft. 4 in. They were filled with earth and stones, and had apparently been disturbed. They contained fragments of bones, of glass vessels, and of ordinary red pottery, a small glass bead, and two fragments of ornaments in thin beaten gold. In one grave were two copper coins, one of which proved to be an unedited coin of Cos, struck in the reign of Caracalla. Altogether, the contents of these graves showed them to be Roman, rather than Greek. Another similar cavern, noticed by Ross, was discovered in Calymnos, some years ago, about half a mile w. of the one opened by me. After exploring this field, I next examined one immediately to the East of it, and separated from the tract called Drapetes by a ravine. Here I found two tank-like square apertures, cut out of the solid rock, side by side, at the bottom of each of which were two graves. These pits were filled with earth up to the surface of the field, so as completely to conceal the tombs. In one pit the lids of the graves were monolithic, and very large. One measured, in length, 6 ft. 8 in., width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. In two graves, side by side, the heads were placed in opposite directions; in one case, towards the East; in the other, towards the West. The bones were exceedingly large. In the grave where the head lay to the East, the thigh-bones were found close to the head, a cup at the other end; in the other grave the cup was at the feet. In removing the earth out of these pits, part of a round altar, coarsely cut out of the ordinary stone of the field, was found; also a fragment of marble, apparently, the leg of a statue, but too much decayed to be intelligible. These may be the relics of an altar and a statue placed over the graves. In the second pit the graves were smaller, measuring in length, 5 ft. 7 in.,

width 1 ft. 8 in., depth 1 ft. 8 in. These two graves were probably of women; one of them contained fragments of a square bronze mirror, a blue glass bead, three copper coins, and a small *lekythos* of red earth.

I had now opened about forty graves, and tried the cemetery of Damos in various places. My excavations extended over a strip of land half a mile in extent. The very ordinary character of the vases and other objects which I had discovered, convinced me that I had as yet only met with the graves of the poorer classes.

It may be as well to note here some general facts, the result of my researches up to this point. 1. The pottery was all of a late period, *i. e.*, from B.C. 330 to B.C. 150. The forms of the cups and vases were deficient in elegance. The best were those covered with a black varnish, but this had not been able to resist the action of the soil and weather like the older varnishes. The other varieties were a bright-red ware, and an unpainted drab ware. In only two instances did I find any subject or ornament painted on a vase. 2. A great number of the graves contained a *ναῦλον*, nearly always a copper coin. 3. Except in three or four cases which I have already noted, there was no trace of bones in the graves. 4. The depth at which the graves were found was from 3 to 4 feet on an average. They were cut in the bed of the rock, or rocky subsoil. The labourers whom I employed distinguished this rocky subsoil by the name of *Δύρικο*. They never considered it worth while to dig through it. I was at first under the impression that the older graves might be in a lower stratum, but, though I sometimes went deeper, never succeeded in finding any. 5. Very commonly a lamp or cup would be found in the soil, a few inches distant from the side of the grave. These were doubtless left there by relations, who came to bring offerings, *χαί*, or *ἐναγίσματα*. In the pictures on vases representing Heroa, or architectural tombs, rows of these cups or vases are seen on the steps of the tomb, at which female figures are seen offering libations. The visit of Electra at the tomb of her father was a favourite subject with ancient vase-painters, because it was in harmony with the sepulchral purpose of the vase itself. To this day the Greek peasant does not forget to make periodical visits to the tombs of relations, and on Saturday evenings, at Calymnos, as I returned from

my diggings in the cemetery of the ancient Calymniotes, I never failed to meet a procession of peasant women on their way to the churchyard, bearing in their hands, not indeed the *oinochoe* and the *lekkythos*, but a small tin can of oil to replenish the lamps which they keep ever burning in the tombs, and a censer containing burning incense. Many of the funeral customs of antiquity are still extant among the Greek peasantry, and should be recorded, before they disappear. The present Archbishop of Mytilene told me that in Macedonia the peasants are in the habit of placing a *ναύλον* in the mouth of the dead. Wishing to put a stop to this relic of paganism, he explained to them that the coin they used for the purpose being a Turkish para, and containing a quotation from the Koran, was quite unfit to be employed in Christian burial. He also mentioned to me that one day he saw a poor widow place a quince in the bosom of the corpse of a young boy, as it lay on a bier in the church, awaiting interment. He asked the meaning of this, and was told that she wished to convey the quince to a son of her own who had died some months before, and had thought of this mode of transmitting it to him!

As the Damos had proved so unpromising, I determined to explore a new locality—the site and precinct of the temple of Apollo. I have already mentioned that the small church of Christos is built on the actual site of this temple, and in a great measure out of its materials.

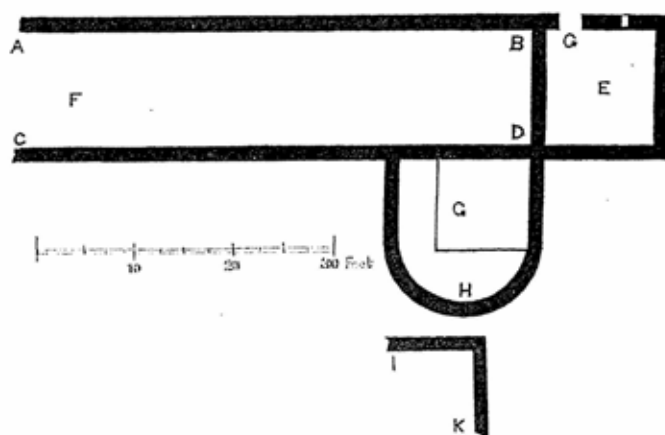
The situation of this church may be seen marked in Ross's map. It is situated about half-way between the harbour of Pothia and Linaria, on the outskirts of Damos, on the South, and about a quarter of a mile from the modern town.

At this spot the cultivated land lying between the two seas is narrowed by the hills on each side, so as to form a kind of neck connecting the valley of Linaria, on the West, with that of Pothia, on the East. In vol. ii. of Ross, p. 196, will be found a ground-plan of the church of Christos, showing the apsidal formation of its East end, which is built of Hellenic blocks with architectural ornaments, which Ross considers to be of the Macedonian period. In the space in front of the West door a Corinthian column is still standing. Ross was informed that there were persons at Calymnos who remember eight of these columns in a row, prolonging the

line of the west wall of the church. On the South side of Christos is the smaller church τῆς Ὑπακουῆς, attached to it like an aisle.

I commenced digging in a field at the back of the church. After a time I discovered the foundations of two walls of Hellenic masonry, running from North-West to South-East, and forming three chambers as shewn by the annexed plan. These foundations were from 7 to 8 feet below the surface.

The wall A B appears to be nearly on the same line with the south wall of the church of Hypakoe. It was composed of two courses of large squared blocks. The upper blocks were 3 feet 10 inches long, by 1 foot 10 inches deep and 1 foot 8 inches wide. The blocks of the lower wall were 3 feet long, by 1 foot 2 inches deep. The distance from A to B is about 44 feet ; the width from A to C, 12 feet



4 inches. The space marked by the walls A, B, C, D, was paved with rough stones as if it had formed a court. I had these stones removed, one by one, with great care. In the interstices were found many Greek coins, bronze arrow-heads, glass astragali, small glass counters of different colours, bone hair-pins and other small objects such as might naturally have been dropped there from time to time. At F I found under the pavement a Greek sword-handle of bronze in the form of a gryphon's head in a very fine style of art. The sockets for the eyes were empty. They had once pro-

bably contained precious stones or some vitreous composition. Hence Virgil's expression :—

“ Stellatus iaspide fulvo
Ensis.”

I do not remember ever to have seen so fine a specimen of a sword-handle as this one. The smaller chamber, *ε*, was about 11 feet 2 inches by 14 feet 10 inches. The pavement was like that of the larger chamber, but raised about 10 inches above it. At *η* was a doorway with the stone sockets for the hinge and the bolt, and a window about 6 inches wide. The third chamber, marked *γ*, branches out from the long chamber, in a south-west direction. It terminates in an apse; its length, the apse *η*, included, is 18 feet; its width from 14 feet 8 inches. The semicircular end, and one side of the chamber, were paved with large squared blocks very firmly fitted together; on removing which, I found a second pavement of similar blocks. Between the interstices of the upper pavement I found several copper coins, arrow-heads, and glass *astragali*. Beyond this chamber are foundations of other Hellenic walls stretching far to the south-west from the angle *ι*, *κ*. These I had not time to explore fully. I now tried other parts of this field, and soon came to foundations of a different character. They were evidently Byzantine, and contained fragments of Greek inscriptions. Among these foundations I came upon Byzantine coins and bronze ornaments, in which I recognised a strong family likeness to some of our Saxon antiquities. A little further examination of this field, and one adjacent to it, enabled me to account for the presence of these antiquities. Some time in the Middle Ages, perhaps about the XIVth century, two large monasteries were built on the site of the Temple of Apollo and out of its remains. Time had in turn destroyed the work of the Byzantine all but the churches of Christos and Hypakoe, themselves the remnants of a much larger church. After the buildings had been razed nearly to the ground, the soil brought down by the mountain-torrents gradually filled up the interstices of the foundations till the field assumed a level surface.

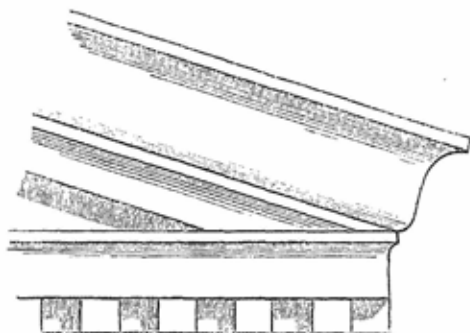
Continuing to find fragments of sculpture and inscriptions in these walls, I dug, in hope, on for many days

remembering how the precious fragments of the Temple of Victory on the Acropolis at Athens were found in the centre of a Turkish bastion. The labour of this work of demolition was very considerable. "It would require," said one of my Greek workmen, unconscious that he was employing an Homeric metaphor, "it would require a brazen man with iron hands," *ένα μπακήρινον άνθρωπον με σιδήρινα χέρια*, "to break through these walls." In this manner I got together a great number of fragments of inscriptions, and some very small pieces of statues, evidently of a very good time. After I had bestowed a certain number of days on the fields at the back of the church, I commenced digging in the front of it, where the ground slopes down towards two wells. I thought it probable that the Opisthodomos, or back chamber of the temple would be at its Western extremity, on the side where the present entrance to the church is, and that as the ground slopes towards the wells, some relics of the temple would be found in the soil of this declivity. I was not altogether disappointed in this hope.

A few feet below the surface I came upon an ancient paved road, which had led evidently from the wells to the temple. I removed each stone of the pavement very carefully, and thus found a great number of Greek copper coins, several of which were from distant places, such as Miletus, Sigeum in the Troad, Macedonia. These were probably dropped by strangers who visited the temple. I also found a netting-needle and other small objects in bronze, and such a number of bronze arrow-heads as to lead me to suppose that a shower of arrows had fallen here. The points of some of them were blunted. Along the side of the road were traces of an ancient watercourse, in the bed of which I found two or three interesting terra-cotta reliefs; and higher up the slope the tooth of a horse, or some graminivorous animal, bound with a bronze loop by which it had once been suspended; a tress of hair in bronze; a colossal thumb in marble; all these had evidently been votive objects offered in the temple. In the upper part of the field I found some interesting fragments of sculpture; a male head in the Æginetan style, but greatly defaced; part of the thigh and knee of a draped colossal male figure in a very grand style, and the body of a female statuette, perhaps a Venus tying her sandal. I also found here a stone which had formed

one corner of a pediment, doubtless from the temple—of this I subjoin a rough measurement. (See woodcut.) At the top of this field, on the south side of the temple, and in a direct line with the Hellenic foundations at the back of the church, which I have already described, I came upon the angle of another Hellenic building very solidly constructed of squared blocks. I had so much to explore elsewhere, that I was unable to ascertain the further direction of these walls. Within the angle the building was not paved; I found no antiquities except a large ball of lead, too heavy to have been used in a *sphaeristerium*.

I regret that my limited time and means did not permit me to complete the excavation of this building, which, I



have little doubt, formed the termination of a series of chambers extending along the whole south side of the temple, and beyond it to the Hellenic foundations in the upper field which I have already described. I now determined to explore the field in which the church itself stood. About half of this, immediately west of the church, had been dug over last year, when the inscriptions relating to the Manumission of slaves had been found. I commenced digging nearly opposite the South-West angle of the church where the column stands, and dug across the field northward in a direction parallel to the West wall of the church. I was enabled to carry my excavations within about 12 feet of the western wall. I found here several large squares of marble which had formed part of the original basement of the temple, and had been laid down a second time in the Byzantine church, but irregularly; the chasms where slabs were missing, being filled up by Mosaic pavement. The marble squares were beautifully polished and wrought.

Among these squares I found, built into Byzantine walls, a wrist and part of a hand, part of an arm, and fragments of two feet of a colossal male figure. These fragments all appear to me to belong to the same colossal statue as the knee in the lower field.

They are in the finest style; the portion of a hand is quite worthy of Phidias himself. Indeed, I have never seen any fragment so entirely in the style of the Elgin marbles as this. If we suppose these remains to belong to a colossal statue of Apollo himself placed in the *naós* of his temple, the position in which I found the fragments would be the natural place to find them in, supposing the statue to have been dragged from its base and broken up by the early Christians. The trunk was probably pounded into small pieces, the extremities would lie where they first fell till they were picked up by the masons and incorporated in the rubble of the walls. I dug on beyond the northern wall of the church, and found an inscribed *stèle* and some interesting fragments of inscriptions and sculptures.

I then dug on the opposite side of the field a narrow strip, lying south of the church of Hypakoe, and in a line with the long chamber which I had laid bare in the upper field. Here I was so fortunate as to find four very well preserved inscribed *stelæ* lying in the soil, two on their edges, two on their sides, like books just taken down from their shelves. The Byzantine masons must have left these slabs here, intending to break them up and build them in their foundations. By some accident they were forgotten or exempted from the common destiny. By a singular chance, I began to dig under the roots of a fig-tree exactly where the proprietor of the field had terminated his excavations the year before. He had desisted from digging, out of regard for the roots of his young fig-tree. Having no such feeling, I excavated just six inches below his mark, and so found a most interesting collection of decrees of the Calymniote people. I continued my operations along the outside of the south wall of the church, and found, a little further on, a very large *stèle* covered on both sides with a deeply-cut inscription. This marble contains the record of a trial between the people of Calymnos and the heirs of a certain Cleomedes. The sum of money at issue is very considerable, being no less than 300 talents, about 73,125*l*.

On one side of the *stèle*, the mode of procedure in the trial is set forth, with the form of the oath to be administered to the witnesses ; on the other side is the sentence, which is decided by a court of Dicasts. The number of votes for the plaintiff were 78, for the defendant, 120. In the case of some of the witnesses who resided in the neighbouring island of Cos, and could not therefore appear in court at Calymnos, it is ordered that their depositions be taken before certain magistrates, *prostatai*, in Cos, and sent over to Calymnos, sealed with the public seal of the people of Cos. The length of time for the pleadings is measured by the klepsydra, *πρὸς χρόας* ; for the first pleading each party is allowed eighteen of the measures called *χραί*, for the second, ten. Such a trial was technically called *δικὴ πρὸς ὕδωρ*.

It is a point of some interest to state how far the excavation to the West of the church has thrown light on the question as to the extent of the temple in this direction—a point which Ross thought might be determined by digging. Unfortunately, the proprietor of the field had anticipated me as far as regards the North side of the temple, and had here destroyed every trace of foundations ; but on the South side I found some remains, which may form part of the two parallel stylobates or walls.

Immediately in front, *i. e.*, West of the single column still standing, are two enormous blocks. One of these measured 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. in width, and 1 ft. 9 in. in depth. On one face was in very large characters ΝΙΚΟΚΑΗ ; below, in smaller characters, <sup>(ΝΙΚΟΚΑΗΞ
ΑΠΑΤΟΓΕΝΟΤ</sup> Side by side with this was placed a second block, extending to the single column. These blocks may be part of the stylobate still remaining *in situ*. South of this row, at the distance of 6 ft. 10 in., is a parallel row of blocks, one a cube of 3 ft., next to it a threshold stone 3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. This appeared to be the threshold stone of a doorway in the original temple. This doorway was 14 ft. 9 in. to the West of the single column. In giving these details, I would add that I think it doubtful whether any portion of the original foundations of the temple remain *in situ*. The builders of the church of Christos appear to have dislocated and rudely re-constructed all that they found.

I was unable to carry my excavations any further round the church of Christos. Indeed, the site could not

have been thoroughly explored without pulling the church down and making a careful collation of all the architectural fragments and inscriptions. Many of these have been carried away at different periods to supply materials for the building of the other churches in the island, so that the investigation would not be complete without the demolition of many of these edifices. I have made a small collection of architectural fragments which may serve to show the character of the ornaments.

The excavations on this site, show very clearly what has been the fate of the greater part of the Greek temples in the Archipelago, once so rich in the works of the great sculptors of antiquity.

They have been sacrificed in the first onslaught of Iconoclastic zeal. Statues of matchless beauty have been broken up into small fragments, and mixed in the rubble of monastic walls. *Stelæ*, containing the archives of many an ancient city, have been remorselessly imbedded in the lowest layers of foundations, or inserted in pavements on which, through long generations of fanaticism and ignorance, the dull and listless footstep of the Byzantine monk has gradually trodden out the deeply graven record of Hellenic times.

It is recorded in the legend of Christodulos, the founder of Patmos, in the XIth century, that his first act in arriving in that island, was to crush to pieces, *συντρίβειν*, a statue of Diana, a beautiful work. Perhaps he lent a helping hand to his neighbours at Calymnos.

The fragments of sculpture found in the temple of Apollo are a contribution to the history of Ancient Art. They show that this little island could afford to employ sculptors who certainly belonged to one of the great schools of antiquity. Probably the sculptors of Cos and Halicarnassus contributed works to the neighbouring temple of Apollo at Calymnos.

It is worthy of note, that of the inscriptions belonging to this temple, two contain names of artists; one of these records a dedication to Apollo by Nicias, the son of Thrasymedes. Ross conjectures that this Thrasymedes may be the Parian sculptor of that name who made the Chryselephantine statue of Æsculapius at Epidaurus—a celebrated work, of which we have a representation on a silver coin in the collection of the British Museum. If that is the case, we may, approximately, fix the age of that artist, hitherto

undetermined. The inscription is certainly, from the form of the letters, of the same period as the majority of the inscriptions from the temple of Apollo, that is, from B.C. 350 to 200.

The other artist named in a Calymniote inscription is Antamos, the son of Theodoros, of Cnossus. I cannot find this name in Sillig's list of artists. The inscription is of the Roman time. This is all we know at present of the sculptors of Calymnos.

The fragments of inscriptions collected in the course of this excavation have occupied me for several months. I have now sufficiently arranged and deciphered them to be able to give a general account of their contents. There are eighteen decrees granting the *politeia* or citizenship to foreigners for services rendered to the Calymnian people; ten decrees granting *proxenia* to foreigners for similar reasons; thirteen decrees relating either to *politeia* or *proxenia*, but of which the precise import cannot be decided from their mutilated condition; two decrees relating to judicial proceedings; two conferring crowns; two bestowing honours on physicians; two, honours for military services, and eleven fragments of decrees, the subjects of which cannot be ascertained. The whole of these inscriptions are of the period between Alexander the Great and Augustus. If the king Antigonus mentioned in one of them is, as is most probable, Antigonus the Great, the date of most of the inscriptions would be B.C. 350 to 250.

There were also several inscriptions and a number of fragments of the Roman period. Of these the most interesting were the dedication of a statue to Caligula; a dedication to Apollo by Publius Servilius Isauricus, when consul; the date of this inscription is therefore fixed to B.C. 79. I found another dedicatory inscription, by the same Servilius, built into the Western wall of Christos.

There were also eight records of the manumission of slaves, two other dedications, and a variety of fragments, some of which appear to relate to grants of lands.

I also copied at Calymnos the following unedited inscriptions, which I was unable to bring away:—One list of citizens and *metoikoi*, contributors to some tax, one decree of *proxenia*, one of *politeia*, one honorary grant of land, seventeen records of the manumission of slaves, two dedications.

All these I know to have belonged to the Temple of

Apollo. The whole list of inscriptions discovered in this temple is as follows :

MACEDONIAN PERIOD.		2 decrees	conferring crowns.
19 decrees of <i>politeia</i> .		2	" honours to physicians.
11 decrees of <i>proxenia</i> .		2	" honours for military services.
13 decrees, either <i>proxenia</i> or <i>politeia</i> .		1	" honorary grant of land.
2 decrees of judicial proceedings.		11	" subjects unascertained.
		1	" list of citizens and <i>metoikoi</i> .

In all, sixty-four inscriptions. Of the Roman period there were twenty-five forms of Manumission ; six dedicatory inscriptions, probably of statues ; and a number of miscellaneous fragments too small to be taken into account.

This *catalogue raisonné* will enable us to form some idea of the rich collection of historical and municipal records which once existed in the Temple of Apollo. I have elsewhere observed, that "it is in the marble and the granite, in the market-places, the temples, and the sepulchres of the ancients, that we must search for their records ; these were their archives and libraries, their heralds' college, their muniment-rooms."

It may be remarked that in this list the number of grants of *politeia*, or citizenship, are far more numerous than those of *proxenia*.

The full citizenship was granted very liberally by the Asiatic cities, but we have no instance of the concession of such a right by any of the states of Greece Proper. The privileges of *proxenia* were granted very generally throughout the Hellenic world. *Proxeni* were agents appointed by Greek cities to protect their merchants and commercial interests generally in foreign states. In this respect the duties of a *proxenos* resembled those of a modern consul, with this difference, that he was a citizen, not of the state by which he was appointed, but of that in which he exercised his agency.

One of the inscriptions conferring honours for military services makes mention of a maritime war between Calymnos and the city of Hierapytna in Crete, of which I have not discovered any record elsewhere.

The inscription, containing an honorary grant of land, acquaints us with the fact that there was a Theatre at Calymnos, which, if I have rightly decyphered a very ill preserved line in the text, was actually within the precinct of the Temple of Apollo.

The land is granted by the state to Aratocritos, the son of

Aristias, to enable him to build on it, at his own expense and for the public benefit, a *proscenion* and scenes, and to surround the *temenos*, or sacred precinct, with a wall. These buildings are most probably the very foundations which, as has already been stated, I found in two fields on the South side of Christos, and which probably run in a continuous line on the south side of the church. At the end of this decree the form of the dedicatory inscription to be placed on the *proscenion* by Aratocritos is given: Ἀρατόκριτος Ἀριστία τὰν σκανῶν καὶ τὸ προσκάνιον στεφαναφορήσας Ἀπόλλωνι.

Now it is a curious coincidence that over the doorway of the church at Christos is a fragment of architrave, on which is inscribed in very large characters . . . ΝΑ . . . ΠΗΣΑΣ ΑἴΓΟΛΛΑ . . . Ross, although unable to restore this fragment, remarks that it was probably part of a dedication inscribed on some monument in the vestibule of the Temple of Apollo. With the aid of the other inscription the restoration is obviously στεφανα(φο)ρήσας Ἀπόλλ(ωνι) and I have little doubt that *this fragment of architecture actually formed part of the proscenion dedicated by Aratocritos.*

The fields on the south side of Christos having been, as I stated, only partially explored by me, perhaps some future excavation there may bring to light remains of the theatre.

The magistrates, whose names appear at the head of the decrees of the Macedonian period, are always the *prostatae*, a title which occurs elsewhere in inscriptions, though rarely. In the Manumissions the Eponymous magistrate of Calymnos is the *stephanaphoros*—this title was adopted in many Asiatic cities, and is frequently met with on coins and inscriptions of the Roman period.

In the Manumissions occur some curious names of Greek months, which I hope to compare with the series of Doric months published by Mr. Stoddart, and to which I have already alluded. At Calymnos one of the months was called *Kaisar*, as a compliment to some Roman emperor. In the grants of citizenship we get the names of several *Demi*, or burghs, and tribes, *Phylae*, in Calymnos, to which the new citizens were assigned by lot. Among the names of the *Demes* is that of the *Pothæi*. The principal harbour in the island is, as has been already stated, still called Pothia, and I am assured that in the island of Telindos, lying opposite the Western side of Calymnos, is a place called Potha.

Having concluded the excavations in the precinct of the Temple of Apollo, and having still a few spare days before me, I returned to the tombs. I tried two fields in the lower cemetery near the harbour, but with no success, and therefore made one more experiment in Damos.

Having already examined all the district North of the church called Prophet Elia with so little result, I determined to try a field lying between that church and the Temple of Apollo, very near the field of Janni Sconi, where the celebrated discovery of gold ornaments had taken place.

Fortune favoured me at last. On the foot-path in this field were the marks of two graves, which had been opened some years ago ; one contained, it is said, a vase ornamented with silver, the other I was recommended by a by-stander to examine again. The workmen had hardly broken the ground with their pickaxes, before they found a small circular ornament in bronze, so finely wrought, that I was at once led to hope for some work of art. I very soon found three more of these circular ornaments, the handle of a large bronze vase with rich floral ornaments, and lastly, at the very bottom of the grave, but not more than eight inches below the surface, a most exquisite bronze alto-relievo representing a male figure, bearded, and with large wings, carrying off a youthful female figure who is looking back as if to a world from which she is snatched away. Her attitude at once recalls the Eurydice of the beautiful episode in the fourth Georgic :

“Invalidasque mihi tendens, heu ! non mea, palmas !”

This subject may represent Boreas carrying off Oreithyia, as the bearded male figure has wings and buskins like a Wind God.

The selection of such a subject probably commemorates allusively the untimely fate of the person in whose grave it was found ; in the same manner we find the Death of Meleager, the Rape of Proserpine, and other kindred subjects, commemorating the death of the young, frequently repeated on ancient sarcophagi, and probably chosen for those who were snatched away by an untimely fate.

There is no doubt that the tomb at Calymnos, which I am describing, was that of a female, because I found in it the relics of a gold necklace. The bronze alto-relievo is executed in the finest style. I know of nothing in ancient *repoussé* work superior to it, except perhaps the bronzes of Siris. The

general style reminds me of that of a beautiful composition not so well known as it deserves to be, the Ficoroni Cista at Rome, on which is engraved the contest of Pollux with Amycus, King of Bebryces. In that composition we have a winged bearded figure very similar to that in the Calymnos bronze, and who certainly represents Death, as he appears in Etruscan Art.

With this discovery I closed my excavations at Calymnos. On a review of the whole of the facts ascertained with respect to the cemetery of Damos, I am inclined to the belief that the rocky fields on the northern side formed a public cemetery, lying immediately outside of the walls of a small town on the rocky peninsula; that the fields on the south, in the district now called Prophet Elia, were private burial-grounds reserved for rich individuals. This side of the cemetery has not yet been sufficiently explored. I regret that circumstances compelled me to quit Calymnos just at the moment when I appeared to be on the right track. It is remarkable that all the vases found in the tombs should be invariably of the same ordinary late character; because in the precincts of the Temple of Apollo I dug up several fragments of very fine vases with red figures on a black ground, which date probably from the time of Phidias. The tombs containing these earlier vases have yet to be discovered: perhaps they lie in a lower stratum of soil, to which modern cultivation has not penetrated. Almost all the antiquities as yet found at Calymnos, whether coins, vases, or inscriptions, are either of the Macedonian or of the Roman period. The only objects that can be referred to an earlier epoch are, an unique archaic coin in the Payne Knight collection, British Museum; the archaic head in marble, which I found below the temple; perhaps some of the other fragments of sculpture, and the fragments of vases with red figures on a black ground.

There is a third cemetery in Calymnos, in a valley in the north of the island called Vathy; this I did not explore, but the vases found in the tombs there are of the same character as those of Damos. Tombs have also been found in the high ground south of Damos, called Argos. These I imagine to be of the Roman period. Near the harbour of Pothia are caves called *tholi*, hollowed out of the rock in a conical

form, with a small aperture at the top. These are filled with late Roman and Byzantine lamps and vases, and bones. Many of these lamps have Christian emblems. I have made a large collection of them. I purchased some very interesting coins and antiquities at Calymnos, among which was a large gold ear-ring found with a number of Byzantine coins of the Emperor Heraclius. I hope to give a more detailed account of these antiquities in a future communication.

C. T. NEWTON.

NOTICES OF THE MINT AT SHREWSBURY.

By EDWARD HAWKINS. Esq., F.R.S., V.P. Soc. ANT.¹

WHEN a society of professed antiquaries pay a special visit to a town of so much celebrity as Shrewsbury, it may reasonably be expected that its members would endeavour to learn or to impart all that may be known respecting the history and antiquities of this ancient and interesting town. Among other objects which invite our attention is the mint which was established here at a very early period. For its elucidation so much has been already done by Ruding in his "*Annals of the Coinage of Britain*," and so much more by Messrs. Owen and Blakey in their "*History of Shrewsbury*," which may be considered as an excellent model of a local history, that little remains to be said. Of the state of the Mint under the Heptarchy, and the earlier monarchs, there is very little information to be derived from records. Almost all we know is obtained from the coins themselves, and from them we learn that coins were struck at Shrewsbury by Ethelred, who commenced his reign A.D. 866, and we find upon his coins the names of four different moneyers. So that at this early period we may be assured that this mint was in extensive operation.

Of the fourteen monarchs who intervened between Ethelred and the conquest, we find coins of so many, that it may be reasonably concluded that the mint here continued in operation with little or no interruption during the reigns of them all, though upon the coins of some of them the name of Shrewsbury has not yet been discovered.

Although it appears, from records still existing, that in the time of the Confessor there were three moneyers established at Shrewsbury, yet in Domesday book no mention is made of a mint, and we might be led to suppose that no mint existed in this town when that document was com-

¹ Communicated at the Annual Meeting in Shrewsbury, August, 1855.

piled. It is nevertheless certain that the mint still continued to be worked here, as we find the name of the town upon coins both of the Conqueror and his son, and also of the three first Henries. After this time the name of Shrewsbury does not appear upon any of the coins of the realm, nor is there any evidence that a mint was afterwards established here again, before 1642.

In order to ascertain, or, rather to form a probable conjecture respecting the denomination or type of the pieces struck at this time, and in this town, it will be necessary to trace for a few years previous the history of the mints of King Charles I.

In the year 1637, Thomas Bushell, who was lessee of the royal mines in Cardiganshire, memorialised the king, stating that he incurred much inconvenience and expense in sending his silver, the produce of his mines, to London to be coined into money, and petitioned that he might be allowed to establish a mint in the Castle of Aberystwith, in the neighbourhood of the mines. In consequence of this petition the mint was established in that castle, and Thomas Bushell was appointed master of the said mint, and was authorised to strike half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, groats, threepences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies. It was ordered that all pieces coined at this mint should be stamped with the Prince of Wales's plume of feathers on both sides. This mint continued in operation till about the month of September 1642, when the whole establishment, the workmen and their tools, were removed to Shrewsbury, and in this town it remained till nearly the end of December that same year.

It appears from a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, dated 21st December, 1642, that orders had *then* been received to remove the mint to Oxford, and on Tuesday, January 3, carts, to the number of twelve or more, arrived in that city laden with Prince Rupert's goods, and with the mint from Shrewsbury. In this town then of Shrewsbury the mint was in operation only about three months; from some part of September to about the end of December 1642. On the 19th September, the king made his memorable speech and declaration at Wellington, in which he said, "I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed *protestant religion* established in the Church of England. I desire to govern by all the known *laws of the land*, that the

liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just rights. I promise to maintain the just rights, privileges and *freedom of parliament*." Upon coins dated 1642, and subsequent years, the reverse bears the inscription RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PARL., that is: The Protestant religion, the laws of England, the liberty of Parliament. Now Messrs. Owen and Blakeway remark that "Mr. Bushell (for the device seems to have been his own) thus not unhappily burlesquing the declaration of parliament, by stating the king to levy war against them in defence of their liberties, as they had taken up arms against him under pretence of defending his royal person." By comparing, however, the inscription upon the coins with the king's declaration at Wellington, it will be seen that the inscription is no burlesque of Bushell, but most seriously intended to convey to every place where the coin circulated, and to every person who possessed a piece of money, the three great principles upon which the king declared his firm determination to govern the kingdom. The king's declaration and the inscription on the coin are identical.

As this declaration was made on the 19th September, 1642, it may fairly be concluded that the coins asserting the same principles were struck very much about the same time, and consequently we may expect to find this inscription upon coins struck at Shrewsbury. It is quite certain that the mint was removed from this town about the last day of December this same year, and consequently no coins can have been struck here which bear any other date than 1642. Messrs. Owen and Blakeway observe, "All Charles's pieces with the Prince's feathers, the above reverse, and the date 1642, can have been struck no where but at Shrewsbury." While these gentlemen were penning this paragraph they unfortunately forgot that the year was not at that time calculated to terminate with the 31st December, but with the 25th March, and that consequently coins struck during the first three months of the year, which we call 1643, would bear the date 1642, exactly as those struck during what we call the last three months of the year 1642; and as the mint was established at Oxford, 3 January, 1642-3, the date upon the coins does not determine the claim of either place to coins dated 1642. We must look then for some other clue to guide us in appropriating to Shrewsbury its proper coins.

There is not any distinctive mint-mark, nor any letters which distinguish the Shrewsbury coins. Chester coins have the city arms, the wheatsheaf; Worcester coins have the pears; Exeter, Oxford, Bristol, York have the initials or names, but Shrewsbury nothing. Still there are peculiarities about some of the coins of this period which furnish grounds for reasonable conjecture. From Aberystwith the mint moved to Shrewsbury, and Aberystwith coins have their distinguishing mark, viz., the Prince's plume, as ordered by the indenture which established that mint, and the open book which was Bushell's private mark. Now there is in the British Museum a half-crown which bears the feathers upon the obverse, and the horse is somewhat of the Aberystwith form. The reverse of this coin has the declaration, inscription, and the date 1642; it cannot, therefore, be unreasonable to assign this coin to Shrewsbury. The same reasoning applies in a somewhat greater degree to a shilling in the same collection, the reverse of which has the date 1642, the declaration, inscription, and the feathers.

This argument, however plausible, is not absolutely irresistible, for the sixpences and groats have the Aberystwith obverse with the plume and book, with the declaration type, and with the dates 1643 and 1644, and also with the letters ox for Oxford; so that we have convincing proof that upon some coins the Aberystwith marks were continued not only immediately, but for some years, after the mint had been removed from that place.

We have, however, some further evidence to adduce respecting Shrewsbury coins which will, to a certain extent, confirm the appropriation of certain coins to Shrewsbury made by Messrs. Owen and Blakeway, but upon other grounds.

In the year 1664, Bushell, in a letter addressed to the Lord Treasurer Ashley, says, "I procured such quantities of plate from persons of quality at Shrewsbury, for the more magnificence of his Majesties present service in that expedition, as the sight of it stopt the present meeting of the souldery, when the adverse part had plotted a division for want of pay.

"And in order to their further content, I procured two daies before Edelhill Battle, of his late Majesty at Wodverhampton, a gracious gift of his affection; to each colonel the

medal of a 20s. piece in silver, all other officers, ten or five, and every private souldier half-a-crown, with this motto on the reverse cross :

Exurgat Deus dissipentur inimici
Relig. protest : Leg.
Ang : Libert. Parliament.

which pleased every regiment so much, coming from his Majesty's bounty (of blessed memory), as if they had received their whole arrears from their paymaster-general."

The battle of Edgehill was fought in October, 1642, at which time the mint was at Shrewsbury, and had been there ever since the adoption of the declaration type which appears upon these coins. It is quite certain, therefore, that some of the pound, half-pound, crown, and half-crown pieces, with the declaration type and the date 1642, were struck at Shrewsbury. We are not allowed to go so far as to state that all such pieces of this date were struck there, as we have already seen that Oxford has equal claims to that date. And there are some remarkable peculiarities on some of these pieces which prove that they must have been struck in that city.

There is a pound piece dated 1643, which could not have been struck at Shrewsbury ; it was, however, struck from the same dies as a piece dated 1642, the figure 3 having been stampd in the die over the 2, so that both figures are apparent upon the coin. This die may have been used at Shrewsbury, but it was clearly afterwards used at Oxford.

Some of the half-pound pieces dated 1643, are used with the same obverse as some of those with the date 1642.

Such is also the case with some of the crown pieces, where the same obverse occurs upon pieces with reverses of different dates.

Soon after the mint was established at Shrewsbury, a different artist from the one who had engraved the dies at Aberystwith was probably employed, for the style, character, and workmanship of the figure of the king on horseback is conspicuously unlike what had previously appeared upon any of the king's coins. This peculiar figure occurs upon coins dated 1642, 3, 4, 5, 6, and consequently increases our difficulty of identifying the coins with any particular place. The mint was removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford in 1642,

according to the calendar of those times, consequently both those places have equal claims to coins so dated. In 1643, part of the mint was removed to Bristol, and the Bristol coins have the same peculiar horse, consequently this city and Oxford have equal claims to coins dated 1643. In the latter part of this year these two cities stamp their initials on their coins, and Oxford employing a different artist, adopted a different character of horse.

All then that we have been able to ascertain is, that some of the pound, half-pound, crown, and half-crown pieces dated 1642, were struck at Shrewsbury, but which of them we have not any means of ascertaining.

I fear, then, that we have arrived at the conclusion of a chapter in which nothing is concluded.

CONTINUATION OF ARTISTIC NOTES ON THE WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

IN the drapery and style of the angels supporting shields that appear in the upper lights of all the side windows, we find indications of the XVth rather than the XVIth century.³ These angels, represented hovering in the air, are clothed in full white robes which entirely conceal the limbs and feet, and are disposed in large elaborately bent folds peculiar to German and Flemish art of the XVth century.⁴ There are no figures at all in the tracery lights of the east window.

³ Mr. Winston expresses his suspicion that the glass in the tracery lights of the side-windows is somewhat earlier than that in the lower lights. This favours the opinion of Mr. Bolton, who very justly perceived a uniformity of style and execution throughout all the headings on both sides; and from practical considerations was led to infer, that the entire uppermost range of glass was inserted before the scaffoldings for the stonework were removed. Be that as it may, they certainly accord in style and peculiarities with the windows containing the history of the Virgin Mary. The initial letters on the shields H·R, H·E, and H·K, clearly refer to Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, and Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, and must have been designed before the king's divorce was seriously entertained. The allusions to Henry VII. would not have been necessarily confined to his lifetime, as we see by the picture of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, together with full-length figures of his parents, painted by Holbein in 1536-7, on the wall of the Privy Chamber at Whitehall. A copy of it by Remée is still preserved at Hampton Court.

But the question of the validity of Henry's marriage was not made public till 1527, four years before his actual separation from the queen, and the devices might, for that consideration only, well belong to the date of the second contract, 1526.

In the upper lights of the east window among the devices of roses, trees, and

crowns, may be found the feather and label borne by the Prince of Wales. It occurs on each side of the window between roses, and next to the crown. From this circumstance an earlier date might be assigned, since upon the death of Prince Arthur in 1502, the king invested his son Henry with the principality of Wales, and by sanction of Pope Julius, married him in 1503 to Catherine, his brother's widow. That same year his mother, Elizabeth of York, died. We might thus have had an approximate date of 1503, for the execution of the devices and completion of the stonework of the windows; but unfortunately the initials H·K in the next light are surmounted with a crown.

⁴ Such an arrangement is to be seen in the famous "Last Judgment" at Danzig, in the works of Van Eyck, in the tapestry of St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, the engravings of Martin Schön, the woodcuts in the Nuremberg Chronicle, and in a curious painting, once at Strawberry Hill, now belonging to Lord Waldegrave.*

This blankety encumbrance of the legs and feet is characteristic of transalpine art, a natural association with a more severe climate; for in Italy, even where the feet are concealed, it is with drapery of a more delicate nature. In ancient classic art, the feet of flying

* Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 73; Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1798.

The central compartments, containing angels and prophets, afford a peculiarity worthy of observation. Many of the figures among them are several times repeated. The same cartoon or *vidimus* for a figure has been made to serve in some instances as many as three or four times, and frequently twice, whilst only a few of the figures have escaped repetition altogether.⁵ In every figure of course the writing upon the scroll is varied; and although the form is accurately repeated according to the cartoon, the colours of the dress are constantly changed. There is also a great difference in execution wherever the device is repeated.⁶

It is singular, considering that the chapel is dedicated to St. Nicholas, as well as to the Virgin Mary, that we find no representation of him—not even the slightest allusion to his miracles, which were always so popular in this country—throughout the building. Possibly this deficiency was originally rectified in the decoration of the altar-piece, which, as in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, may have displayed some subject more pertinent to the dedication than the awful themes of the Crucifixion or the Last Judgment.

figures are never hidden; Cavallini, Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, Giotto, and Gaddi, frequently dispensed with the legs of their angels altogether, leaving instead a vague nebulousity starting out like the tail of a comet, or the wavy lines, marking what the heralds call *erased*. Orcagna and Buffalmacco, on the contrary, covered the feet entirely, but with such delicate folds as to prepare the way for the examples we meet with in purest Gothic sculptures. Our own great Flaxman has adopted it in his Homeric designs, *Iliad*, plates 25, 27; *Odyssey*, 7; *Hesiod*, 5; *Æschylus*, 22; but it is unsupported by any known specimen of ancient art.

These peculiarities of drapery in the upper lights of the Cambridge windows, occur also in some of the lower subjects towards the west end, especially in that of "The Angel Appearing to Joachim." It appears conspicuously in all the floating angels in the central lights of the last three windows on the north side marked N.R*. K* and H. Another floating angel with curled drapery and feet exposed, appears in the ninth north window marked B*. The style and conception, however, is very different from that of the figures just noticed.

⁵ It may be interesting to some to

know the exact scale of repetition adopted, and a glance at the accompanying Plate of the "general view," where each figure has a peculiar letter, will show the distribution better than any other mode of explanation. Thus then it stands numerically. There are altogether ninety-four Messengers and Prophets, seventeen of these are used only once, the rest is made up of twenty-six figures variously repeated; thus, eight of them twice; eleven, three; and seven, four times. Forty-three figures are thus made to afford ninety-four. This poverty of material seems the more strange, as in the ninety-six historical pictures that occupy the other compartments, not a single instance of repetition can be detected. It must be observed of the messengers, that the same canopy or heading is not always repeated with the figure.

⁶ Nor does there seem to have been any desire to conceal the fact of this repetition, inasmuch as the same figures often appear in adjacent windows; nay, even two figures, precisely alike, occupy the same central compartment, one above and the other below, and the same peculiarity is repeated in the very next window; see letters L on the south windows of the ante-chapel towards the screen.

On comparing the subjects represented at Cambridge with those in the Block-Books, we are struck with several remarkable omissions which rarely occurred in earlier times.⁷

The three windows,⁸ illustrating the Acts of the Apostles, display many of the peculiarities of Holbein, and, considering that he was in England, on his first visit, at this very period, and that Erasmus, who was his friend, had been so long at Cambridge, it seems more than probable that Holbein would have at least been consulted in the matter. If he gave the compositions, many of the heads and expressions were refined by some one more conversant than himself with Raphael and the Roman school. There is in many of the faces in these paintings a tendency to show the teeth, particularly in the expiring "Ananias," but, in Raphael's cartoon at Hampton Court, no such display is perceptible.⁹

The locks of hair and flowing beards in these windows are admirably drawn, and the red flesh tint is preserved in several of the figures, although not retained in any of the other

⁷ We look in vain for the Transfiguration paralleled in the "*Biblia Pauperum*," No. 12, with Abraham and the Three Angels, and the Three children in the Fiery Furnace; no Mary Magdalene anointing the Saviour's feet, B.P. No. 13, S.H.S. ch. 14 No. 27; no Expulsion of the Money-Changers, B. P. 15; nor Visitation of the Virgin Mary. All these are subjects which artists and divines especially delighted to dwell upon. The appearance of the Saviour before His Judges is here elaborated to the extent of a Duccio or Fiesole, when professing in their series to treat of the Passion alone, and this partiality may serve in some measure to account for the rejection of subjects affording, it may be, more striking parallels than many of the rest.

The subject of "Christ appearing to His Mother," is one unknown in early Italian art. It grew, as Mrs. Jameson observes, with the feelings of the people. It is introduced in the famous Hemling at Munich, and became especially popular among the Germans. This subject may be found among the Six South windows of the choir, which I have already noted for the prevalence of Albert Dürer characteristics. Dürer died in 1528, but before 1516 he had already executed and published some of his finest engravings. A remarkable series of designs from the *Biblia Pauperum* will be found among the tapestries from the Abbaye de la Chaise Dieu, engraved by Jubinal in his mag-

nificent work, "*Anciennes Tapisseries*," &c. Fol. Paris, 1838.^a

⁸ These windows have a remarkable affinity to the beautiful painted glass in the choir of Lichfield cathedral. The breadth of arch has been already noticed, and there is a remarkable absence of petty detail; no small arabesques within the panels on the pilasters or spandrels, which we shall have occasion to remark upon in another place. A rich brown hue in the shadows harmonises all, and it is in these windows especially that large masses of bright crimson occur. A few may be noticed both to the west and the east, but comparatively in a much more moderate degree.

⁹ In his, "St. Stephen being stoned," however, the teeth were distinctly shown, and also in the "Supper at Emmaus" of the Tapestries of the Scuola Nuova.

^a M. Jubinal supposes the Chaise Dieu tapestry to have been wrought at Venice or Florence, late in the XVth or early in the XVIth centuries.

Each tapestry is a page of the *Biblia Pauperum*, with the same architecture, Prophets, scrolls, and legends as in the series from which plate v. in my first paper on this subject was copied. Plate iv. of Jubinal contains the "Temptation of Eve," "Gideon," "The Annunciation." Plate xxx. "The Coronation of the Virgin." Plate xxxiv. "The Last Judgment."

The Nailing to the Cross.	The Crucifixion.	The Deposition.
The "Ecce Homo."	Pilate washing his hands.	The Cross-bearing.

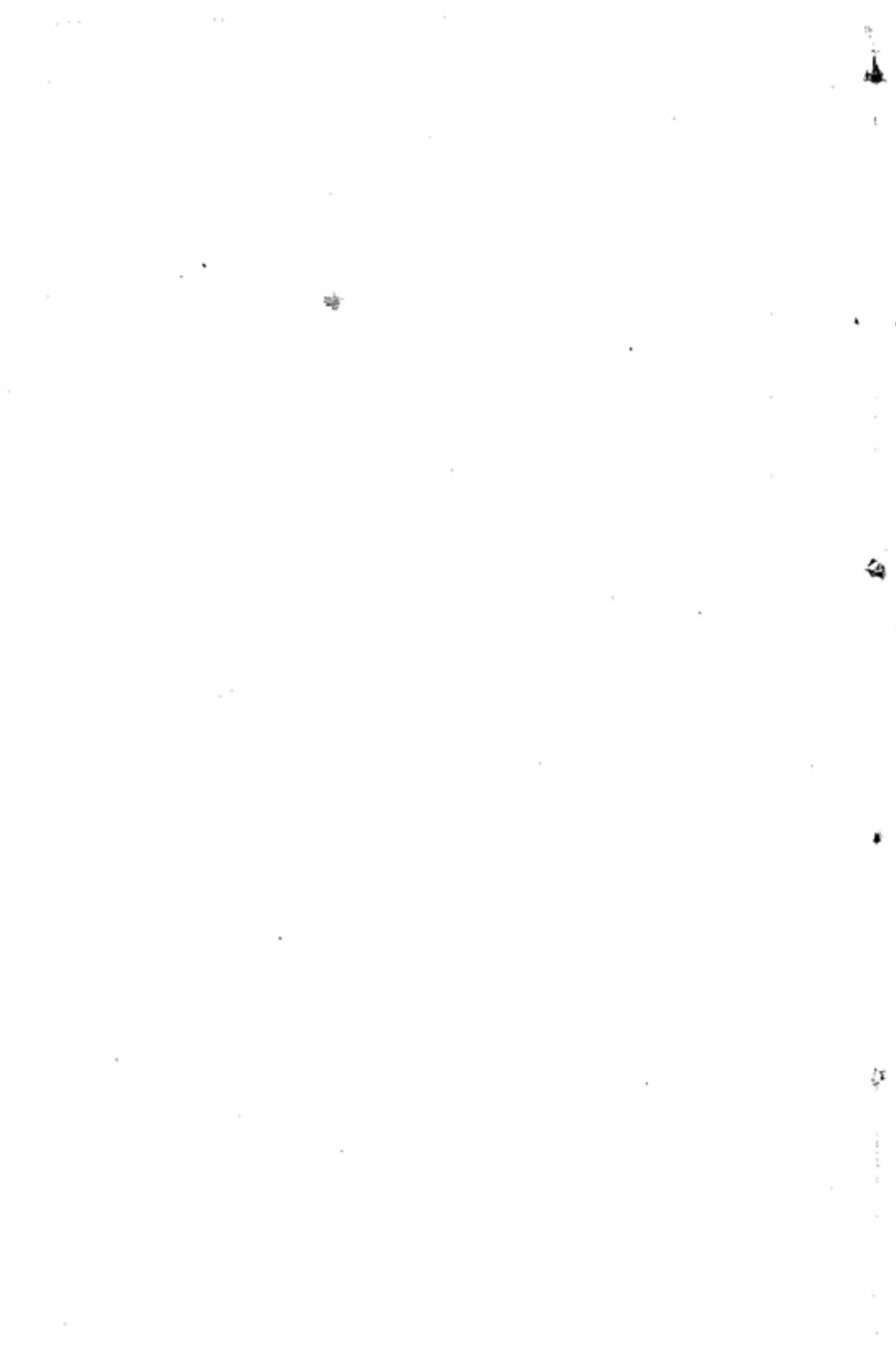
NORTH SIDE OF CHAPEL.

UPPER.	EAST END.	LOWER.	ALTAR.	ALTAR.	UPPER.
1 Solomon crowned. F* G*	Christ crowned with thorns. H* I*	1 The Flagellation.	PAVEMENT OF CHAIR.	PAVEMENT OF CHAIR.	1 Naomi and her Daughters. H G
2 Job tormented. T B	Christ before Herod.	2 Christ before Caiaphas. B* C*			2 The Entombment. Q A
3 Jeremiah imprisoned.	Christ insulted.	3 Christ appearing to His Mother. R S			3 Delivery from Hell.
4 Shimei insulting David. A U	The Betrayal.	4 The Resurrection. F E			4 Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. B A
5 Cain killing Abel.	The Agony.	5 Christ appearing to the Disciples. K I			5 The Journey to Emmaus. D C
6 Fall of Lucifer. V W	The Last Supper.	6 The Ascension. A* Z			6 The Supper at Emmaus.
7 Fall of manna.	The Entry into Jerusalem. T U	7 Descent of the Holy Ghost. N L			7 The Incrudulity of Thomas.
8 Triumph of David. V W	The Raising of Lazarus.	8 The Healed Man going to the Temple. M L			8 Christ appearing to the Disciples.
9 Elisha reviving the child	The Temptation. C D	9 The Death of Ananias. M L			9 The Ascension.
10 Jacob tempting Esau. X Y	The Baptism.	10 The Sacrifice at Lystra. M L			10 Descent of the Holy Ghost.
11 Naaman.	Massacre of the Innocents. T U	11 Paul stoned at Lystra. D B*			11 The Healed Man going to the Temple.
12 Joash saved from the massacre. V W	Fall of Egyptian Idols.	12 Paul before the Emperor. D B*			12 The Death of Ananias.
13 The Golden Calf.	The Flight. E F	13 Death of the Virgin Mary. O N			13 The Sacrifice at Lystra.
14 Jacob's Flight from Esau. M* N*	The Presentation.	14 Burial of the Virgin Mary. O N			14 Paul stoned at Lystra.
15 Purification of Women.	Adoration of Kings. C D	15 Assumption of the Virgin Mary. H G			15 Paul before the Emperor.
16 Queen of Sheba. B* C*	The Circumcision.	16 Coronation of the Virgin Mary.			16 The Healed Man going to the Temple.
17 Circumcision.	The Nativity. N O	17 Solomon and Bathsheba. A* Z			17 The Death of Ananias.
18 Moses and the Burning Bush.	The Annunciation.				18 The Sacrifice at Lystra.
19 Temptation of Eve. K* L*	Marriage of the Virgin. R* S*				19 Paul stoned at Lystra.
20 Marriage of Tobias.	Presentation of the Virgin. N O				20 Paul before the Emperor.
21 Offering of the Golden Table.	Birth of the Virgin.				21 The Healed Man going to the Temple.
22 Joachim with the Angel. K* L*	Meeting of Joachim and Anna.				22 The Death of Ananias.
23 Joachim ejected.					23 The Sacrifice at Lystra.

SOUTH SIDE OF CHAPEL.

NOTE.—The capital letters mark the central figures or messengers; each letter stands

for a particular figure, so that the repetition of the messengers may be perceived by their recurrence.



windows except the east one. In several instances the eyeballs have faded to a dull grey, which gives a disagreeable effect to the countenance.¹

In the seventh north window the shadows seem to have been laid on very dark and solid; in some parts, at first, covering the whole surface, after which the lights and middle tints were taken out with a fine point, or piece of wood, so as to leave the whole surface covered with delicate scratches, according to the gradations of tint. As the main design is bold and uniform with the rest, whilst the manipulation is timid, laborious, and elaborate, I fancy this window to be one of the four for which Williamson was to receive the composition or design at the hands of Hone and his colleagues. On ascending the stairs of the organ-gallery, the scratches alluded to are very perceptible, especially in the central half-figure of a prophet.

Still a department of glass has to claim our attention. It is not stated how far Bernard Flower had proceeded in his work before his decease mentioned in the second contract. Certain it is, however, from the provisions made therein, that his preparation could not have been for more than four windows. He may have made several experiments, and employed various artists, but, at all events, inferior as the glass now to be spoken of is to the rest, it surpasses the solitary figure still remaining at Westminster. In the compositions of "*The Agony*," and "*The Betrayal*," we are reminded of a foreign style, with long-drawn draperies, small delicate features, beautiful finish, and a general timidity. The costume is the same as appears in the works of Gentile da Fabriano and Hubert van Eyck; the subject of "*Christ Insulted*" also belongs to this class. The architecture in this composition is very peculiar. Spectators, in remarkable costumes, are placed in a kind of gallery. Small upright wooden panelling prevails; a feature not to be found in any other of the windows.

The extreme westerly window on the north side has been much injured, and many parts of the glass misplaced; a little care and moderate outlay would soon re-establish the

¹ Similar composition and costume appear in the north window, over the organ-gallery, which contains "*The Massacre of the Innocents*," "*The Fall of the Idols*," and "*The Golden Calf*." The

armour of the soldiers is identical with examples in the east window, "*The Conversion of St. Paul*," and "*The Stoning of St. Paul*;" but the execution is very different.

more important parts of the composition, all of which I perceive to be there. Any one knowing the conventional treatment of the subjects will detect particular portions, however extensively they may have been disturbed.

The upper tracery has been good, with much white and yellow. Rich deep tone of brown, green, and crimson. Observe the elaborate folds of upper central angel.

Meeting at the Golden Gate. Draperies excellent. Rich heading, with baluster-shaped supports. Angels appear over the portal.

Birth of the Virgin. The counterpart of execution and arrangement to the Annunciation. On the canopy of the bed is inscribed ἈΝΘΙΑ. ANNA. MATER. ΜΑ. in large yellow letters on grey. Several parts of the room resemble the well-known picture of "The Death of the Virgin," at Munich, erroneously attributed to Schoreel.²

All the architectural framework of the window over the north entrance is white, shaded with a deep reddish grey; this tint indeed pervades also the figures and every compartment in dense broad masses, giving thereby a totally distinct effect from that presented by any other window. It has a slaty, but not disagreeable hue.

The same leady colour is used even in shading the faces.

Marriage of Tobias. On the yellow edge at top of drapery suspended behind the figures is the legend in small black letters, BENDICTI SIT DORUM. In "*The Marriage of the Virgin*" there is no legend either upon the dresses or tapestry band as in the subject above it. The taste of the architectural framework is especially beautiful and distinct from the rest. It contains certain ornaments peculiarly foreign, and generally designated *German gothic*. They may be recognised among the engravings of Israel Van Meckenen and Martin Schön. A very good specimen of the latter, a censer, date about 1470, has been copied in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations."

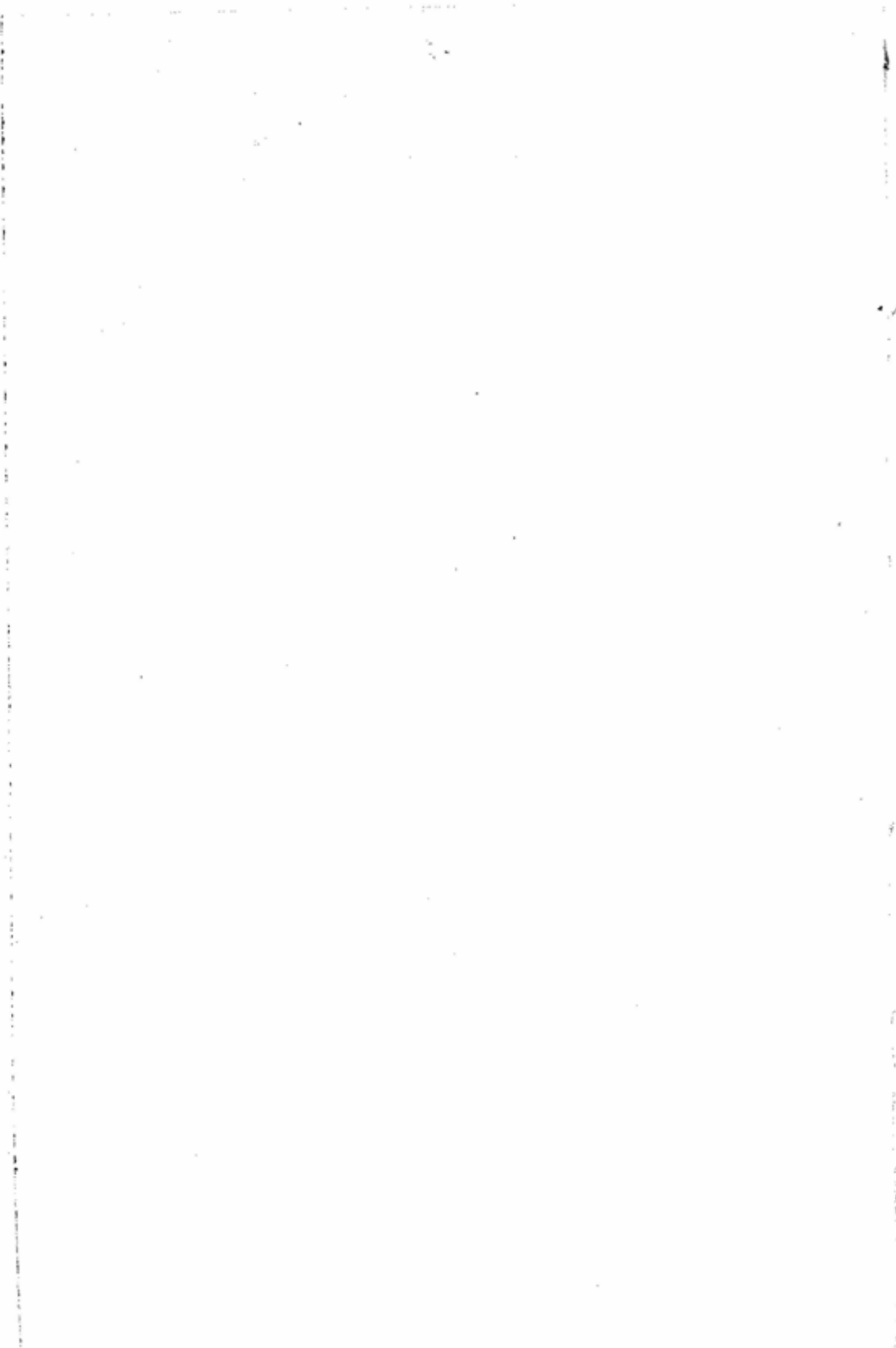
The small half-angels also have legends, the central one of which is EGO SUM ALPHA ET OMEGA. On the left hand may

² Selections from it have been published in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations." The background in this picture affords several similarities to the decorations in the windows of this part of the chapel. For instance, the circular medallions

containing helmeted heads, naked children introduced into the architecture, and long descending garlands hung in festoons. A cupboard with different vessels on it is especially serviceable to the lover of ancient domestic ornaments.



SKETCHES FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



be read PRO ANIMO, held by a figure clothed in a white cowl, with blue sleeves. May not this window prove to be a memorial window, referring to the Queen, or the King's sister, who died in 1503? The position over the north door is a marked one, and was usually adopted for representations of the Virgin Mary annunciate. "I am the door."

The figure of the priest in "*The Marriage of Tobias*" is very like Henry VII., and the bride closely resembles Elizabeth of York. The Virgin has a queenly coronet and mantle in the lower subjects. St. Joseph is clad in priestly white.

Annunciation. Here we meet with a decided example of the North Italian style, blended with the German. The Milanese began first to display the hair of the Madonna in long flowing tresses, which was soon adopted in North Italy and Germany. In some German masters, and in the Coventry Tapestry, the dishevelled locks and luxurious negligence seem more befitting the representations of Mary Magdalene. Here, however, the beautiful and yellow hair is richly flowing, and, although contrasting with the veiled figures of lower Italy, is carefully arranged. The costume is rich, but elegant. The jewellery, although elaborately ornamented, is not obtrusive.³ The archangel kneeling is attended by two lovely children, who support his mantle. Here again is an essential difference between the German and Florentine treatment of this event. The latter clothed the divine messenger in pure classic drapery, delicately feminine in character, whilst the former seem to have always invested him with pontifical insignia. The richly jewelled cope, with broad clasp, was adopted by Stephen of Cologne, Van Eyck and Hemling. The under garments are long, and fall in a profusion of folds. At Hexham, in Northumberland, in a painting on the rood-screen, the angel wears a simple deacon's habit.⁴

³ The jewelled band on her ample brow is unusual, but appears also on a figure of Venus engraved by Robetta, who flourished about 1520. (See Bartsch, vol. xiii., p. 403, No. 18.)

⁴ Another German peculiarity is in the scene where the Annunciation takes place. Invariably, as far as I remember, it is represented, by all Schools, within a building, often a handsome chamber or chapel. The Germans always introduce

a bed with handsome ornaments and curtains, and this was not adopted by the Italians till a very late period, long after the date attributable to the Cambridge glass. Again, the curtains are shortened by being folded up within themselves, and made to hang like bags from the corners of the canopy. This transalpine peculiarity is very common in German and English art.

Here, at Cambridge, a large yellow rose appears in a medallion in the background. The oak planking and pot of lilies are minutely detailed. The angel, also, has flowing and somewhat crimped hair, very German in appearance; and, as in the Cologne picture, he holds a sceptre. The folds of drapery, although angular, are arranged with remarkable elegance. An inscription appears on the cornice of the bed in white letters on grey—*ANCILLA DOMINI M̄A*.

The "*Nativity*" is combined with the "*Adoration of the Shepherds*." The cottage is strangely connected with the gorgeous architecture both of framework and background. Two large medallions are prominent above. Many of the lines of the architecture are variously curved. Blue, red, and green baluster columns are united with upright-shafted columns, and a square pilaster of the Italian Renaissance period is prominent behind the figure of the Virgin. The yellow star appears at the top of the left-hand compartment, penetrating through the rich architecture. The kneeling figure of the Virgin is especially beautiful, her drapery also is gracefully cast and carefully modelled. The adoring angels have the naïve charm so often seen in the Milanese school. A broad white cuff is remarkable on the blue sleeve of the Virgin. The angel's hair is arranged in sparkling yellow curls and braiding.

In the "*Temptation of Eve*," the treatment is peculiarly German; the sky is deep blue and the green of trees intense. A handsome German fountain occupies the centre of the composition. The Tempter, in female form, of deep red hue,⁵ ending in a serpent, is twisted round the tree, and handing the apple to our first parent standing alone. The head of the Tempter is extremely beautiful. The canopy over this subject is positive Gothic, and contrasts strangely with the taste of the one to the right, over "*Moses and the Burning Bush*."⁶ It seems as if Hone, having been entrusted with fixing the glass in their places, had indiscriminately mixed up the various styles,⁷ since all spaces were of the same dimensions.

⁵ In Fairford church the colour of the Tempter is blue.

⁶ The "*Temptation*," together with "*The Burning Bush*," "*Gideon*," and the "*Visit of the Queen to Solomon*," occupy one of the windows of Fairford church, Gloucestershire. The composi-

tion in both is very similar.

⁷ The finest Gothic canopy I would mention, is over the subject of "*Christ Insulted*;" the next will be found above and below in the sixth north window; in the eleventh north; and also, to judge from what now remains, at the top of the

The next window embraces much darker and more coarsely executed designs. The rich figure of angel in lower central light shows clearly the scratching out mode of execution. The messenger below it is in a wretched condition arising perhaps from mere dirt, but for example of difference of execution the visitor may be advantageously referred to the only other repetition of these figures in the third window on the south side.

The composition of the "*Flight into Egypt*" resembles a well-known panel picture of Angelico da Fiesole.⁸ The story of the reapers is carefully introduced in the background.

The next window is also dark. The composition of both subjects relating to "*Slaughter of the Children*" wonderfully vigorous. The front kneeling woman in orange dress perfectly Italian. The central messengers are excellent; the hands of standing angel beautifully drawn.

The standing "Madonna and Child," both without a nimbus, are majestically conceived. The figure kneeling to them has an inscription on his dress over the shoulder; it seems to be ROBOAM · AVTE · EN · SIAS OS AWLP. The figure may be Jeroboam, in reference to (1 Kings, ch. xiii. verses 2 and 5) the prophecy uttered to him, "Behold a child shall be born unto the house of David;" "The altar also was rent." The figures are richly adorned with pearls and jewels. On the dress of the front kneeling figure in the "Adoration of the Golden Calf" is written LIVEREM. Letters also appear on the pavement round the standing figure of "Madonna and Child."

The next window is dark. The Naaman contains some admirable specimens of costume belonging to the commencement of the XVIth century. The architecture of the "*Temptation of Esau*" is entirely different from any surrounding it, although the execution seems from the same hand. The broad large arch, with square pilasters, classic medallions, and large figures of Cupids in the headings, show the cartoon to have been made by the designer of the south choir windows first adverted to.⁹

twelfth south. Over the "*Temptation of Eve*" the heading is coarser, very small red pillars are introduced, with red and green spandrels; but still it is more Gothic than anything else.

⁸ In the Galleria delle Belle Arti di Firenze.

⁹ These pilasters, with arabesques in panels upon them, are to be seen also in the uppermost central light of window over the north entrance, where the angel hovers in the air over a pavement, and the space between them is filled up with the bases of two enriched pilasters. The

Dürer may have adopted the Renaissance¹ style during his visit to Italy before 1507; but I do not remember any instances of his ever giving into the fantastic taste remarked upon in the "*Nativity*" window, and which pervades so many German engravings from Dirk Van Staren, 1523, to the middle of the century.²

In the lower Messenger subject, between "*The Baptism*" and "*Temptation*," the letters s. o. k. n. appear on the square pavement.

In "*The Raising of Lazarus*" the re-animated figure is very poorly drawn, but with evident attempts to follow a good design. The female costumes in this subject are very characteristic.

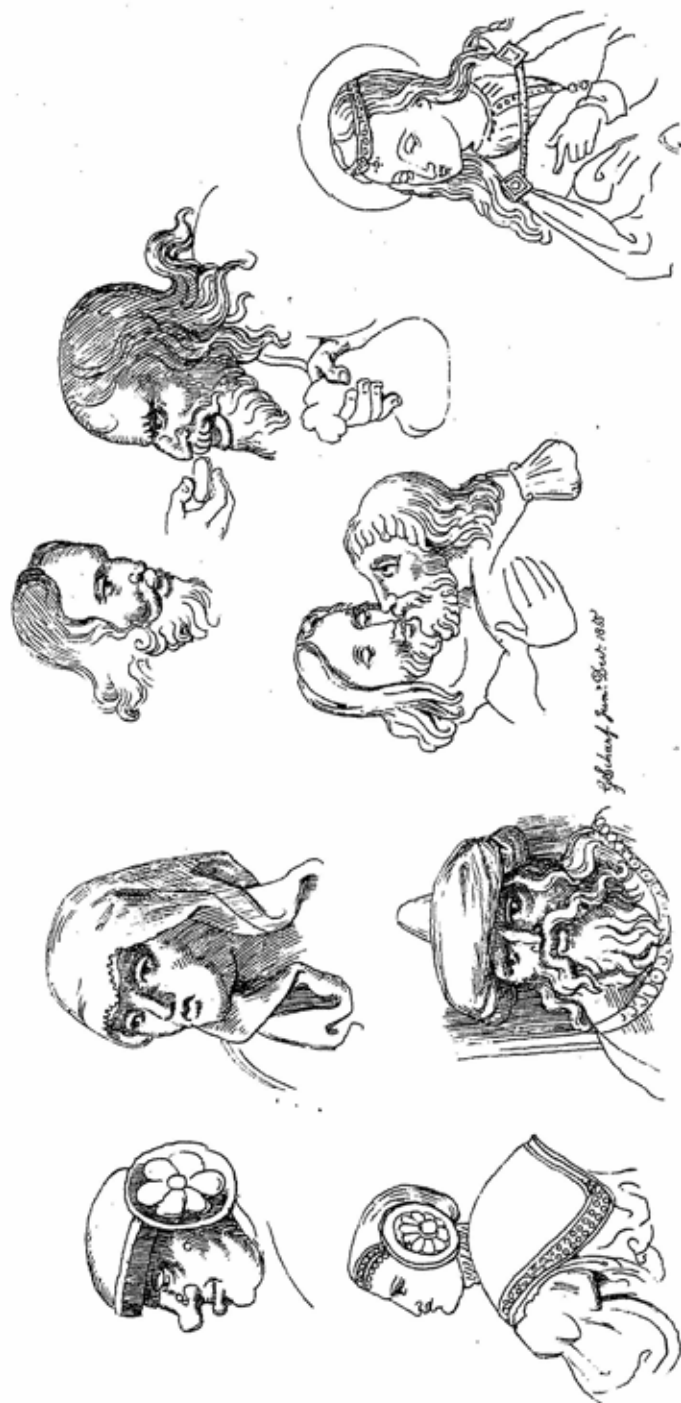
"*The Last Supper*" clearly belongs to the author of the south choir windows. It stands alone here in point of style and execution. The countenance of the Saviour, represented without a nimbus, is almost as villainous as that of Judas. A broad horizontal panelled ceiling accords with the style of the opposite windows; a chandelier also is worthy of observation. Two large Cupids fill the headings. The colouring of this window is peculiarly warm, with large masses of crimson, and more white upon architecture. In the surrounding windows there is scarcely any positive red; green, madder, brown, and blue, predominate. The square leading across the "*Entry to Jerusalem*" is particularly offensive. The messenger to the right of "*The Last Supper*" is coarse and

heading over this figure is also cinquecento; and round the lower angel also of the same window we find the circular arch and spandrels, green wreaths, and square pilaster bases, which contrast very strangely with the architecture on each side of it. These combinations, however, at the very beginning of the century, are reconcilable. One style does not immediately and entirely give way to another, and the works of Dürer and Cranach alone would suffice to show that the same artist made use of each style in turn. The canopy of the figure of Jeremiah in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster is pure Gothic in plain white, with only the prominences coloured yellow.

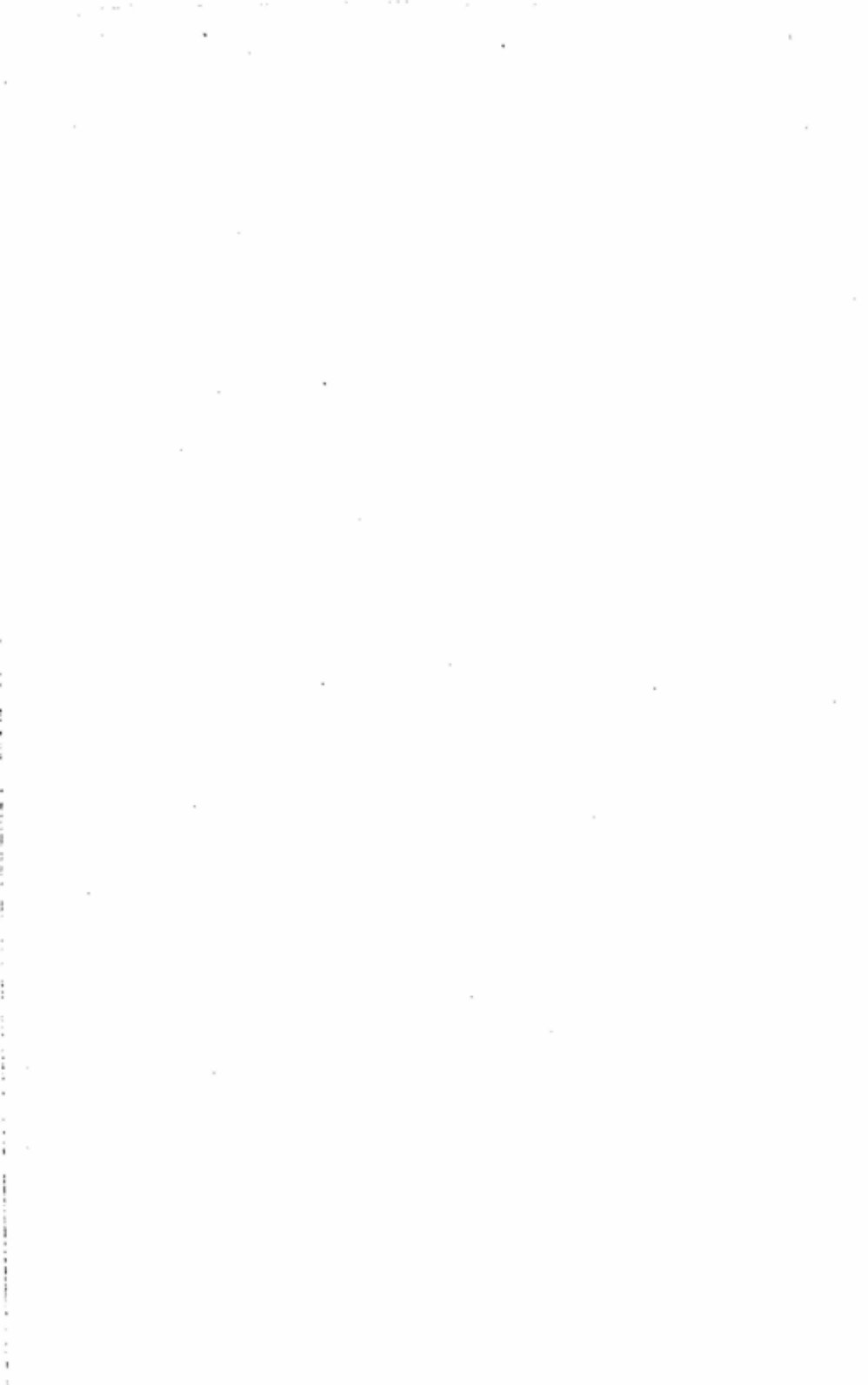
¹ The classical Renaissance architecture came from Florence. There, at least, under the fostering influence of the Medici, were introduced numerous panels containing arabesques copied from the ancient Roman buildings, niches with

fluted shell-like heads, and friezes of naked figures, or warriors attired in classic costume. The picture of "*Calumny*," by Sandro Boticelli, is an early instance; also the frescoes of Ghirlandajo in Santa Maria Novella; and, more recently, the beautifully proportioned arcade and pilasters in Albertinelli's picture of "*The Visitation*," preserved in the Uffizj. The recent discovery of an early painting by Raphael of "*The Last Supper*," shows also this style in all its richness. The elaboration of classic architecture may be seen in Bernard van Orley's picture of "*St. Norbert preaching*."

² It is observable that wherever windows are represented in the interior subjects on this side of the chapel, they are barred diagonally. There is no indication of tracery or of the roundels so much in vogue at that time in Germany.



SKETCHES OF HEADS FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS IN KINGS COLLEGE CHAPEL CAMBRIDGE.



clumsy, but the hand on the breast is carefully outlined. This figure occurs only once. The half angel in armour is inferior to the one in second south window. In the "*Agony*" and "*Betrayal*" the figures are remarkably small,³ the treatment of the subject is very weak, but in several respects partakes of the models and execution of Quentin Messys.

The robes in "*The Agony*" are edged with broad gold bands, ornamented with pearls and jewels in imperial fashion; but none of the robes are patterned or embroidered. Most of the figures in "*The Betrayal*" seem to have their names written upon the border of their dresses in black letters upon yellow. The hair of the personages in these subjects is also coloured deep madder, in all other instances it is either quite white or pure yellow. Two figures of messengers, in the upper part of the north window next the altar, have close affinity to the last mentioned. They are small and of equal size, the upper one is surmounted by a genuine Gothic canopy of pure white, encircled with gold. The lower, somewhat like the Westminster "*Jeremiah*," is placed under an arch similar to the form introduced in the "*Christ Insulted*." A Gothic window, with lozenge framing, appears behind, and also at the back of each of the Messengers just described; they are marked F* and G*. Two other figures of small but equal size are somewhat similar; they are marked X and Y, and occupy the upper central part of the sixth north window from the altar. They only occur once.

The "*Fall of the Angels*" is a rich and charmingly coloured design. Here the angels belong to an earlier period, so also the armour of St. Michael; it marks the time of Edward IV., about 1480. It is almost the same as in the great Dänzig "*Last Judgment*." Both figures have only a band upon the head, surmounted with a cross. The demons are frog-like, and some with pig-snouts, as in the engravings of Martin Schön. A very similar treatment of robed angels and combating demons may be seen in Albert Dürer's "*Fall of the Angels*" among the woodcuts of the Apocalypse, which appeared in 1498. Also in the great west window of

³ The cup, of great size, placed alone at the top of a mountain, appears also in the engravings of Dürer, representing the same subject, and in No. 20 of the Biblia

Pauperum. It appears also, but still more exaggerated, in the lower series of the east window of Fairford church, Gloucestershire.

Fairford Church, which is deservedly admired for composition and colour.

The enthroned figure of the Almighty, represented bare-headed and with nimbus, is especially grand. The fighting angels are draped as in the well-known engraving of St. Michael, by Martin Schön : a group of floating angels in act of adoration is very lovely.

A coarse inscription, SIC REPÔDES POTIFICE, appears on the side of the step supporting seat in "*Christ before Caiaphas*." The high-priest here wears a bonnet over the judge's hood.⁴ In the next subject, Herod positively grins, perhaps in reference to the passage of St. Luke, ch. xxiii. v. 8, "and when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad."⁵ The architecture of this window is profusely ornamented, several of the faces are from the same models as in east window, but much inferior in execution. The head of lowest central messenger is fine ; it resembles that of Pilate enthroned at east end. These windows show strong resemblance to the designs of Pietro Koeck d'Aelst, in the British Museum.

The two next subjects of "*The Flagellation*" and "*Christ Crowned with Thorns*," are the very worst in the whole chapel. Oppressively heavy and clumsy architecture, small figures, utterly deficient in form or expression, betoken an ignorant copy from what may have been originally spirited compositions. Here, then, we find a very different method of copy from what we observed in the central north windows. The copyist here was both ignorant and self-sufficient, a combination unfortunately only too common in all times.

The great east window⁶ is too extensive a subject to be entered upon minutely in the space assigned to this communication ; of some of its merits I have already spoken, others

⁴ A dog seems to have been introduced to indicate rabble and popular tumult, one appears also where "St. Paul is attacked at Lystra." N.B. 41, p. 97, do. p. 111. In Albert Dürer's "Smaller Passion," a dog is introduced in "Christ before Caiaphas," and in "Christ before Pilate," and a crouching one lies behind the feet of the Judge in "Christ sent to Herod." In Cranach's "Christ before Pilate," two dogs are fighting at the feet of the Judge.

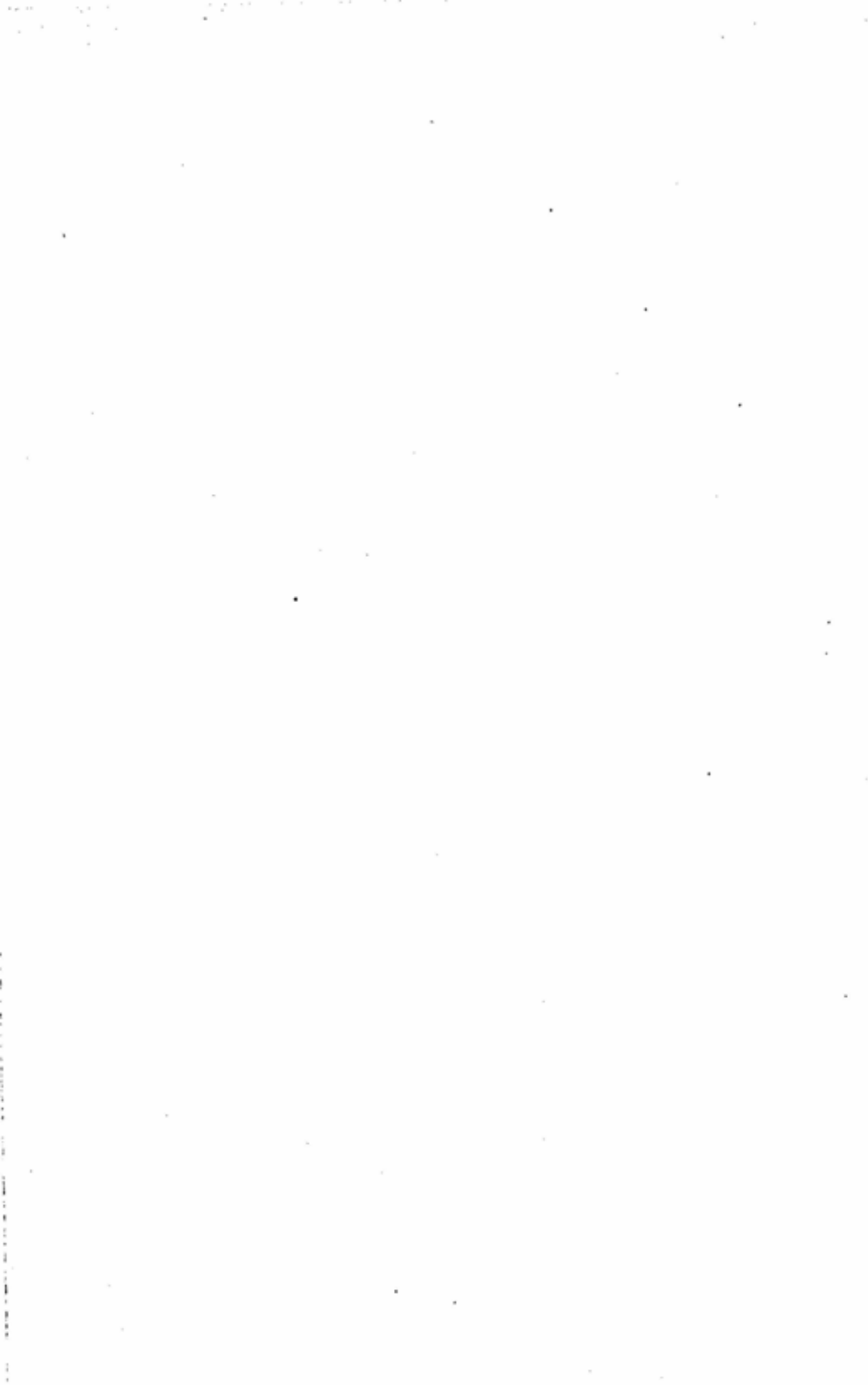
⁵ Herod and Caiaphas both wear bonnets ; Pilate, in the east window, wears a turban. The following Messengers

wear turbans twisted round lofty caps, F. Z. I. C* and G*.

⁶ In St. Margaret's at Westminster, the whole centre of the window is occupied by the "Crucifixion." In the great east window of Fairford church, Gloucestershire, the five upper lights are devoted exclusively to the same subject ; the five lower lights are filled with the following subjects, naming them from north to south. 1. "The Entry into Jerusalem ;" 2. "Agony in the Garden ;" 3. "Pilate Washing his Hands ;" 4. "The Flagellation ;" 5. "The Cross-bearing."



SKETCHES FROM THE PAINTED WINDOWS OF
KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



I hope to make known on a future occasion. The composition and effect, with rich blue and deep shadows against bright masses of light, constantly remind me of Tintoretto; the balance of colour is admirably preserved. One singular expedient is worth mentioning. In the lower right hand subject a mass of red was required against the extensive blue and green of the landscape. To afford this, a large patch of the landscape itself was coloured bright red. At a distance it looks like a banner floating, but on closer inspection rocks and grass on it are distinctly visible.

On the south side we enter upon the most extensive and uniform series. The first compositions nearest the altar are very poor. The lowest angel holding tablet in second window is remarkably beautiful. The motive seems derived from some of Raphael's angels in the dome of the Chigi Chapel at Rome. The wings are thrown up ornamentally, as in a figure of St. Michael by Angelico da Fiesole.⁷ There seems little uniformity with regard to the introduction of the nimbus, in these windows, or of its colour when introduced; sometimes it is represented as a flat circle, at others, as a disk seen in perspective. In the "*Entombment*" and "*Descent to the gates of Hell*" it is omitted entirely. The subject of the "*Descent into Hell or Hades*,"⁸ well shows the distinctive features I have already described. Larger figures, clearer spaces, broader forms, and a studious display of waving drapery in the banner and mantle behind the Redeemer's shoulder. The latter is again apparent in the "*Resurrection*," but there serves usefully to fill a space to the left of the principal figure; but in the subjects of "*Christ appearing to His Mother*," "*Journey to Emmaus*," and in the banner in the "*Incredulity*," these curling graces may be considered ornamental rather than necessary. These accessories, so nobly treated in the genuine works of Raphael, become mere flourishes in the hands of his successors and imitators. Here may be perceived a peculiar roundness of limb and fold which was afterwards carried to extreme excess in the hands of Rubens and his scholars, and these works in many respects seem to have prepared the way for

⁷ In the Galleria delle Belle Arti at Florence.

⁸ This was the subject of one of Raphael's tapestries, which the Jews destroyed in

1798 for the sake of the gold. It had fortunately been engraved previously by Sommereau. See Passavant, vol. ii. p. 269, and Landon, pl. 389.

him. The front soldier in the "*Resurrection*" has a most hideous face, the armour of this subject is the pseudo-classic of Francis I. The colouring of the next subject to the right is very similar to that of the Lichfield Choir, containing rich brown deep shadows well massed. The composition seems derived from a woodcut by Albert Dürer of the same subject. The next window, containing the "*Maries at the Sepulchre*," and the "*Meeting in the Garden*," affords similar costumes to figures in the works of Lucas Van Leyden, Bernard van Orley (his St. Norbert), Schoreel, and Albert Dürer, dating 1510, besides a fine German picture belonging to Lord Radnor, at Longford Castle.⁹ The drawing of the large figures, especially of the kneeling Magdalen, is admirable, worthy indeed of Pontormo when fresh from Michael Angelo. There is in truth not a little of a model of the great Florentine, also, in the style of head and neck of the "*Magdalene standing at the Tomb*." I am aware that the head is a reproduction, but as it was merely copied from what had before existed there, the general character must, of course, have remained the same. The messengers in both lights are richly coloured, the lowest figure with hat and cape is the best among three repetitions. The figure of the winged deacon also is vigorously expressed, the canopy with rich gold filagree is excellent. The lower figures between the Emmaus subjects are very inferior to sixth north window. The upper figures also very weak and inferior to ninth north window.

The lions in the "*Habbacuc*" subject, as well as "*Visit of Darius*," are admirably drawn. The boldness of their attitudes merits attention. The messengers between the "*Incredulity*" and "*Appearance to the Eleven*," are remarkably fine, and only occur once; the modelling of the face of the lowest angel is marvellous; clearly painted and not stippled. The window containing the "*Ascension*," "*Pentecost*," "*Moses*" and "*Elijah*," ought, perhaps, to rank among the very finest. The vigour of conception and appropriateness of execution, place this at once on a level with the east

⁹ The curious fashion in head-ornament of a circular plate or shield at each side of the head, seems to have prevailed for a long time. It appears in a large wood engraving after Pontormo, inserted in Derschan, in a beautiful engraving of the "Samaritan Woman at the Well," by Dirk Van Staren, dated 1523, and in a

graceful figure of "St. Margaret with Margaret of Austria," an etching dated 1531, which Mr. Carpenter supposes to be by Bernard van Orley. In one of the medallions of the windows at Liège the same costume appears. These windows bear dates ranging from 1520 to 1531.

window and those devoted to the Acts of the Apostles. It is considerably darker, a decided Italian composition is perceptible, except in the figure of the Saviour ascending to Heaven, which is seen as in Albert Dürer, Angelico da Fiesole, in the *Biblia Pauperum*, and in the Enoch of the *Speculum*.¹

In "*The Law given to Moses*," cherubim appear in the air according to the Italian conception. In "*The Descent of the Holy Ghost*," the figures, and especially the Virgin Mary, are all clothed in the Italian manner. The upper messengers are the best of three repetitions; upon the sleeve of the half figure is inscribed 7 HEN. The lower figures are also good, especially the head of the one holding a tablet. The three next windows have already elicited much admiration, but the "*Ananias*" claims especial notice, on account of its well-known prototype.² The figures of "*St. Paul Preaching*," and in the "*Attack at Lystra*," partake more or less of Raphael's influence; many are very powerfully shaded; there, as in the east window, even among subjects of tumult, is a propriety and naturalness of expression which we look for in vain among the subjects of "*The Trials of our Lord*." The grimace and caricature so repugnant to us were possibly traditional, which painters adhered to more in Germany than Italy. Among these windows in the central lights occur the repetitions of a standing figure³ in doctor's gown and cap; a kneeling bull is thought by some to mark the evangelist St. Luke, as writer of the Acts of the Apostles. The face is beardless and evidently a portrait. The best among these four repetitions is decidedly the lower one in the ninth window.

The last two windows, relating to the history of the Virgin, are similar to the twelfth on the north side. They

¹ The lower part of the figure and soles of the feet are alone visible in the sky, the rest is cut off by the bright blue clouds. The "*Ascension*" and "*Pentecost*" occur side by side on the south windows of Fairford church. The lower part of the figure of the Saviour is seen in the air, with the feet so turned as to show the soles conspicuously. The mount is elongated into a column with a green top like a mushroom, upon which two foot-prints remain. The apostles kneel in a circle round the base of the column.

² In Raphael's cartoon, the steps are fewer, and the railing not so much orna-

mented. In the cartoon and Marc Antonio's engraving, Ananias has bare legs and feet, his shoulder also is uncovered. In the glass painting he wears a yellow dress with white stockings and ornamented shoes. The teeth also are shown; they are not to be seen in the cartoon. One of the profile heads behind is very Raphaelesque. The apostle raising his arm and pointing, shows distinctly the influence of Marc Antonio's engraving. The figure of St. Peter is quite in the older Florentine style of Lippi or Masaccio.

³ Indicated by the letter L.

have likewise suffered much from wanton injury. In the "*Death of Tobit*," the patriarch lies in a bed with richly ornamented valance and curtains hanging down halfway as noticed in the "*Annunciation*." Tobias and his wife kneel at the foot of the bed and the angel Raphael appears to the left. The subject beneath it, the "*Death of the Virgin*," is very similar, the colours are intense, and there is a beautiful filagree work in the canopy. "*The Burial of Jacob*" is sadly mutilated and clumsily patched together, the central messenger, and angel of upper light, are beautifully rich in colour, the draperies wonderfully modelled and preferable to the repetition in opposite tenth window. The lowest figure is the only full-length one of the series clad in armour. The angel above, a kneeling female figure with remarkable sleeves, has wings. The grass-green bracket with deep perforations, upon which the lowest figure stands, is exquisitely beautiful.⁴

"*The Assumption of the Virgin*" is graceful. The angels are clad in beautifully arranged drapery, some floating, with admirable sharp folds in early German style. One angel above plays a guitar, another a harp. The Virgin being carried up by four angels folds her hands in prayer. The hair is long and flowing, and the entire figure, firm as a statue, is exactly like that in the centre compartment of the Coventry Tapestry. The next subject, "*The Coronation of the Virgin*," is surmounted with a rich curtained canopy; below, two angels play a pipe and dulcimer, the Virgin, clad in celestial blue and white, kneels praying towards the spectator and with her back to the Saviour, who sits with the Almighty Father; the Holy Spirit, "dove-like," hovers above them.⁵ The Almighty wears an arched crown with fillets surrounded by a purple circular nimbus. The knee supporting the globe and cross. The Saviour's head is bare, with a red nimbus seen *in perspective*. The crown held over the Virgin's head is unarched but jewelled. The subject over the "*Assumption*" is unquestionably "*Enoch*." The pouch noticed by Mr. Bolton was no distinctive emblem of St. Nicholas, besides the action of the Almighty receiving the

⁴ A similar pattern will be found upon the support column of Adam Kraft's "Sakramenthäuschen" or tabernacle at Firth, near Nuremberg, executed about 1497. The taste of many of the ornaments recalls the beautiful candlesticks in

Dürer's woodcuts of the Apocalypse. They appeared in 1498.

⁵ The same composition and attitude of the Madonna may be seen in No. 30 of the Chaise Dieu Tapestries.

personage *by the hands* is only seen in connection with Enoch. It is so represented in the *Biblia Pauperum*.⁶

I cannot pretend to have afforded materials for clearly deciding the relative periods of the glass, but I hope that internal evidence derived from artistic considerations may do something towards attaining the desired point. With that view also, I recapitulate one or two particulars which seem to me most likely to indicate an approximate date.

In the fifth indenture, A.D. 1526, still preserved in the archives of the College, *eighteen* windows were ordered; *six* of which were to be completed *within a year* from the date, April 30, and the remaining *twelve* in four years, that is, by April 30th, 1530. As one-third of the windows was to be finished in one-fourth of the entire time allotted, there seems to have been some pressure, and this may have arisen from the necessity of glazing the South windows of the choir as a defence against the sunshine as soon as possible. The windows of this part of the chapel are precisely six in number, and on the south side alone do we find a uniform series of paintings in one style only. These windows, I would unhesitatingly assign to the date 1526-7 by which period, Albert Dürer—whose style and breadth is here peculiarly discernible—had executed all his finest works. Dürer died in 1528. But we know from the indenture of April 30th, 1526, just referred to, that some glass had been *already* prepared: for provision appears for its being put up at the pleasure of the Provost and his two colleagues. Concerning this glass, excepting that a certain Bernard Flower, recently dead, had been connected with it, we know nothing. As the indenture provides for twenty-two windows still to be made, they could not have exceeded four in number.

I cannot help fancying Flower's portion to have been the glass for *all* the upper lights, since they are uniform throughout the chapel. Next to these in date, judging pictorially, I would place the four westerly windows relating to the life of the Virgin. Several of the draperies have strong affinity to those of the Angels in the uppermost

⁶ In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the "*Translation of Enoch*" is represented like "*The Ascension of our Lord*." The "*Translation of Enoch*" forms No. 25 of the Chaise Dieu Tapestries, (see ante p. 46), there also the Almighty

receives him *by the hands*. Below, and somewhat behind, remains a bearded figure with a label "*Quis est iste qui venit de Edom?*" &c. Something of the same kind I fancy to have observed at Cambridge.

lights. The twelve windows to be wrought between 1526 and 1530, were entrusted to two distinct schools; one, including the East window, Flemish with an Italian basis, the other German, of the Cologne School, blended with the Saxon style of Cranach. To the latter may be assigned the windows relating to the Infancy of Christ; to the former, the windows relating to the lives of the Apostles, and ones over Organ Gallery, "*The Entry into Jerusalem*," and "*The Lazarus*." The Dürer characteristics do not extend beyond the six south choir windows and the "*Last Supper*" on the north side; except in the architecture of the "*Temptation of Esau*."

For contractors to employ artists of various countries and make use of engravings, was by no means uncommon. The system, less honestly pursued, is often adopted at the present day, when insipidity is generally preferred to originality. As Mr. Bolton, with every probability on his side, tells us that the West window had never been filled with painted glass, the contract could not have been entirely observed, and it may therefore be uncertain how far the four designs to be provided by Messrs. Hone and Co., were carried into effect. Judging from discrepancies between the design and execution of certain parts of the *north side*, some being too bold and others too timid, I fancy they may have been the copies. In the messengers, such certainly was the case, for in the repeated figures we often see a good and bad use made of the same cartoon. As the charges were so much *per foot*,⁷ the work seems to have been allotted to various artists without reference to subject or position, and their productions being placed together as pictures are arranged on the walls of a modern exhibition room, there seems little chance of the difficulty ever being solved without catalogues or names to identify them. The peculiar windows on the north side, "*The Agony*" and "*The Betrayal*," &c., are distinct from the rest. They have an almost provincial insipidity about them, and the costumes as well as architecture indicate an earlier period. The north side certainly displays a curious variety of styles and composition. The three most westerly are the most uniform.

With these rough notes I must conclude my paper: would that, as an Englishman, I could convince myself and

⁷ Sixteen-pence.

others that these glass paintings originated with Englishmen. If we had not an English school of art in the beginning of the XVIth century, we had certainly manufactures; and the constant demand for art up to the period of the Reformation, must have maintained a multitude of workmen, strong and ready at their craft. In former times, during the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VI., our more limited intercourse with foreign nations favoured the employment of native artists. Hence John of Chester, and John Thornton of Coventry, were largely employed, and seem to have fully met all that was required of them. But it is impossible to believe, that after the invention of engraving, both in wood and metal, our original artists, if we had still possessed any of importance, would not have manifested themselves. All portraits and works for publication, commemorative of state events, came from the hands of foreigners, and no reference whatever is preserved of English originals.^s That we had nationally an ardent love and taste for art is sufficiently evident, and the employment of such extensive resources as may be traced in the decoration of this chapel goes far to refute the charges of those who say we undervalued art in those days. I cannot follow Mr. Bolton's proof of *originality* in the necessarily high pitch of the "horizon line" page 169. The high horizon was adopted by all the great historical painters of that period, and nowhere is it more conspicuous than in the cartoons of both series designed by Raphael for tapestry. That these windows were designed by persons accustomed to tapestry, I have before expressed my conviction, and that the requirements of the loom and furnace should have been jointly considered was only in accordance with the spirit of the age which united the exercise of painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer in one person. It would be unbecoming on my part to omit acknowledging the value of Mr. Bolton's paper, which, without entering upon any artistic criticism, has rendered us so extensive, clear, and concise an account of these windows, their history, signification and manufacture.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

^s The Hampton Court pictures of "The Cloth of Gold," "The Embarcation at Dover," and "The Battle of Spurs," although no longer attributed to Holbein, have not been proved to have been done by an Englishman. The earliest engra-

ving, with an English name, known, is a print of the family of Henry VIII., about 1585, graven by W. Rogers. Two copies only are known: one in the British Museum, the other at Paris.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIÆVAL SEALS.

1. PERSONAL SEAL OF WILLIAM DE YSPANIA (Hispania).—It will be observed the impression is a pointed oval and dish-shaped, and the figure of the horse, on which the knight is mounted, is placed in the longer axis. The knight appears in a pointed chapel de fer, with a nasal, having a kite-shaped shield, and carrying on his right shoulder a lance with a pennon. A few letters are perceptible above the device, being probably the remains of the word Yspania. We are indebted to Mr. William Clayton for directing our attention to this curious seal: the original is attached to an early document among the muniments of the Barrington Hall estate, the property of Mr. Alan Lowndes, by whom a cast has been presented to the Institute.

But little is known of the family of De Hispania beside what is given by Morant. They held estates in Essex; and one parish, Willinghall



Spain, and two manors, Spain's Hall in Finchingfield, and Spaynes Hall in Great Yeldham, are distinguished by their name. Herveus de Hispania, at the time when Domesday was compiled, held lands in that county under Alan, Earl of Britany and Richmond. This William was probably his grandson, and held the manor of Spain's Hall, Finchingfield, as a vassal of Alan the Savage, Earl of Britany and Richmond, who granted the seignory of it and other estates to Alberic de Vere, an ancestor of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, if not the first earl of that family. That was probably about the middle of the XIIth century. The family of De Hispania seems to have continued at Finchingfield and Great Yeldham till the beginning of the XIVth century; about which time an heiress, Margaret or Margery, daughter of a Richard de Hispania, married Nicholas Kemp, and so

conveyed the Finchingfield estate to that family. Their connection with Spain, or how they acquired their surname, has not been discovered.

The document to which the seal is attached is remarkable, being a deed of endowment at the church door; a species of instrument that is rarely met with. According to the common law of this country the usage was the same as, Tacitus tells us, existed among the ancient Germans: "*Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert.*" Dowry, unlike dowry, was a provision for the wife in the event of her surviving her husband, and consisted generally of one third of his lands and tenements. There were several modes of assigning it, but it eventually became a legal right irrespective of any intention on the part of the husband to confer it. Among the various kinds known after the Conquest, if not the earliest, was *Dos ad ostium Ecclesiæ*, which was a specific provision made for the wife by the husband at the door of the church in which they were married. Glanville, a distinguished lawyer and soldier, who was Justiciary under Henry II., and died at the siege of Acre in the service of Cœur de Lion, writing in the reign of the former king, and but a few years after this document was sealed, calls such dowry, "*id quod aliquis liber homo dat sponsæ suæ ad ostium ecclesiæ tempore desponsationis suæ.*" Littleton in the XVth century, at which time it should seem the practice was not extinct, explains it, according to Coke's translation, thus: "Dowment at the church door is where a man of full age seised in fee simple, who shall be married to a woman, and when he cometh to the church door to be married, there, after affiance and troth plighted between them, he endoweth the woman of his whole land, or of the half or other less part thereof, and there openly doth declare the quantity and certainty of the land which she shall have for her dowry." "This dowry," says Sir Edward Coke, "is ever after marriage solemnised, and therefore this dowry is good without deed, because a man cannot make a deed to his wife." But it may be doubted whether marriage did always precede in earlier times, for Littleton says "after affiance and troth plighted," which may mean betrothal; and with this agrees Glanville, as has been seen, and also Bracton, c. 39. It was, however, good without deed, and hence, perhaps, the rarity of such instruments. In this instance, William de Hispania calls the lady his wife, and appears to have married her in the church of Shalford, a village adjoining to Finchingfield, where he probably resided. The name of her father does not appear. Her husband gives her the town (*villam*, probably a manor only) of Willingham, and one knight's fee, viz., that of Robert, son of Menguus, and what is remarkable, one socman, viz., Eustachius of Willingham; another instance, in addition to those noticed by Sir H. Ellis in his Introduction to Domesday, of the base condition of some socmen in Essex, who were apparently attached to the manors on which they dwelt. Among the numerous witnesses, comprising most likely some of the lady's friends, we have William de Hispania's brother Richard, Robert, son of Menguus, the socman Eustace, and also the "deans" of Finchingfield and Matching (a village near Barrington Hall). The deed read *in extenso* is as follows:

"*Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Willelmus de Yspania dedi et concessi uxori mee Lucie Villam de Willigehale cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et feudum unius militis scilicet Rodberti filii mengui et unum socheman scilicet Eustachium de Willigehale ante hostium ecclesiæ sancte Marie de Scaldeford ubi eam desponsavi in dotem sine contradictione aliqua. His*

testibus Ricardo fratre meo, Willelmo filio Joichel, Fulcone dapifero, Rodberto de Vallis, Gilleberto filio Radulfi, Rodberto filio Mengui, Eustachio de Willigehale, Ernaldo decano de Finchingefeld, Willelmo filio Fulconis, Thoma de Ardena et Radulfo filio ejus, Radulfo de Cauri, Elia de Sancto Georgio, Humfrido de Bruill, Alano de Sancto Georgio, Hugone decano de Macinga, Luciano medico, Ricardo pincerna, Eudone filio Gervasii, Rodberto masculo, Nicolao coco, Thoma camerario, Arnaldo coco.

"Valeant presentes et futuri et mee donationis dotem manuteneant."

As the marriage took place at Shalford Church, and the dean of Finchingfield, the husband's parish, was present, the lady was probably of Shalford; but we have not been able to connect any of the witnesses with the latter parish, or to discover which of them were her friends. The "deans" of Finchingfield and Matching, if not rural deans, which seems very questionable, may have been the principal priests in those parishes, or even rectors, having others in some way subordinate to them. Finchingfield is so large a parish, that there were, most likely, several priests in it; and though Matching was much smaller, there appears to have been a chapel as well as a church in it. The name Menguius is very uncommon, but "Filio Mengui," we are assured, is the reading of the deed. A Richard Mascle was tenant, according to Morant, of certain lands, the seignory of which was granted by the Earl of Britany and Richmond to Alberic de Vere, at the same time as the seignory of William de Hispania's manor in Finchingfield. The witness, Robertus Masculus, may therefore very likely have been a relative. Ralph de Ardena, son of Thomas, was probably the same who was some years after Bailiff of Pont Audemer (Normandy), and had a son Thomas. They seem to have been connected with West Sussex, and therefore Humphry de Bruill may have derived his surname from the Broyle, near Chichester.¹ St. Georges was a family in the same county in the XIIth century. The Ardenas, Broyles, and St. Georges, were probably some of the wife's friends. The Joichels (Jekylls) were of Finchingfield.

It may seem a little unaccountable how this document should have got among the Barrington Hall muniments. It was probably through the De Veres, under whose ancestor we have seen William de Hispania held; a considerable number of whose muniments, we have understood, came into the hands of the owners of Barrington Hall, in consequence of the addition of some property that had belonged to them. There was no obligation to deliver up this deed to the lord, but the vassals were likely to consult their lord's steward, who was generally a lawyer; and thus the document may have been left in the steward's custody, and so got mixed with the De Vere archives, which ultimately came into the possession of Mr. Alan Lowndes.

The curious seal, now for the first time published, presents an example of the scyphate, or dished form, which is of rare occurrence. We may mention as specimens of this peculiarity, a contemporary seal with a mounted figure, and the inscription, SIGILLVM ROBERTI COMITIS DE NIORTIS (Niorts? in Poictou²); and a very interesting seal of pointed oval form, obtained by the late Mr. Doubleday at the Hôtel Soubise, in Paris, being

¹ Stapleton, Pref. Rot. Scac. Norm., ii. p. xxxiv, et seq.

² This seal is distinguished in a more remarkable degree than any other hitherto noticed. A sulphur cast has been sup-

plied by Mr. Ready. The seal of one of the earlier prelates of the church of Mayence may be cited as another instance of the scyphate form.

that of the Abbey of St. Victor, near Paris, founded by Louis le Gros, in 1113, probably the date when the matrix was engraved. This seal is figured in the "Trésor de Glyptique—Sceaux des Evêques." &c., pl. 1, but the "Procédé Collas" has failed to give a correct notion of the peculiar concavity of its surface. The intention was doubtless to protect the device in the centre of the impression from injury, a purpose admirably effected by the broad massive margin bearing the inscription of the seal of Eudes, King of France, engraved in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 261. It may possibly have been suggested by the scyphate coins of the Byzantine Emperors; the fashion is said to have commenced from the reign of Basilius II., who died A.D. 1025. The pointed-oval form of the seal communicated by Mr. Clayton deserves notice as supplying a remarkable exception to the rule by which some would strictly limit the seals of that shape to ecclesiastics, monasteries, certain corporate bodies, and to females. We may call attention to another contemporary example, namely, the pointed-oval seal of Giles de Gorram, lord of la Tannière in Maine, A.D. 1158. He is represented kneeling, a posture which rendered it very difficult to introduce the figure into a space of that form. A representation of this curious seal is given in the "Collectanea Topographica," vol. v. p. 187.

2. SEAL OF WILLIAM DE VIVONT (Vieuxpont, Veteriponte), and also his *Secretum* or privy seal, which formed the reverse or counter seal. These are personal seals from General Hutton's Collection of casts, recently presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. They are probably of



the time of King John, or soon after the accession of Henry III., judging from their design and execution. Were there not some indications of an earlier date, the heraldry would seem to require them to be assigned to the first quarter of the latter reign. It will be seen the principal seal is circular, and bears an escutcheon of a peculiar form, almost heart-shaped, charged with three lions rampant, and between them on the honor point a star, and on each side of the escutcheon is a similar star. The legend is ✠ SIGILLVM WILLELMI DE VETERIPONTE. These arms do not at all resemble what are generally known as those of Vipont, and were borne, with little variation, by the Viponts of England and Normandy; which were six or more annulets: nor are they, we believe, like those that have been attributed to any family bearing a name answering to any translation of De

Veteriponte. The name however of William de Veteriponte being upon the seal identifies the arms as his beyond question. The stars, though not an ordinary mark of cadency, may have some significance. The *Secretum* is also circular; the device two demi-lions combatant, not on an escutcheon; and the legend ✠ SIGILLVM SECRETI. The demi-lions, notwithstanding the difference of attitude, may have been derived from the charges on the principal seal.

Unfortunately we have no certain information as to the locality or custody from which these seals were obtained; and General Hutton's Collection was so comprehensive, that the fact of their having formed part of it does not alone much assist us in determining even the country to which they are to be referred, whether Normandy, England, or Scotland; for, though that collection was chiefly formed in Scotland, the Chapter-house at Westminster, and the Treasury at Canterbury, furnished many examples. The English family of Vipont, originally Vieuxpont, were from Normandy, and derived their name from the Lordship of Vieuxpont-en-Auge, near Caen.³ The Norman, or rather French branch, held the Lordship of Courville-en-Chartrain. A common ancestor seems to have had both lordships at a very early period.⁴ Among these we have found no William at the probable date of these seals. In the Anglo-Norman or English branch there was a William living in 1202, whom Dugdale has confounded with another, probably his father, who was of full age in 5 Steph. (1139), and held lands in Cumberland under William, King of Scotland. It should seem the William of 1202 did not live long after that year, and died without issue; unless, like many other English at that time, he held lands both in England and Scotland, and was the progenitor of a family in the latter kingdom. The arms of the Viponts of Scotland are, we apprehend, wholly unknown, unless they are restored to us by these seals. If, as is highly probable, these were an offset from the Anglo-Norman stock, it is less unlikely that they should have taken other arms, than that one of the Anglo-Norman Viponts should have done so, and that all trace and reminiscence of the change should have been lost. The Viponts of Scotland seem to have settled beyond the Tweed about the middle of the XIIth century, and were benefactors to some religious houses near the borders, and especially to Kelso Abbey; and General Hutton, while making his collection, lived, we are informed,⁵ some years near Kelso. Add to this, that there are some peculiarities about these seals, which seem to point to a Scotch origin, viz., an antiquated character in the style which may be attributable to Scotch art; and the legend SIGILLVM SECRETI on the countersal, which accords with Scotch usage, but is very rare on English seals: while there is nothing about either of them peculiarly English. We think, therefore, it will not be unreasonable to assume these seals to be from Scotland; and we will proceed to take a brief survey of the Viponts located there, in order to ascertain to which of them they may with most probability be referred. There were several Williams in that kingdom. The earliest that we have met with, and probably the first of the family that held lands beyond the Tweed, was a William de

³ Stapleton's Pref. to Rot. Scae. Norm. ii. p. cclxiv.

⁴ Dictionnaire Généalogique, Paris, 1757, v. Vieuxpont.

⁵ For this and some other information on the subject of these seals, we are indebted to Cosmo Innes, Esq., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh.

Veteriponte, who, in the time of David King of Scotland (1124—1153), had a dispute with the monks of Coldingham about some land in "Horuordresdene," which in the next reign he gave up to them by a deed, witnessed by Ernald, Abbot of Kelso, who became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1159.⁶ A William de Vyerpunt, most likely the same, with the consent of his wife Matildis, gave certain quarries (eschalingas) in "Lambremore" to the monks of Kelso, by a deed which was witnessed by a Fulk de Vyerpunt,⁷ a name not common in the family, but which does occur associated with a William about 1172, and again in 1198, in some Norman accounts.⁸ William de Veteriponte, son of the former, confirmed that gift, and also one of the Church of Worueldene, likewise made by his father.⁹ The deed was witnessed by Engelram, Bishop of Glasgow (1164—1174), and David, brother of King William. William, bishop of St. Andrews (Scottorum Episcopus) confirmed to the monks of Kelso the Church of "Horueresdene," which William de Veupunt (the father we presume), had given them in his presence.¹ This charter was witnessed by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, but we have not found one of that name contemporary with William, bishop of St. Andrews. We soon after find mentioned among the benefactors to Kelso, a William de Veteriponte (probably the son before noticed), that married, first, Emma de St. Hilary, and second, Matildis de St. Andrew; by the former of whom he had three sons, and by the latter one, if no more; and strange as it may seem, of his sons three were named William, and were distinguished as "primogenitus," "medius," and "junior;" while the eldest of them had a son also called William junior. In the chartulary the eldest is described as William de Veteriponte, "primogenitus" of the sons of William de Veteriponte, which he had by the Lady Emma de St. Hilary, and, for the health of his Lords (dominorum) King William, and the Queen, and their son Alexander, and their other children, and for the health of himself, and his wife, and his heirs, and for the souls of Kings David and Malcolm, and of Earl Henry, and for the souls of his own father and mother, and all his ancestors and successors—he, with the consent of his wife (who is not named), confirmed some gifts of his father, which are not before recorded in the Chartulary. One of these confirmations, No. 139, relates to the Church of Langton (said to have been their first place of settlement in Scotland), and was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore, Domina Matilde de Sancto Andrea matre ejus," and others. In another of them, No. 140, after describing certain lands, mention is made of the church of Horuerebene and some quarries in Lambremore, and there is added, "sicut eas possident et carta (sic) avi mei et patristestantur et confirmant." This was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore fratre domini, Willelmo juniore filio domini," and others. Another, No. 141, was witnessed by "Willelmo de Veteriponte juniore

⁶ Raines's N. Durham, App. p. 36. To this deed the seal of William de Veteriponte is appended, and is engraved by Raines. It is circular, and has for a device a lion, not upon an escutcheon, nor in any heraldic attitude. The legend, when perfect, was his name. We are not disposed to regard it as heraldic. Robert and Ivo de Vipont of Engauld a few years later sealed, it is said, with a lion passant (Nicholson and Burn's Cum-

berland and Westmoreland, i., p. 270); yet there is great reason to think they at the same time bore six or more annulets for their arms.

⁷ Chartulary of Kelso, No. 319. This has been printed by the Bannatyne Club.

⁸ Stapleton's pref. to Rot. Scac. Norm., i., p. clxxii; ii., p. cclxiv.

⁹ Chartulary of Kelso, No. 321.

¹ Ibid., No. 417.

filio domini, Domina Matilde de Sancto Andrea," and others. It will be observed "*matre ejus*" does not occur, she not having been the mother of this William. In No. 142, which is a confirmation of a former confirmation, and made "*ad operationem et operis sustentationem*" of the Church of Kelso, he speaks of it as the church in which the body of Earl Henry rested, meaning Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, son of King David, and father of King Malcolm; to all of whom probably this family was indebted for substantial benefits, seeing the manner in which they are mentioned in these documents. The next instrument, No. 143, in the same Chartulary, is dated on Wednesday before Pentecost, 1203, and is an agreement for settling some disputes between William de Veteriponte (in all probability "*primogenitus*") and the abbot and monks of Kelso; and he thereby discharged them "*de ossibus patris sui de Anglia reportandis, et in cimiterio Kalchoensi tumulandis.*" To this and the last preceding document none of the family are witnesses. The reference to the bones of his father seems to imply, that he died in England, or, if abroad, as perhaps in Normandy, they were to have been brought from England to be interred at Kelso. The abbot and monks on their part promised, that his father's soul should be for ever specially named among the benefactors to the monastery in the mass for the faithful. As prince Alexander was not born till 1198, the confirmations, in which he is named, must have taken place after that event. Probably the father of the three Williams was recently dead in 1203, and those confirmations were obtained from William "*primogenitus*," as his heir, as soon as might be after his accession; a conjecture that is sanctioned by the consecutive order, in which they and the agreement of 1203 are copied into the Chartulary. In the Chartulary of Dryburgh Abbey² we find about this time, not only an Ivo who may have been a generation earlier, but also a Robert de Veteriponte, that was a son of Alan, who appears to have been feudally connected with Alan, Lord of Galloway. The Chartulary of Holyrood contains other notices of this family. Passing by a charter of King Malcolm, witnessed by William de Veteriponte, we have in No. 33, William, son and heir of William de Veteriponte and Emma de St. Hilary, for the welfare of the soul of his lord William King of Scots and of his son Alexander, and for his own soul, and the soul of his wife (not named), and his son and heir William, and the souls of his father and mother &c., confirming to Holyrood the Church of "*Boeltun*," which had been given by his father; and the deed was witnessed by "*Willelmo Medio, et Willelmo Juniore, fratribus meis.*" No. 44 is a similar confirmation witnessed by the same, and a Fulk de Veteriponte. In No. 41, the same William is called the eldest of the *three* sons of the Lady Emma de St. Hilary, and he thereby granted and confirmed certain title at "*Kareddin*" to Holyrood, and that was also witnessed by "*Willelmo Medio et Willelmo Juniore, fratribus meis.*" These confirmations, like those in the Kelso chartulary, were most likely made soon after the father's death. A William de Veteriponte, whom we may with good reason assume to have been the one known as "*primogenitus*," was a person of consideration in Scotland in the time of our King John, in the 15th year of whose reign (1213) we find recorded a writ, directed to Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, commanding him to send safely to the King his (the Earl's) son Reginald (Regin'),³ and the son of William de

² This and the Chartulary of Holyrood, presently mentioned, have been printed

by the Bannatyne Club.

³ Query, a misreading of Rogerum;

Veteriponte, hostages of the King of Scotland, who were in his custody.⁴ These hostages were probably taken, when John in 1209 led an army to the Borders, in consequence of some disquietude that the Scotch had given him. Their King William marched to meet him, and, a treaty ensuing, John complained of his reception and encouragement of fugitives from England. William came to terms promptly, and delivered to him his two daughters Margaret and Isabel, as hostages, and also nine noblemen of Scotland.⁵ Among the prelates, earl and barons, who in the 28 Hen. III. (1244) sealed with King Alexander II. his engagement to keep good faith with Henry III., and who took an oath for the Scotch king's observance of it, was a William de Veteriponte.⁶ He is the second among the few who sealed at the same time with Alexander, as if he were in personal attendance on the king; though in the body of the instrument where they are named he is last but four. In a contemporaneous letter, addressed by them and other nobles to the pope to confirm the treaty, this William is named fifth after the Scotch earls;⁷ so that it should seem he was a person of some importance, and probably the same who was a hostage in 1213. At a much later date there were two, if not three, widows of Williams de Veteriponte, living, as appears by an instrument in 24 Edw. I. (1296), by which that king commanded the lands of several widows in Scotland, who had done fealty to him, to be delivered up to them.⁸ But their husbands may be assumed to have belonged to a generation later than their namesake who concurred in the treaty of 1244.

Among these many Williams we think we shall not be wrong in ascribing these seals to one of those named in the Kelso chartulary. And then, having regard to the probable date of them as inferable from their design and execution, we are led to assign them either to William "primogenitus," whose son was a hostage here in 1213, or to that son himself, who succeeded his father, probably, about 1220, and with his seal and oath gave his support to the treaty of 1244. In judging of a seal of this kind, it is to be borne in mind, that it is more likely to have been executed shortly after a man's accession to his property or honours, than late in life; and, therefore, but for some indications of an earlier date than the heraldry would have suggested, we might refer these to William his son rather than to William "primogenitus" himself; who, at the time of his confirmations of his father's gifts to Kelso Abbey, had a son competent to be a witness to them, and was therefore, we may suppose, past the prime of life. Should it be suggested that they may have belonged to William "medius," or his brother William "junior," especially as the stars may be a mark of difference; we think had such been the case, the legend on the principal seal would have distinguished him from the head of the family: whereas William "primogenitus" himself, or his son William after his father's death, needed no such addition. However, be this as it may, the seals are remarkable for their style and character, and furnish authority of the best kind for a coat of Vipont or De Veteriponte, that had, we believe, become wholly unknown to heralds and genealogists.

For the casts in sulphur, from which the accompanying woodcuts have

for Saher de Quincy does not appear to have had a son Reginald, so far as we can learn.

⁴ Rymer, i., p. 113.

⁵ Neither M. Paris nor Fordun says

anything of these noblemen. Holinshed mentions the number but not their names.

⁶ Rymer, i., p. 257.

⁷ M. Paris, p. 569.

⁸ Rymer, i., p. 846.

been engraved, we are indebted to Mr. Henry Laing, an artist much skilled in reproducing facsimiles of ancient seals. The liberal facilities of access to public and private depositories in Scotland which he has for many years enjoyed, have enabled him to form that extensive collection of Scottish seals of which his "Descriptive Catalogue," published in Edinburgh in 1850, forms a most valuable record. It comprises 1248 examples, of which a considerable number are displayed in the plates and woodcuts which serve to illustrate the volume, the most important publication on Medieval Seals hitherto produced in this country. It may be acceptable to some of our readers to be informed that casts from any of the seals described in that volume, as also glass matrices, may be obtained from Mr. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Edinburgh. The seals of William de Vipont are amongst the numerous acquisitions made since the completion of his catalogue; they have been obtained, as already mentioned, from the collection of the late General Hutton. We may here advert with much satisfaction to the rare liberality evinced by the Rev. Henry Hutton, in regard to the valuable stores of information, chiefly relating to the Monasteries of North Britain, collected by his father, and comprising many original charters, an extensive assemblage of transcripts of deeds and of registers or chartularies, with drawings of monastic and other remains, of which many have now perished. With the generous desire that this important mass of evidence should be deposited where it might prove most extensively useful, Mr. Hutton, at the suggestion of the Rev. T. Pelham Dale and of a member of our Committee, the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, presented the MSS. and drawings to the Library of Advocates at Edinburgh, which had previously acquired several volumes of General Hutton's MSS. (See Mr. Turnbull's *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, p. 19.) The numerous casts from seals have been deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, being the place where it was considered that such collections might be most advantageously preserved.

3. SEAL OF MARGARET D'OUVEDALE, widow of Sir Peter d'Ouedale or Uvedale. This quaint example of a personal seal with heraldry is from a cast by the late Mr. Doubleday, in whose list it appears with the surname of Donnerdale, which, notwithstanding his general accuracy, we have no doubt is due to some misreading and hasty transcription of Douvedale, the *r* having been an unauthorised addition. It is not improbable that he may have found the name so written, for it has been frequently misread and miscopied in consequence of the second *u* having been taken for an *n*. It has been commonly known as De Uvedale, or in its modern form of Uvedale, the *De* being dropped. But in later times the earlier form of it has been printed almost as often wrong as right. The changes the name has undergone are curious. It has been converted into Dounedale, Dowedale, Dovedale, Unedale, Undal, Udall, and so even into Woodhall.⁹ Strange as the last may appear, it will be readily intelligible to those who are familiar with the provincial pronunciation of *wood* as *'ood*. The seal is given by Mr. Doubleday with the date of 1345: we presume that of the

⁹ This example, as well as some of the others, is mentioned in *Collectanea Topographia*, v., p. 242 — 244, in a notice of the family, which does not go far

enough back for our purpose. Compare also the arms of Uvedall, Woodall, and Woodhall in Burke's General Armory.

instrument to which the original was found attached ; but, owing to his extreme illness for some months before his decease, we have not been able to ascertain either this fact, or the explanation he would otherwise have been able to give, we doubt not, as to how the name came to be written Donnerdale in his list.

Sir Peter de Uvedale was summoned to parliament from 1332 to 1336. He did not long survive the latter year: his death occurred probably about 1340. He was the son of John de Ovedale or Uvedale, who held lands at Titsey, Surrey, under the Earl of Gloucester, and died 15 Edw. II. (1322).¹ His name, if we mistake not, appears as Johannes de Unedale among the witnesses to a grant in 2 Edw. II. by Sir John de Rivers (of Essex), printed in Madox's *Form. Angl.*, p. 281. It was the same John de Ovedale, probably, though called Dounedale in the printed Rolls of Parliament, who obtained the wardship and marriage of the heir of Sir Nicholas Cambel.² Margaret, whose seal this was, is said to have been the daughter of Sir Richard Hidon, of Clay Hidon, Devon. Sir W. Pole says she married, first, Sir Josce Dinham, and second, Sir Piers de Uvedall ; and in another place, under Luttokeshele, in the parish of Columpton, he states that if " was granted by Sir John Ralegh of Beandport unto the Lady Margaret de Uvedall and Sir John Dinham her son, which conveyed the same, anno 22 of King Edw. III. unto John Hidon the younger."³ According to Dugdale and later writers, a Margarot, daughter and heir of Richard Hidon, became the second wife of a grandson of the before mentioned Josce, viz., Oliver de Dinham, whose father, also named Oliver, second son of Josce, died in 1346, leaving him his heir, and he died in 1351, leaving an only son Oliver and three daughters. This therefore could not have been the Margaret in question, as she was a widow of Sir Peter Douvedale in 1345, and her son was named John de Dinham. It should seem, therefore, that there were two marriages between the Dinham and Hidon families, in which the lady was a Margaret, daughter of a Richard Hidon. However that may be, this seal appears to support Sir W. Pole's statements in regard to such a marriage. It is remarkable not only as a work of art, but for its heraldry. As appears by the woodcut it is circular, and on an eagle displayed is an escutcheon charged with four fusils conjoined in fess, upon each of which is an ermine spot ; a bearing which would at that time have been blazoned as a fess indented (or engrailed) ermine. The legend is MARGARETA, the letters being separated as shown in the cut, and placed between four crosses moline, or, as they were then often termed, fers de molin, or crosses recercellée. The arms of Dinham, as given in the Roll *Edw. II.*, were "de goules, a une fesse endente de ermyne." These are there ascribed to Sir Oliver de Dynaunt (another spelling of Dinham), and they might be imagined to be the arms of the Oliver, second son of Josce ; but at the time when that roll of arms was compiled, both he and his elder brother John were under age, and



¹ A pedigree of the family is given in Mann, and Bray's *Surrey*, ii., p. 400.

² Rot. Parl. i. p. 467, a.

³ Pole's *Collections*, 203, 188.

therefore not likely to have been knighted. There are, we believe, other instances in that roll where, the heir being an infant, the name of the ancestor, though deceased, is inserted instead of that of the heir. This Sir Oliver was most likely the grandfather who died in 1300; and though his son Josce survived him, it was for little more than a year, and since he was never summoned to parliament, he was probably not so well known as his father Sir Oliver. In a Roll a few years later, viz., t. Edw. III., the arms of Monsire de Dynant are "de gules, a une fes engrele d'ermine;" and in the same Roll those of Monsire Olyver de Dynham are given as "gules, a trois pellots d'or, labell d'asure." The arms, therefore, on the escutcheon of this seal would seem to be those of the senior branch of the family, and consequently those of Josce, rather than those of his junior grandson Oliver. The cross moline, or fer de molin had reference to Margaret's second husband; for in the Roll t. Edw. II., we find "Sire Johan Douwedale, de argent, a un fer de molin de gouples." In the Roll t. Edw. III., the arms of Sir Peter himself probably are given, though by an oversight, the two *u*'s having been mistaken for *n*'s, the name is printed Wonnedale.⁴ The passage stands thus: "Monsire de Wonnedale port d'argent, une crois recersele de gules." If any difference then existed between a fer de molin and a cross recercele, it was that the latter more resembled the cross moline, the ends of it being curved further round after the fashion of a volute. It may appear strange that the arms of Margaret's father, which were *Gu.* three bezants, a label of five points [*Arg.*], should not appear on the seal; but some of our readers may recollect, that this was the case with the seal of her contemporary, Margaret de Nevyle, which is given in Vol. XI. of this Journal, p. 371. The heraldic anomalies, as we are apt to consider them, of this period are very great. If, however, numerous examples could be brought together, and accompanied with genealogical comments, there might be no ground to despair of the greater part of them being found referable to usages of early heraldry, which have long become obsolete. To this class may belong the eagle displayed on which the escutcheon is placed. There are other seals resembling the present in this respect, and we cannot doubt but that the eagle on them all had some significance. To these seals, which are chiefly of the fourteenth century, we propose to advert on some future occasion, in the hope of offering a few suggestions towards an explanation of a practice now little understood.

4. SEAL OF SANDRE DE GLOUCETRE, a personal seal with a device. Amongst seals bearing devices allusive to the trade or occupation of the owner, this example appears worthy of selection, as connected with an ancient local industry of considerable note. From an early period, probably, workers in metal were established at Gloucester. The principal mart for the products of the great Roman iron-works in the adjacent forest of Dean, had doubtless been at *Glevum*, a place advantageously situated on the Severn. In Saxon and in Norman times the chief employment of the town is stated to have been smelting and forging iron; in the time of the Confessor, as recorded in Domesday, Gloucester paid to the King "xxxvi. dicras ferri, et c. virgas ferreas ductiles ad clavos navium regis,"⁵ In the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., it was noted for its iron manufactures; the ore, it is said, was obtained in abundance from Robin Hood's Hill, about two miles distant from the city. Of the reputation of its smiths an honour-

⁴ See Collectanea Topog., v., p. 241, note.

⁵ Domesday, vol. i., f. 162, a.

able memorial may probably be traced in the horse-shoes and large nails which surround the head of Edward I., on the king's seal for Statutes Merchant at Gloucester, in pursuance of the Statute of Acton Burnel, in 1283. The horse-shoes are still displayed in the heraldic insignia of the city with the sword of state presented to the city by Richard II. Amongst the twelve companies of the corporation who attend the mayor on solemn occasions, the "Metal-men" still hold their place.

It was not in iron alone that the metallurgical industry of Gloucester was famed in former times. Of the early history of manufactures in copper and brass little has been ascertained; and we are ignorant where the first foundry for bells was established in England. The name Billiter Lane, Aldgate, anciently Belzetter's,⁶ or Bellfounder's Lane, suggests the supposition that their art may have been practised in early times in the metropolis. It certainly was a noted feature of the skill of the metal-workers at Gloucester. The Rev. W. C. Lukis observes in his *Memoir on Church Bells* ("Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine," vol. ii. p. 49), "A great many Gloucester bells are to be met with in Wiltshire, and they abound also in the Western counties. That foundry is of great antiquity, and it was there that the art was brought to great perfection. In the time of Edward II., circa 1310, it is known that bells were founded there by John of Gloucester. From his days to the present time, i.e., for more than 500 years, the foundry has been in active operation, and especially so from the close of the XVIIth century, when we are introduced to the well-known name of Rudhall." In St. Michael's Church, Gloucester, there are sepulchral brasses to the memory of William Henshawe, Bell-founder, and his wives. He was sheriff of the city in 1496 and 1501, Mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509.

Sandre of Gloucester, to whom the seal here represented belonged, was no doubt one of the "Bellzetters" established in that city towards the close of the XIIIth century, as the character of the seal would indicate. The device shows that his craft was not limited to the manufacture of bells; according to the definition of the "Promptorium Parvulorum," it comprised, "Zetynge of metelle, as bellys, pannys, potys, and other lyke." Some of our readers may incline to conclude from the pointed-oval form of the seal, that Sandre was an ecclesiastic, but the rules which seem usually to have prevailed in regard to the use of that form were not, as we apprehend, so strictly limited as some suppose. The device is a tripod pot, or ewer (*aquamane*, Lat. *aiguïère*, Fr.), of which numerous examples, of brass, have been found in this country, and several have been produced at the meetings of the Institute. The tripod form rendered it well adapted for heating water, when placed amongst the embers on the hearth.⁷ The letters AVE, distinctly seen upon this vessel, may be, as it has been suggested, part of the Angelical Salutation, so frequently inscribed on objects of personal and domestic use. The inscription may, however, have had a more homely intention, since on a



⁶ "Bellezetter (in other MSS. *bel zetar* or bellyater) *Cumpanarius*," *Promptorium*. Ang. Sax. *Geotere*, *fusor*."

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⁷ The arms of the Founders' Company of London are, a laver pot between two priket candlesticks.

brass tripod ewer, exhibited by the Rev. C. R. Manning in the temporary Museum at the Norwich Meeting, the quaint invitation was inscribed, ✠ VENEZ LAVER.⁸ (See woodcut.) Above the ewer the seal of Sandre de Gloucetre displays a bell, with the crown, or loops, by which church-bells are attached to the stock. The legend is, * s' SANDRE DE GLOUCETRE (See woodcut, size of the original). The matrix, of brass, has a small loop on the reverse; it was purchased from a dealer in London, and the place where it was found has not been ascertained.

The name Sandre, a diminutive probably of Alexander, is of uncommon occurrence as a *prænomen*; it occurs, however, in the Hundred Rolls, t. Edw. 1., at Northampton, and at Shrewsbury.⁹ As a surname, Sandre is found in the Rolls of the same period, at Denton, Oxfordshire, and it may deserve notice that Saunders seems to be a common name at Gloucester.



Brass Ewer, inscribed VENEZ LAVER. Date, about 1400.

William Saunders was a benefactor to the city in 1570. Amongst the suitors to the Hundred Court the name of Saunders Saunders occurs, early in the last century.¹

5. Personal seal with a device, but no name. This example which claims notice as bearing a device regarded, possibly, as in some degree of a talismanic character—the head of St. John the Baptist—was found in

⁸ Norwich Volume, Catalogue of Antiquities, p. xxxv. Some of these tripod bronze ewers have been assigned to the Roman period, but they are probably mediæval. See Wilson's Prehistoric

Annals of Scotland, p. 278. Bruce's Roman Wall, pl. xvi, p. 434.

⁹ Rot. Hund. tom. i. pp. 5, 67.

¹ Rudder, Hist. of Gloucester, p. 41.

Norfolk. The matrix is of silver, of oval form, and it is now in the possession of Mr. Dumbleton, of Southampton. The head of St. John appears placed in a vessel resembling a basin, and several other instances occur of this mode of representing the "charger," or large deep dish (in the Vulgate, *disco*) in which the daughter of Herodias received the head of the Precursor. The device is in high relief, within a circular compartment, the words CAPVD BAPTⁱ being written above, and AMOR IOHⁱis, beneath. We are indebted to the Rev. Greville J. Chester for an impression from this seal, which may be assigned to the XIVth century.

The mediation of St. John was regarded as of especial efficacy against the dreaded disorder of epilepsy, or the falling evil, called "*Morbus sancti Johannis, le Mal de Saint Jean*," (See Paciaudi, de Cultu S. Johannis Baptiste, diss. vii. p. 302.)² Pilgrims resorted in great numbers to the Church of Creteil, near Paris, on the feast of his Nativity, seeking relief from that disease. The most remarkable place of pilgrimage, however, was Amiens, where the supposed head of the Baptist was preserved, and where it may still be seen. A representation of this remarkable relique has been given by Ducange.³ Part of the head of St. John was reputed to be preserved in the Church of St. Sylvester, in the Campo Marzio, at Rome; but some doubt having arisen regarding it, a portion of the head shown at Amiens was obtained by Pope Clement VIII. for St. Sylvester's church. There was likewise a celebrated relique in our own country, venerated as the head of St. John Baptist, in the Church of Trimmingham, Norfolk. Blomefield cites the will of Alice Cook, of Horstead, dated 1478: "*Item, I wyll have a man to go a pilgrimage to St. John hys hede of Trymmyngham.*" The church is dedicated to St. John Baptist. (Hist. Norf., vol. viii. p. 179.)

It has been observed that seals bearing the device of the head of the Baptist are not uncommon. In some instances a sword, the symbol of his martyrdom, is introduced above the head, as on the little matrix found at Winchester, and produced by Mr. Græme in the Museum formed during the meeting in that city in 1845. The legend was simply the name IOHANNES. Occasionally the favourite device of the sleeping lion accompanies the head in a charger. On the seal of John Patrik, 22 Edw. III., amongst the curious seals recently copied by Mr. Ready, at Caius College, the head appears with the symbols of St. Matthew and St. John; whilst on the curious seal of Thomas Morys, 28 Edw. III., it is seen placed under the favourite device of two hands grasping a heart. Mr. Ready has obtained other examples from the college muniments at Cambridge, amongst which

² Many curious illustrations of popular veneration in mediæval times towards the Precursor might be cited. There is much curious information in the Essay by M. Breuil, "*Du culte de Saint Jean-Baptiste*," in the *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiqu. de Picardie*, vol. viii. p. 155. See also Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. As late as 1671, the proverbial expression occurs—"Saint John to borrow, *exp.* with good speed, *vel. q. d.* Divo Johanne fidejubente." Skinner, *Etymologicon*.

³ Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 101. See also the "*Traité Historique de la Translation du chef de St. Jean-Baptiste*,"

by Ducange, Paris, 1655: "*Histoire de la Ville d'Amiens*," par le P. Daire. Paciaudi gives a representation of another reliquary at Malta, in the form of the head placed in a dish. (De Cultu S. Joh. diss. vii. p. 332). Mr. Roach Smith has given in his *Collectanea Antiqua* representations of several pilgrims' signs, of pewter or lead (*enseignes* or *signa*) found at Amiens and Abbeville, Vol. i. p. 87, vol. ii. p. 45. They are also noticed by Dr. Rigollot in his "*Monnaies inconnues des évêques des Innocens*," &c. Paris, 1837.

may be mentioned the seals of Richard Holle, 13 Edw. III., and Laurence Drake, 20 Edw. III.⁴

A curious seal bearing the head of St. John *in disco*, occurs amongst the "Sigilla Antiqua," selected by the Rev. G. Dashwood from the documents in the muniment room of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., of Stowe-Bardolph, Norfolk.⁵ (Plate 8, fig. 8.) It is appended to a deed dated 3 Edw. III. The legend is, *IESVS : EST : AMOR : MEVS*. The *dexter Dei* appears extended in the gesture of benediction over the head of the Baptist.

Many other indications might doubtless be noticed of the popular veneration towards St. John, and the belief in the powerful efficacy of his intercession. The "Festum Inventionis Capitis S. Johannis" (Feb. 24) occurs in Bede's Martyrology. The seals above mentioned appear to present an evidence, amongst the minor objects of personal use, how prevalent was that feeling of veneration in this country, in mediæval times. We have not hitherto found a similar device on any foreign seal. The especial *cultus*, however, shown in England towards the Precursor is illustrated in a more remarkable manner by the alabaster tablets, of which no example has at present been noticed on the Continent, and to which the attention of readers of this Journal was recently invited (See Arch. Journ., vol. xii., p. 184). In the curious symbolism, and combinations of figures of saints with subjects of sacred character, there described as displayed by those sculptures, the principal feature is almost invariably the Head of the Baptist in a charger; whilst its large proportions, as compared with the subjects by which it is accompanied, seem to indicate, as upon the seals which have been described, some especial import of which we have sought in vain for explanation in treatises on sacred Iconography.

W. S. W. and A. W.

NOTE.

On collating the proof with the original of the deed printed (pp. 63, 64) it appeared, that the church there mentioned is called "Ecclesiæ Sancte Marie de Scaldeford." The present church at Shalford in Essex is dedicated to St. Andrew. There was a free chapel there, but we have not found the name of its titular saint. If that were not St. Mary, the parish church may have been formerly dedicated to her. Supposing Shalford in Essex, which adjoins in Finchingfield, was not the place intended, the occurrence of Sussex as well as Essex names among the witnesses would lead us to think, that Shalford St. Mary near Guilford may have been the church at which the marriage was solemnised, and if so, that the bride was a lady of Surrey or West Sussex.

⁴ In Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 529, is represented a small matrix with this device and the legend—CAPVT IOH'IS IN DISCO. It was found at the Nunnery of Godstow.

⁵ Privately printed in 1847 by Mr. Dashwood, who kindly presented a copy to the Library of the Institute.

Original Documents.

THE FIRST RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MISSION OF OWSCHEIP NEPERA, AMBASSADOR FROM RUSSIA, A.D. 1556, AND HIS SHIPWRECK ON THE COASTS OF SCOTLAND.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

THE history of the First Russian Embassy to England is recorded in "A Discourse of the honourable receiving into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperour of Russia, in the yere of Christ, 1556, serving for the third voyage to Moscow: registered by John Incent, protonotarie." (Printed by Hakluyt, p. 332, edit. 1589, vol. i. p. 318, Reprint 1809.)

The ambassador was wrecked on the north-eastern promontory of Scotland, and certain documents regarding the wreck have been discovered in Her Majesty's General Register House at Edinburgh, by Mr. Joseph Robertson, Superintendent of Searches for Literary Purposes in that establishment, by whom copies (omitting clauses of style) have been communicated for publication in this Journal of the Archaeological Institute, in the hope that they may help to call the attention of English scholars to the materials for the illustration of English history and antiquities, which are preserved among the National Records of Scotland.

The first document of the series is a safe-conduct, in the usual form, by the Queen of Scots, granted "at the instance and request of our derest sistir the Quene of England," and empowering "Laurence Huse, George Gilpyn, and Robert Best, Englishmen, merchandis of the toun of London within England, with their servants, to cum within the realm of Scotland, on hors or on fute, by sey or land, and to pass and repass through the samyn." It is dated at Linlithgow, on the 28th January, 1556-7; and was presented for registration before the Lords of Council and Session at Edinburgh, on the 6th February, 1556-7, by "Laurence Huse, doctour in the lawis, George Gilpyn, and Jhone Lewis, Englishmen, merchandis in London."

On the same day, the same persons presented the following document for registration in the books of the Lords of Council and Session:—

In Dei nomine, Amen. Presentis publici instrumenti serie cunctis innotescat et palam fiet qualiter die, mense, anno et loco in calce presentis publici instrumenti specificie descriptis, Constituti personaliter preeximii viri Georgius Barnes et Andreas Judde, milites, et Anthonius Huse, armiger, Consules collegii sive societatis Mercatorum Anglie [versus] partes Russie et Moscovie, ditionis illustrissimi et potentissimi principis, Johannis Vesselevyche, Dei gratia Imperatoris totius Russie, ac Magni Ducis Valledermuskie, Muskoskie, Novigrotskie, Bazouskie, Plaskeskie, etc., negotiandi gratia traphicantium, dominorum et proprietariorum cujusdani

navis onerarie dietæ *ly* Eduerd Bonaventure, oneris sive portagii centum et sexaginta doliolum, ac rerum, mercium et bonorum in eadem nave nuper in partibus Moscovie et Russie ditionis ejusdem Augustissimi Imperatoris oneratorum, ac apparatus, munitionum, victualium, et aliorum ornamentorum et instrumentorum nauticorum quorumcunque ejusdem, in ora Scotie juxta seu prope sinum seu litus maris Scotici dictum Buchan Ness vi tempestatum jactitate quassate et rupte, tam nominibus suis propriis, quam vice, loco, et nomine omnium et singulorum aliorum ejusdem societatis sociorum, fratrum, et collegarum, dixerunt, allegarunt et proposuerunt: Quod cum dicta eorum navis, mense Novembris ultimo, sub ductu et regimine Joannis Bukeland magistri sub Deo sive exercitatoris ejusdem, existens in itinere suo versus civitatem Londonensem partium regni Anglie portum videlicet destinatum, vi tempestatum (ut premititur) ita perierit et occubuerit ut magna pars apparatus, rerum, mercium et bonorum in ea (ut preinseritur) onustorum et caricatorum, in mare natans, pars vero ad terram dejecta ad manus quorundam inhabitantium fines et oras de Buchquhan Ness predictas, et alia loca maritima adjacentia Serenissime Regine Scotie subditorum, pervenerit, et ab eisdem (ut ipsi exponentes asseruerunt) injuste occupata et detenta existit: Ideo exponentes memorati nominibus quibus supra fecerunt . . . dilectos sibi in Christo eximium virum Dominum Laurentium Huse legum doctorem, Georgium Gylpyn generosum, societatis Mercatorum Anglorum infra oppidum Antverpie residentium secretarium, Johannem Lewes, mercatorem civitatis Londonensis, Johannem Bukeland, magistrum sive exercitorem navis predictæ, Edmundum Roberts et Robertum Best suos veros, legitimos, ac indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negotiorumque suorum infrascriptorum gestores et nuncios generales et generalissimos quascunque res, merces, mercimonia, bona, mercandizas, et alia quecunque jura societatis predictæ in quorumcunque manibus, possessione, retentione aut contractatione existentia, et precipue in manibus quorumcunque subditorum Serenissime Regine Scotie, qui bona, res, merces, mercimonia et cetera jura . . . societatis predictæ nuper in dicta nave nuncupata *lie* Edwerd Bonaventure onerata, ac sic (ut premititur) natantia reperta vel ad terram dejecta receperunt et subtraxerunt, ac penes se injuste detinuerunt et detinent in presenti. . . coram Serenissima Domina Regina Scotie, ejusque a consiliis dominis illustribus, ac coram quibuscunque admirallis regni Scotie, officialibusque, consulibus, magistratibus, et jus dicentibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus quibuscunque, comparandum . . . ac bonorum, rerum, et mercium, ac ceterorum jurium . . . societatis predictæ detentores et occupatores ad debitam satisfactionem et solutionem ac restitutionem eorundem, juxta juris exigenciam, cogendum et compellendum . . . Unde . . . factum est presens procurationis instrumentum per me Thomam Atkinson notarium publicum, signoque, nomine, cognomine, et subscriptione meis solitis et consuetis, unacum appensione sigilli communis societatis predictæ, roboratum. Actum Londini, in edibus solite residentie Galfridi Walkeden, sitis infra parochiam Sancti Pancrasii, civitatis Londonensis, decimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, et annis regnorum Serenissimorum in Christo principum Philippi et Marie, Dei gratia Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, utriusque Cicie, Jerusalem, et Hibernie Regis et Regine, fide, defensorum, Archiducum Austrie, Burgundie, Mediolane et Brabanciei Comitum Haspurgi, Flandrie et Tirolis, tertio et quarto: Presentibus tunc

ibidem eximio viro Rogero Martine, aldermanno civitatis Londonensis, Joanne Marshe, armigero, Leonello Duckette, Joanne Ryvers, Thoma Bannestar, Francisco Robensoune, mercatoribus civitatis Londonensis predictae, necnon Thoma Nicoles et Richardo Whellar testibus . . . vocatis et specialiter requisitis.

Sequitur subscriptio notarii.

Et quia ego, Thomas Atkynsoun civis civitatis Londonensis, publicus Sacra Regia auctoritate notarius [*etc. in forma communi.*]

Simultaneously with the registration of this deed, the following document was presented for registration by "Jhone Lewis, Inglishman, merchand of Londoun :"—

Universis pateat per presentes, me Owscheip Gregorybeche Nepera, oratorem Illustrissimi et potentissimi principis Johannis Desselebeche, Dei gratia Imperatoris Totius Russie, ac Magni Ducis Valledarmuskie, Muskoskie, Novigrotskie, Bazouskie, Plaskeskie, etc., fecisse . . . Johannem Lewesche, Edmundum Roberts, et Johannem Bukland, Anglos, mihi dilectos . . . meos legitimos procuratores generales et speciales : Concedendo et committendo eisdem . . . meam plenam . . . potestatem illas meas fortunas, res, merces, corporis ornamenta, et reliqua que amisi bona quecunque prope Bucquhanness maritimum Scotie, sexto mensis Novembris ultimo elapsi (tempore scilicet quo navis illa Anglicana dicta Edward Bonaventure qua ego, mee fortune, merces, et bona vehebamur, naufragium passa est) perscrutandi, recuperandi et recipiendi . . . In quorum . . . testimonium has presentes meas mandati et procuracionis literas manu mea propria signatas, per notarium et tabellionem publicum ad majorem facti certitudinem subscribi curavi : Apud Edinburgum, quinto Februarii, anno a nato Christo millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto : Coram Willelmo Maitland de Lethingtoun, secreti consilii scriba, Laurentio Huseo, doctore legum, Georgeo Gylpyn, Henrico Ray, Berwik nuncio, Anglis, Joanne Gibsoun, aurifabro Scoto, Hectore Troop, Joanne Brown, et Jacobo Nicholsoun, Scotis, notariis et tabellionibus publicis, cum multis aliis.

Sic subscribitur.

Et ego, Jacobus Nicholsoun, notarius et tabellio publicus, dictum Owscheip has presentes literas vidi scribere, et ultra audiivi eum pronunciantem nonnulla verba sua lingua vernacula, que Robertus Best in hunc modum Anglice vertebat, Ego Owscheip constituo prefatos meos procuratores ad formam harum literarum superscriptarum. Acta in hospicio Richardi Troop, hora nona ante meridiem, anno, die, et mense prescriptis, et coram testibus prenotatis.

Notices of the chief persons referred to in these deeds will be found in Hakluyt. The following account of the shipwreck is preserved in the contemporary "Historie of Scotland," by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, pp. 257-8. Edinb. 1830 :—

"About this tyme [the end of the year 1556], thair come ane gret ship, and with her a pink, furth of Muscovia, bowin toward Ingland with ane ambassadour frome the Emperor of Muscovia, quhilk ship and pink was

drevin be gret stormes and windis apoun the northeast of Scotlande, at Kynardis heid, within the countrey of Buchane, quhair a gret nombre of thair cumpanie was dronit and both the shippes, the moist part of his guidis losed be the wrake of the sey; bot the ambassadour him selfe was saved, with a gret part of his cumpanie, and was weill enteritenit be the cuntreyemen, and convoyit thairfre to Edinburgh to the Quene Regent, quha efter guid intertenement caused the Lord Hwme accompanie him to Berwik in the moneth of Februar thaireftir."

The documents, for which we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robertson, are interesting, more especially at the present moment, as connected with the earliest relations of friendly intercourse and commercial enterprise between this country and Russia. Those who desire information on this subject, may consult Dr. Hamel's "England and Russia," (translated by J. S. Leigh, London, 1854). Notices will there be found of the embassy of Owscheip, named in the narrative given by Hakluyt, "Oscp Gregorywich Napea;" also of the early voyages of John Tradescant, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and other adventurous travellers. Some account of this first embassy is given by Stow and Holinshed, under the year 1557. Ivan IV., Vassiliewitch, or son of Vassili, to whom he succeeded in 1533, first assumed the title of Tsar or Czar. Amidst the horrors of continual warfare, he appears to have sought every means of elevating the condition of Russia, by introducing the arts and manufactures of more civilised nations, by encouraging commerce, and by conciliatory reception of foreigners and foreign missions to his Court. To Ivan was due the introduction of the art of printing into Russia. A remarkable illustration of his policy is presented in the embassy to the Court of Philip and Mary, "with certaine letters tenderly conceived," and presents, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued between their Majestys and subjects, respectively, for the commodity and benefit of both the realms. It is to be regretted that these credentials are not now to be found; they may indeed have perished in the disastrous wreck on the inhospitable shores of Aberdeenshire. The presents sent by the Czar, "spoyled by the Scots after the shipwracke" at Kinnaird's Head or Buchan Ness, consisted of the richest sables' skins, some of them entire, exceeding beautiful, with teeth, ears, and claws; four living sables, with chains and collars; lusarnes, and furs "worn onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse." Also a "large and faire white jer-fawcon for the wilde swanne, crane, goose, and other great fowles, together with a drumme of silver, the hoopes gilt, used for a lure to call the sayd Hawke." (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 323, ed. 1809.) After a stay of some weeks in London the envoy took his leave with all honours, charged with gifts considered most acceptable to the Czar,—rich cloth of tissue, scarlet, violet in grain and fine azure cloth; "a notable pair of Brigandines with a Murrian, covered with crimson yelvet and gilt nailes; *Item*, a male and female lions."

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

NOVEMBER 2, 1855.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice President, in the Chair.

IN opening the Proceedings of another Session, Mr. NEVILLE took occasion to congratulate the Society on the friendly welcome with which they had been received in Shropshire, a district of the greatest archaeological interest, and hitherto insufficiently investigated. The cordial feelings shown towards the Institute might well encourage the hope that the recent meeting in Shrewsbury would tend to stimulate some more energetic movement for the preservation of local antiquities, and the prosecution of historical and archaeological inquiries. The Museum formed in that town during the visit of the society had amply realised the anticipation, that in a county so rich in British and Roman remains, as well as those of later periods, numerous valuable objects, preserved in private hands, would be drawn forth from oblivion. The temporary collections thus brought together each successive year by the Institute must be recognised as of essential advantage to archaeological science, more especially whilst no National Collection on an extended scale existed for purposes of scientific comparison and instruction.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE delivered a Discourse on "Burial and Cremation." (Printed in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 309.) He exhibited drawings of sepulchral urns, found in the previous year at Stade on the Elbe, in excavations made under his direction, and closely resembling those discovered in Cambridgeshire by Mr. Neville, and the remarkable group of urns found at Kingston, Nottinghamshire, some of which are figured in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 159; Journal Arch. Assoc. vol. ii. p. 60.

Professor J. BUCKMAN communicated the following notes on various Roman reliques formed of bone, found with Roman remains at Cirencester, comprising pins, counters, handles of knives or other implements, cross guards of daggers, part of an armlet, a *cochlear* with a round shallow bowl and pointed handle, &c., the whole being of bone.

"The articles in bone, which I have the pleasure of submitting to the attention of the Institute, may be deemed interesting, not only from their offering examples of so many different bone implements and ornaments, but as being so little changed in colour and chemical relations after a lapse of so many centuries. The extreme freshness in appearance of some of the articles, particularly the pins and the little spoon here presented, have doubtless often caused things of this kind to have been overlooked, or not to be considered as ancient; indeed when I first saw the pins and the spoon, I at once concluded, especially in regard to the latter, that they were things of yesterday. However, although it is true that the spoon is exactly like some of the like material used in present times, yet upon

examining the bones of animals that have been used as food by the Romans, it will frequently be found that they have lost little either of their gelatine or fatty matter; nay more, bone even of fossil animals, such as fossil ivory, frequently retains much of its brilliancy: here then these facts may serve to show that the antiquary must not conclude against the antiquity of any articles in bone, because the same forms are employed in domestic appliances at the present day. Nor should the general observer refuse his assent to the antiquity of articles of this description on account of the aspect of freshness an object of bone may present. The whole of the articles of this little collection were obtained from Roman chambers on the site of *Corinium*, as the excavators proceeded with their work under my direction, and were found intermixed with coins, armillæ, fibulæ, pottery, and the general admixture of reliques usually occurring amongst Roman ruins. The ornament on some of the specimens, of a point within a circle, the latter varying considerably in size, is so common on Roman antiquities of bronze as to be almost indicative of Roman date, where it occurs; its appearance on bone is a matter of interest, and may assist in solving the question as to its intention. I have not seen this mark on bone articles before.

"Another question suggested for our consideration by some of these specimens, is not only the antiquity of turning with a lathe, but the varied materials to which the action of the lathe was applied. Metals and pottery we know to have been turned, the former on the lathe, the latter both on the lathe and the potter's wheel, and these examples show specimens of turning in bone. Again, we may remark, that although in our own country ivory-handled knives have only come into general use within comparatively recent times—horn and antlers of deer being formerly used for the purpose—yet knife-handles of bone and very varied in form, were, as it appears, not uncommon in the Roman-British period."

The remarkable freshness of the bone in all manufactured objects found on ancient sites has been repeatedly noticed. Bones found in immediate juxtaposition, being remains of dogs or other animals, or of such as had probably been used for food, are found deprived of their gelatine, light, and approaching to a fossilised condition. This was especially noticed by Mr. Trollope, during his excavations at the Roman rubbish-pits on the north side of Lincoln. Even the splinters of bone, in the first stage of their being formed into pins, had preserved the freshness and weight of ordinary bone. The simple *cochlear*, of the form noticed by Professor Buckman, is not uncommon in bronze, amongst Roman remains, but bone objects of the same kind have repeatedly occurred. Amongst the reliques produced were small cylinders, with a perforation on one side, like the joints of a flute: (length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) Their use has not been ascertained; similar objects have been found at Pompeii and at Lyons, amongst Roman remains.

Mr. NESBITT gave the following description of two sepulchral brasses, one in the church of St. Andrew at Verden, the other in that of St. Peter at Brunswick. Rubbings of these memorials were exhibited.

"The first of these commemorates Yso Von Welppe, Bishop of Verden, who died in the year 1231, and as there is no reason to doubt that the brass is of this period, it is of much interest, as being much earlier in date than any other example yet noticed, either in England or on the continent. It is a plate measuring 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., on which is engraved a

standing effigy of the Bishop, habited in mitre, pallium,¹ chasuble, dalmatic and alb. The mitre is low, as is usual at the period, the pallium very long, reaching to within 8 inches of the ground, and is ornamented with six crosses; the chasuble is unornamented on the outside, but the inside is covered with lines curved to about three-fourths of a circle, evidently intended to indicate a lining of some kind of ornamented stuff.

"Both the Bishop's hands are raised with the palms uppermost; on the right hand he carries a model of the church of St. Andrew, represented with considerable accuracy as it still exists, and on the left a model of a tower with two windows in its upper part, surmounted by a cross, and enclosed within a battlemented wall. It will be seen by the inscription, that Bishop Yso founded the Convent of St. Andrew and fortified Verden, to this latter act allusion is no doubt made by the battlemented wall, the tower which it encloses may have reference to the western tower of the cathedral, a work of the same period, and possibly also erected by him. His crosier, with a crook of simple form, rests against the right arm.

"The drawing of the whole is faulty, and the execution poor, scratchy, and uncertain, the whole has suffered much from wear.

"A narrow fillet surrounding the whole contains the inscription given below; the places where a * is placed are those of the clamps by which it is now affixed to the wall. As however no letters seem to be wanting at these points, it would appear that the modern clamps fill the places of some like fastenings for which provision was made when the inscription was engraved. That the plate has at one time been in a horizontal position is evident from its worn state, but it is possible that at first it may have been, as now, placed perpendicularly against a wall.

"The inscription is in small Lombardic capitals, and runs as follows:—

"ANNO. IC * ARNA. DNI. M. CC. XXXI. NONAS. A * VGTI. FELICIT. O. YSOWILPE. NAT'. VE * RD. N. XXXI'. ANNIS. XXVI I. PF * VIT. EPC. HC. S. ANDR * EE. 'VENT. ISTITVIT. VDA. PM'. MVNIVIT. ADVOCAT * A. CIVITATIS. E * SVP. BONA. FRM. LIBA * IT. PATMONIV. WESTENE. QNGENT. IS. MRCIS. ET. AMPLI'. EMP * T. S. MARIE. OBTVLIT.

"The brass in the church of St. Peter at Brunswick commemorates John de Rintelen, rector of that church, who died in 1376. It is one of the earliest instances of that peculiarly German manner of forming these memorials, in which very low relief instead of engraving is the method employed. Small ornamental details however, such as borders of draperies, &c., are usually engraved, and such is the case in this instance.

"This memorial consists of two parts, a plate measuring 6 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 11 in., and a fillet 4½ inches wide surrounding, but at the distance of a few inches from the plate.

"Upon the plate is the effigy of the Rector under a bold and well designed canopy, he is clothed in the usual eucharistic vestments; the amice however is represented merely by a very narrow collar, and a tight sleeve is seen within the loose sleeve of the alb. The effigy is only 4 ft. 9 in. in height, but the size of the head, hands and feet, and the breadth of the

¹ It is remarkable to find a suffragan bishop assuming the pallium, usually the distinctive mark of an archbishop (see on this point vol. ix, of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 191). In the time of Bishop Yso, and for some previous centuries,

the see of Verden was suffragan to that of Mentz. Mr. Kemble remarked that the pallium might have been assumed by the bishop of Verden in consequence of the fact that his see was of earlier foundation than that of Mentz.

body, are quite those of nature, the features are peculiar and individual, evidently an attempt, and probab y a not very unsuccessful one, at a portrait. The right hand has the fore and middle fingers extended as in the usual gesture of benediction, but the hand is placed obliquely on the breast with the palm inwards, instead of being held upright with the palm outwards, as is usually the case when bishops or saints are represented in the act of bestowing a benediction. In the left hand is held a chalice with the host above it. A border surrounds the plate, in which are engraved grotesque animals and foliage, executed with much spirit.

"On the fillet is engraved the following inscription, in large and very fine Lombardic capitals.

"ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO TRICENTESIMO SEPTVAGESIMO SEXTO IN OCTAVA PASCHE OBIT IOHANNES DE RINTELEN RECTOR HVIVS ECCE CVIVS AIA REQUIESCAT IN PACE AMEN."

Mr. LE KEUX, in submitting to the Society proofs of several plates of the Seals of the Percy family, engraved through the liberality of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, amongst numerous illustrations destined to accompany the "Transactions of the Institute at the Newcastle Meeting," offered a few remarks on the character of Art shown in mediæval seals. The series of the Percy seals, he observed, displays in a very marked manner the advance of Art from an early period; and also that after having reached the highest point of mediæval excellence, at the commencement of the XIVth century, they show the gradual decline of all taste and skill in design, until the ornamentation becomes a confused complication of heraldic and conventional details, in which the hand of the painstaking workman only is visible, instead of the master mind of the artist. This series will be very useful (Mr. Le Keux remarked) for comparison with other seals, in order to determine doubtful dates; it will be found by careful examination, that each period has its characteristic type. It might be supposed that in the minor branches of Art, as well as in Architecture, there existed associations or guilds of artificers, trained to carry out the beautiful designs of their time. Mr. Le Keux produced casts of the seals and counter-seals of Henry de Percy, from the Barons' Letter to the Pope, A.D. 1301, and of the seal of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312, (engraved in the Lincoln volume, p. 274.) He noticed the close similarity in design and execution in these remarkable examples, and compared them with the design of the mounted figure which fills the trefoiled compartment on the pediment of the canopy over the tomb of Aymer de Valence, in Westminster Abbey.

Communications having been received from several correspondents of the Institute at Dover, stating that the Roman Pharos at the Castle, an object of great interest as an example of construction, and the only relique of its class existing in this country, (erected as it is supposed about A.D. 43, at the same time as that built by Caligula at Boulogne, long since destroyed), had recently been appropriated to most unworthy purposes, since the soldiers of the Foreign Legion had been quartered in Dover Castle. A strong feeling had been aroused through this wanton desecration of a remarkable monument of Roman times, for the preservation of which the late Duke of Wellington had taken careful precautions. It was proposed by Mr. Morgan, and unanimously resolved, that a memorial should be addressed to Lord Panmure, requesting his consideration of the evil, and that means might be taken for its abatement.

Mr. W. CLAYTON at the same time invited the attention of the Institute to the actual condition of the site of the Round Church of the Templars on the Western Heights. The entire ground-plan had been laid open in the autumn of 1854, and considerable interest excited. It was promised by the officers of the Engineers, that a strong fence should be placed around the foundations, to which such protection is indispensable; and to carry this into effect, a subscription had been raised, but hitherto nothing had been done, and the vestiges of the building in which, as there are considerable grounds to believe, the memorable interview between King John and Pandulph took place, will speedily disappear for want of a little timely precaution.

At a previous meeting (see vol. xii. p. 187) Mr. Westwood had called attention to the supposed loss of an ivory crosier-head formerly in the Allan Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne. We are gratified in being enabled by Dr. Charlton to state that this curious relique, for which search was made in vain during the meeting of the Institute in that town, has recently been brought to light, with some other antiquities, in the Museum of the Philosophical Society there.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. R. HALL WARREN, of Bristol.—A bronze palstave, with a side loop, stated to have been found in Devonshire.

By the Rev. HUGH JONES, D.D.—A small bronze palstave, found at Rhos-y-Gad, Anglesea (the meadow of the Battle), a field near the Llanfair station. It has no side-loop, the stop-ridge is very prominent, and the general fashion bears much resemblance to that of palstaves found in Ireland. Another palstave, of larger size, found at the same place, was formerly presented to the Institute by Dr. Jones.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Drawing of a small specimen of pottery, resembling the class of objects described by Sir R. Colt Hoare as "thuribles." It was stated to have been found by Mr. J. Tissiman, of Scarborough, in a barrow called "Swathy Howe," on Silpho Moor, near that town, and to have been deposited in a large urn, (now placed in the Scarborough Museum,) full of burnt bones, amongst which lay this little vessel, which is pierced with large square apertures at the sides, and a few rude arrowheads of flint.—Also drawings of several arrowheads of flint of very unusual forms, and found, as asserted, in a tumulus on the moors near Scarborough. They appeared of questionable authenticity, and it is believed that some designing person, near the western coast of Yorkshire, practises with considerable skill the fabrication, not only of fictitious antiquities of flint, but even of British urns.

By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—Eight bronze armillæ, found July 9, in the present year, at Lincoln, in digging a drain in the parish of St. John, Newport. They were found on the arm bones of a skeleton, about four feet deep under the present road in Rasen Lane, outside the Roman wall and Northern Vallum of the station. The spot is to the west of the "Fryery," in Stukeley's map of Lindum, given in the Volume of Transactions of the Institute at the Lincoln meeting. On sifting the mould, Mr. Trollope found about fifty small beads of blue glass of a beautiful deep colour, about the size of a small pea; also four thin pieces of bone,

apparently portions of armlets, of sufficiently large size to be placed on the upper part of the arm, or over the dress: they are tipped at the extremities with bronze, which is pierced for a rivet or some mode of attachment. The bronze armlets are very similar to those found at Cadbury, and described by Mr. C. Tucker in this Journal (vol. v. p. 193). A portion of a thin bone armilla, found by the late Dr. Mantell in a cinerary urn, near Lewes, is figured in Horsfield's "*History of Lewes*," pl. v. p. 48. Also a drawing of a small urn of unusual form and decoration, found during the present year, about a mile from Horncastle, Lincolnshire, in the course of railway excavation. It is in the possession of the Rev. A. Newbold, Vicar of Thornton. (See woodcut.) The height of the original is 9 inches.



Sepulchral urn, found near Horncastle.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A bronze Roman fibula lately brought to light amongst the burnt bones, &c., in an urn found in the Roman cemetery at Chesterford, excavated in 1846. It is an example of the "tasseled" type, of which another is figured by Lindenschmidt, "*Gräber bei Selzen*" p. 19.² A bronze relique, resembling a large spur-rowel of six points, it appears to have been cast, and to be too heavy for that purpose; it was found recently at Chesterford. Two fragments of Samian ware, found at Chesterford during the previous month, and bearing the potters' marks—TITVRONIS and CYNOPICI FEC.—Also a bead of agate, and a spoon and fork of crystal, mounted in gold, elaborately cut, and of very quaint design. They had belonged to George Gordon, sixth earl of Huntley, created

² Compare a variety of the tasseled-shaped fibula, figured in this Journal, vol. vii. p. 399; also one figured by Emele, pl. 15.

marquis by James VI. in 1599, and were presented to Mr. Neville in 1852, by the Duchess of Gordon. The crystal portions are probably Indian.

We are indebted to Mr. Neville for enabling us to place before our readers a representation of the bronze coin found in April, 1853, during his excavations near the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, described in this *Journal*, vol. ix. p. 226. It was discovered with numerous Roman coins amongst the foundations of a circular building at the base of the tumulus known as Mutilow Hill. This coin is of a type of which no other example is known, and unfortunately it is in very imperfect condition. It has been considered to belong to the coins of Cunobeline, but the imperfect legend, within a tablet, on the reverse, remains to be explained. The horse usually appears galloping to the right, but occasionally, as in this instance, to the left. Compare a silver coin of Cunobeline, Ruding, *British Coins*, pl. iv. fig. 16. The obverse of Mr. Neville's coin is slightly convex, and the reverse concave.



By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—A collection of iron axe-heads, comprising examples, possibly of Saxon date; fourteen iron-heads of arrows, quarrels, &c., of various forms, also an iron knife of peculiar form, described as found near Banbury, an iron spear, and a spiral bronze wire, said to have been found near Ambleside.

By Professor J. BUCKMAN.—A small collection of very interesting Saxon reliques from the cemetery at Fairford, Gloucestershire. They comprised two scyphate fibulæ of gilt bronze, with a central star-shaped ornament (compare Mr. Wylie's "*Fairford Graves*," pl. v. fig. 1), a pair of small oblong fibulæ, a square chased plate (compare one found at Ringwould, Kent, *Arch. Journal*, vol. ix. p. 304, of different design), all of bronze, thickly gilt. Bronze forceps, fibulæ, &c., of the forms usually found in Saxon burials. A pair of very remarkable round fibulæ; the ornamented surface consists of a thin plate of bronze, hammered up, and representing apparently a series of faces of animals, as often seen on Saxon ornaments. The fibula is in the form of a shallow box, filled with some compact paste, which serves as the groundwork upon which the thin plate was laid. A pair of fibulæ, of similar construction, were found by Mr. Neville in Cambridgeshire. Also, several mediæval brass buckles, of unusual forms, a leaden finger-ring, &c., found at Stratton, Gloucestershire.



By Mr. FRANKS.—A gold ring which had been discovered near Peterborough, in the river Nene. It is represented in the accompanying engraving, and is peculiar for having two facets. The ornaments are engraved and inlaid with niello, part of which is broken out. The ring was considered to be of a late Saxon origin. Mr. Franks observed that the ring of Ethelwulf, in the British Museum (engraved in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 163), is not inlaid with enamel, as is generally stated, but with niello. The former being a vitreous matter coloured by metallic oxides, the latter, a kind of amalgam of silver, copper, and sulphur. The same may be



said of the ring of Alhstan, found in Caernarvonshire (*Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 47), which Mr. Franks has recently seen, and the ring bearing the name of Athred, in the British Museum. The dull, leaden colour of the matter filling the incisions, sufficiently shows it to be niello. The same material may be found on the silver brooches of the Merovingian period found in France, as well as on several Irish remains. In regard to examples of niello, Mr. Franks observed, that the gold ornament found at Matlask, Norfolk, and in the collection of Mr. Robert Fitch (*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 97), is enameled and not inlaid with niello, the fractures being vitreous and jet black. The same may be said of the black portions of the enameled reliquary found near Devizes (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. v. p. 157), and in the collection of Mr. Maskell. In this specimen moreover, the use of niello is rendered improbable, by the difficulty which exists of applying both enamel and niello to the same object, owing to the much lower temperature at which the latter is fusible.

Mr. Franks exhibited also, through the kindness of the Dean of Llandaff, a remarkable sculpture in ivory, which appears to be of German art, Xth century. It is a block, measuring 8 inches in height, possibly intended as the base of a cross; around it are sculptured six scenes of Our Lord's Passion, and figures of the four evangelists. The soldiers guarding the Sepulchre are armed with round bucklers, and the peculiar transverse bar appears on the spear-heads, as seen in Carlovingian MSS. Spears of this type have been found in the Thames, and are in Mr. Roach Smith's Museum (figured in his Catalogue, p. 103). There is an inscription, of which unfortunately only the letters—*ME FIERI IVSS*—are visible, without the context. This sculpture has subsequently been presented by the Dean of Llandaff to the British Museum; it had been obtained in Paris some years since by his brother, Professor Conybeare.

By Mr. SAMUEL DODD.—A small MS. volume, containing the assessment of certain hundreds of Wiltshire, for the two Subsidies granted by Parliament, Nov. 16, Charles I., 1640, on the invasion of the northern counties by the Scots. It is thus entitled—"Wilts. The Subsidie Booke containing the Two entire Subsidies granted to his majestie by the Laytye in this present parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Third Day of November in the 16th yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, &c. in and by an Act intituled An Act for the Further releife of his Majesties Army and the Northerne parts of the Kingdome. Together with the names, Sirnames, and Dwelling places, and also the true value, Rate, and just Summe that every person is charged with all, inhabiting within the Hundreds of Chippenham and Calne in the said County of Wilts, taken at Chippenham the 8th Day of October in the 17th yeare of his said Majesties raigne, Before Sir John Ernle and Sir Theobald Georges, Knights,"—with other persons commissioners for the said hundreds. The amount of the two subsidies was, upon lands 8s. in the pound, rated value; and 5s. 8d. in the pound upon goods, which are most frequently valued at £3. The volume comprises with the hundreds above mentioned those of Malmesbury and Damerham North; the sum total is £579, 6s. This enumeration of the inhabitants of each parish in 1641, and return of their rateable possessions, supply evidence of considerable local interest as regards the social condition of these parts of Wiltshire in the reign of Charles I. At the commencement of the volume the following coat of arms has been affixed to a fly-leaf,—*Arg.* three bulls' faces, *sa.*, horned or

(Gore). We are indebted to the Rev. J. E. Jackson, of Leigh Delamere, for the information that the volume is in the hand-writing of Thomas Gore, Esq., of Alderton, the Wiltshire Herald and antiquary who died in 1684. His MS. collections were dispersed about 50 years since. A more full account of the contents of this Subsidy list will be given, it is hoped, by Mr. Jackson, in the publications of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society.

By the Rev. G. MASTER.—Three packs of playing cards, of the latter part of the seventeenth century, when an endeavour was made to adapt them as a means of imparting useful and entertaining knowledge. The use of such "Scientiall," or scientific, cards, probably originated in France, and was introduced into England as early as 1651, as we learn from Mr. Chatto's curious treatise.³ They were much in vogue in the time of Charles II., and as late as the reign of Anne, and embraced a wide range of subjects. The packs now produced consisted of,—1. Geographical cards, the English counties; not, however, identical with those described by Mr. Chatto, and assigned to the time of Charles II., of which a set were exhibited by Mr. Caton at a former meeting (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. vii., p. 306). This pack is probably of later date; the map of Staffordshire (deuce of spades) bears a red stamp, a crown surrounded by foliage, the amount of duty is marked as sixpence. On each card is a little map, and on the map the suit is shown; a short account is given of county boundaries, general productions, number of parishes, &c. Thus of Cumberland it is stated, amongst other particulars,—“It hath 58 P^rish Churches, plenty of Fowle and many Rivers. Heere the Gaping Fish receives a dew w^{ch} produceth pearles,⁴ heere are many mountains, rich mines of Brass, som Gold and Silver, heere is found y^e Minerall shining earth, called black lead. In it is y^e well (*sic* for wall) of Picts, 122 miles long, once 8 foot broad, and twelve foot high, its in a right line from Est. to Wst. som ruins wth out battlements are yet to be seen.”—2. A pack thus entitled.—“The Use.—Grammaticall Cards, comprizing the Generall Rules of Lilley's Grammer, in y^e 4 Principall parts thereof, Viz^t. Orthographia, Etymologia, Syntaxis, Prosodia, very usefull to all persons who understand Latin, not only for recollecting their memories, but for the farther improvement of Such, as have made some progress in y^t Language.” The rules inscribed on the cards are in Latin.—3. A pack of Arithmetical cards, each inscribed with a sum or question in the various rules; for instance, ace of spades, “Reduction of Money, Quest. 3d. In 7538 Guineas at 21s. 6d. apeice, How many Nobles,” &c. The date of this pack is therefore later than 1663, when guineas were first coined; but it appears to be of the time of Queen Anne. The ace of diamonds (the Numeration Table) is stamped in red, with a crown and escutcheon bearing the duty-mark of one shilling, imposed in that reign. The cards exhibited measure about 3½ in. by 2½.

By Mr. G. BISH WEBB, with permission of Col. the Hon. M. E. Onslow. A brass figure of cinquecento workmanship, found about twenty years since in the chalk and rubbish close to the exterior face of the north wall of

³ Facts and Speculations on the origin and history of Playing Cards. By W. A. Chatto, 1848, pp. 139, 141, 156.

⁴ Pearls were formerly found in mussels

in the Irk and other rivers in Cumberland, and a patent was granted for the fishery. Gough's *Camd. Brit.* vol. iii. p. 433. Burn, vol. ii. p. 24.

Guilford Castle. It is supposed to represent Mars. Height, 6½ in. It is in the possession of Col. Onslow, at Woodbridge, Surrey.

By Mr. WAR.—A portion of a parchment roll of swan-marks, lately presented to him by Mr. Bloxam, of Shrewsbury. Amongst the names occur Nicholas Bullocke, Babham, M. Ric. Bewcham, Thomas Drewe, Robert Colyngborne, Umfre Forster, John Koke, John Baskett, William Pomroy, &c., and a memorandum in a later hand states that—"These are the Marks put on the Swans by their owners, that were kept on the River Thames." Also a note on the name of Forster,—"Sir Humphrey Forster, Knt.," possibly the knight of that name, of Aldermaston, Berks, about 1600. A family of the name of Bullock were settled in the same county, at Arborfield, Sunning; and the ancient family of Babham, at Babham-end, Cookham. In regard to rolls of swan-marks, and the usages connected with swans, see *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 153; and Mr. Bromhead's *Memoir in Proceedings of the Institute at Lincoln*, p. 296.

By the Hon. R. G. NEVILLE.—A gold signet-ring, bearing the device of the pelican in piety: it was purchased at the sale of the collection of the late Mr. Windus, F.S.A.; and was described as having been found in digging one of the coffer-dams for the construction of New London Bridge. Mr. Neville purchased at the same sale a silver ring, with two figures of saints on the facets, noticed in volume xii. of this *Journal* (p. 194), and there inadvertently described as found at London Bridge. The place of its discovery has not been ascertained.

By Mr. BETHEL JACOBS, of Hull.—A silver signet-ring, date XVIth cent., stated to have been found near Thornton College, Lincolnshire. The hoop had been highly chased, but it is now too much worn to distinguish the character of workmanship. The impress is a true-love-knot uniting the initials, I—S. The ring may have belonged to some person of the Skinner family, who held property at Thornton from about 1602 to 1720.

MATRICES and IMPRESSIONS from Seals. By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Impression from a round seal of XIVth century, found in Somersetshire; the device is a fleur-de-lys, * s'ADE: DE: STODDONE. The name of William de Stoddone occurs repeatedly in the Hundred Rolls in the County of Devon. Sir W. Pole, in his "Collections," states that Hugh Stoddon held Stoddon, in that county, t. Hen. II., and that the name continued till the latter part of the reign of Edward III. Mr. Strangways produced also a half-noble of Edward III., lately found on the Chesil Bank, Dorset. It is clipped, but the impress very distinct. (Figured in *Ruding*, gold coins, pl. 1, fig. 8.)

By Mr. R. FROE.—A small brass matrix, of the XIVth century, obtained at Happisburgh, Norfolk, being found attached to a countryman's watch chain. The device is a lion couchant, with the legend—ICI DORT LA LION.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Impression from the silver matrix of the seal of the Vicars Choral, of Wells. It is of pointed-oval form (2½ in. by 2 in.), and bears an escutcheon of the following arms, a saltire per saltire quarterly, surmounting a crosier, between two keys endorsed in pale, on the dexter side, and a sword erect, on the sinister side. The inscription, commencing with a fleur-de-lis, is as follows,—s' NOVI CLAVSI VICARIOR'. ECCL'IE CATHEDRALIS. WELLEN'. 1592. The Vicars' College or Close, at Wells, dates its origin from Walter de Hull, Canon of Wells, about 1100; in 1384 collegiate buildings were erected by Bishop Ralph de Salopia, the vicars and choristers of the cathedral were incorporated,

statutes made for their regulation, and their endowment augmented. The college was much improved by Bishop Beckington, and refounded by Charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated Nov. 5, 1591.⁵

By Mr. READY.—Facsimiles, in gutta-percha, from the seal of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 12 Hen. VI., of which a well preserved impression has recently been found by Mr. Ready amongst the muniments of Queen's College, Cambridge; also an unpublished seal of Richard II., as Prince of Chester; and a very interesting seal of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, appended to a document, dated 21 Edw. I., in the muniment chamber of Winchester College, where, by the kindness of the Warden and of the Rev. W. H. Gunner, Mr. Ready has lately copied a large number of seals of much historical value.

DECEMBER 7, 1855.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P. Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. MORGAN described the result of recent explorations made by him, in co-operation with the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, at Caerwent. He placed before the Meeting a model of the hypocausts and baths there discovered, with numerous reliques of bone, bronze, iron, glass, and pottery, found amongst the remains. The excavations had been directed by Mr. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, and Mr. Morgan took occasion to express his high sense of the services rendered by that gentleman, and of the intelligence and assiduity with which he had guided the operations. At a previous meeting, Mr. Morgan had intimated his intention of examining the vestiges of *Venta Silurum* (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. xii, p. 276), and he commenced operations in September last. The walls, of which considerable remains exist, enclose an area of about forty acres. The spot selected for excavation was that where a tessellated floor of remarkably rich design had been brought to light in 1774, near the S. W. angle of the station, and here the remains of an extensive structure were exposed to view, presenting one of the most complete and instructive examples of the baths, and the arrangements for artificial heating, in use amongst the Romans. The model which Mr. Morgan brought for examination admirably illustrated their ingenious combination. He pointed out the *frigidarium*, which was not provided with an hypocaust, and had at one end the *piscina*, or cold bath, in very perfect state, lined with red stucco, and paved with large stones. The access from this chamber to the *apodyterium*, or dressing-room, was distinctly shown; the side opposite the entrance is nearly semicircular, forming an alcove; the floor has been of tessellated work, and was supported on square stone pillars. The next chamber, of which the floor and *suspensura* had been destroyed by the growth of a large apple tree, was the *tepidarium*, of warmer temperature than the last, leading to the *caldarium*, the most curious part of the whole structure.

⁵ Tanner, *Notitia*; Dugd. Mon. vol. vi. p. 1466; Collinson, *Hist. Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 403; Phelps' *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 70, where some account of the building is given, and of the painting in the 'Vicars' hall commemorative of their benefactors. The arms of the see of Wells, as usually

given, are the saltire, which occurs also impaled with the arms of the Priory of Bath, two keys enfiled with a sword. Bishop Montague, 1608—18, bore the keys and sword as they appear on the Vicars' seal above described.

Here the warm bath was found in a perfect state ; the entire chamber was heated by a hypocaust, and three sides of the bath were formed with upright flue-tiles for the diffusion of the heated air. From this chamber a narrow doorway leads to a small apartment which Mr. Morgan supposes to have been the *sudatorium*, where a dry heat of very high temperature might be obtained in close proximity to the furnace, or *præfurnium*, serving to heat the hypocausts of all these apartments. Here it is probable that there may have been some arrangement for heating water, but this essential part of the appliances for the Roman baths is not to be traced, and it is remarkable that it is deficient in other examples discovered in England. Mr. Morgan pointed out the curious adjustment of the flues and the course of the heated air diffused under the *suspensuræ*, directed by certain dwarf cross-walls usually found in such buildings of the Roman age, and which served the essential purpose of a support to the floors. In these walls openings are found ingeniously arranged for the distribution of the heated air. The pillars supporting the *suspensuræ* are formed of roughly squared pieces of sandstone, and the floors themselves consist of large tiles or slabs of stone, on which was laid a bed of concrete, 14 in. in thickness ; it must therefore have required a long time, and a large consumption of fuel, to heat these floors through such a thickness of compact material. The bottom and sides of the bath, being only five inches in thickness, must have become more speedily heated, and Mr. Morgan considered it probable that the water had actually been heated in the bath itself. The provision for emptying both the baths is clearly seen, but there is no indication of the mode by which they were filled. Mr. Morgan entered into a detailed description of many curious features of construction in these remarkable vestiges of Roman luxury, surpassing probably any hitherto brought to light in this country. The remains have not been destroyed ; Mr. Morgan stated that a model, plans, and sections, having been taken, the site had been carefully filled in, so as to preserve this curious building from decay by exposure to the air or the wanton injuries through which such objects are usually permitted to perish. This remarkable building occupies an area of about 30 feet by 32. In one wing of the villa at Whitcombe, Gloucestershire, of which an account is given the *Archæologia*, vol. xix., a set of baths was found very similar to those here noticed, in the general arrangement, and especially in the *Apodyterium* formed with an alcove.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE read a dissertation on the Mortuary Customs of the Scandinavians, and their analogy with the usages of the Germans. One essential difference, he observed, consists in the fact that the former ceased to burn their dead long before they adopted Christianity. This may have been owing to scarcity of wood, as also to the wandering habits of the Scandinavian rovers. Mr. Kemble pointed out the importance of investigating Scandinavian funeral rites as explanatory of those prevalent in our own country in remote times, and forming an integral feature of our national antiquities. Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, inhabited our land, and preserved all their heathen customs and superstitions long after the Saxon and the German had adopted the Christian creed. The general idea of the Northman is thus recorded in the *Heimskringla* ; the earliest age was that of cremation, and the dead were commemorated by gravestones : to this succeeded barrows raised as memorials. The custom having been introduced in Denmark of placing the corpse in the barrow, with the arms, horse, and ornaments of the deceased, that mode of burial became general

in Denmark, whilst in Norway and Sweden cremation was practised much later. The Norse tradition knew nothing of burial older than burning, and even of Odin and other gods we are told that after death they were placed upon the funeral pile. Mr. Kemble cited a remarkable passage from the Edda, in which the wife of a deceased hero is described ascending the pile with her slaves and richest treasure. She rode in her car covered with tapestry, and slew herself with the sword. In other Norse traditions the curious feature occurs of the interment of chariot and horse, the saddle and trappings, with the mighty dead, for their use in the other world. Facts indicating similar usages have been noticed in the northern parts of England, where Norse influence must have prevailed.¹ The evidence is, however, insufficient to decide that the interments were in fact Scandinavian. The practice of throwing rings and ornaments into the barrow appears by the *Heimskringla* to have originated in the notion that a man was considered in Valhalla in proportion to the amount placed with him on the pile, or the valuables which he had buried during life, and devoted to the gods. To this superstition may be attributed many of the hoards found in the earth or under stones, without an interment. Mr. Kemble gave some illustrations of this very curious Scandinavian superstition. Sometimes the ship of the deceased was burnt with him, or it was set afloat and abandoned: the corpse was also in some cases placed in it, and committed to the waves, or buried in the ship within a barrow. An interment of this nature had been found in Norway not many years since. At one end of the ship were the skeletons of horses and dogs, with ornaments and weapons. The practice of some Northern tribes may be connected with this; they placed over the corpse stones arranged so as to represent a ship, or set up a slab on which was engraved the figure of a ship. A vestige of this usage may even be traced in the hollow tree used as a coffin, as in the remarkable interment found at Gristhorpe, near Scarborough. This curious boat-sepulchre is preserved in the Museum at that town. Prayer for the dead, Mr. Kemble observed, was used, consistently with the belief that the departed lived another life in the barrow, whence, if any cause hindered their resting in peace in the grave, they sometimes issued forth, to the injury and annoyance of the survivors. In this country disturbed spirits are said to *walk*, and the Northern phrase was to *go*. The Sagas supply numerous instances of this superstition, of which several were cited by Mr. Kemble, affording an insight into the wild confusion into which declining heathenism had fallen. It is remarkable that cremation, abandoned in later times as the ordinary funeral rite, was employed in order to subdue such restless spirits. The corpse was taken out of the barrow and burnt. In regard to the barrow, as a feature of Norse interment, it seems, even after Christianity was introduced, to have been the prevalent usage. Its size was proportioned to the rank or renown of the deceased; there were family mounds, and in some cases the man and wife were deposited clasped in each other's arms. The barrow was often raised in the life of the person for whom it was intended, being made hollow, either by a cist of stones, or, as the tomb of a Danish queen recently opened, formed with a chamber of stout oak.

¹ See especially the account, by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, of an interment found on the Yorkshire Wolds; Trans-

actions of the Arch. Inst. York Meeting, p. 26. See also p. 100, *infra*, and references in foot-note, *ibid*.

Mr. Kemble noticed various other curious details in pursuing this highly interesting inquiry, such as the usage in removing the corpse, which was not conveyed through the door of the house, but the wall was broken down. When deposited, the head was placed to the north, a peculiarity often found in early interments in England; the personal ornaments, tools, and weapons, were invariably interred with the body, a certain religious respect towards the dead requiring that they should be provided with all that might be of advantage to them in a future state. At a later period this feeling wholly ceased; in the tenth century mention is made of persons of note who were but poorly provided with valuables in their interment; and, not long after, the plundering of graves was commonly practised, the buried wealth of previous generations presenting to the predatory Northman an irresistible temptation. Mr. Kemble strongly impressed upon his hearers the essential importance of the mortuary ceremonies of the Northman as an elucidation of those of the Anglo-Saxons; and still more that all the labour so largely bestowed on the investigation of barrows, will be in vain, unless commenced with a clear historical view of those ancient races, whose remains should never be irreverently or uselessly disturbed.

Mr. FRANKS observed, that very recently a remarkable interment had been found in the Isle of Purbeck; as in the Scandinavian burials to which Mr. Kemble had alluded, there also two skeletons, male and female, had been found. The wife's head had rested on the breast of her husband, and her arms embraced the corpse. A detailed account of the discovery has been prepared by the Rev. J. H. Austen for the Transactions of the Purbeck Archæological Society.

Mr. W. BURGESS read an account of a mitre of rich tissue, preserved in the Museum at Beauvais, in France, and of which he produced a representation, with highly finished drawings of other examples of ancient tissues existing in France. The mitre had probably belonged to Philippe de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais, in 1175.

Mr. W. B. DICKENSON communicated a detailed account of a collection of contracts for the supply of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army with clothing and munitions of war, in 1645. The original documents were sent for examination. They are addressed to the officers of the ordnance at the Tower, to authorise the admission into store of the articles contracted for, and are signed on the part of the Committee of the Army of the Parliament by various parties. The name of Robert Scawen occurs very frequently, also John Venn, the regicide, Sir Walter Erle, Lieut. Gen. Hammond, &c. The contracts comprise uniforms, red coats, called also cassocks, of Suffolk, Coventry, or Gloucestershire cloth, breeches of grey or other colours, of Reading cloth, and stockings of Welsh cotton. Some of the latter are called Irish. The coats were ordered to be furnished with tapestrings, white, blue, green, and yellow, possibly as distinctions of regiments. In one of the contracts there is a notice of orange ribbon facings, and underwritten again by Scawen for special care. By reference to Clarendon it appears that orange-tawney was more particularly the colour of the Parliamentarians, for when Colonel Gage went to relieve the garrison of Basing House, he dressed his men in "orange-tawney scarfs and ribbons," that they might pass for Parliamentary soldiers, but the artifice failed, through the men forgetting their orange-tawney, and falling upon a small detachment of the enemy. The contracts for shirts described them as of good lockram; those for shoes, of which 32,000 pair were contracted for,

are singularly minute in detail; each pair was to be marked on the soles to distinguish the makers, whose punches or marks, usually bearing the initials of their names, are actually impressed on the margins of the contract, to obviate all possibility of dispute. The armour consisted of "Pots" with three bars, of English make; and head-pieces, backs and breasts; the price of a suit being 20s. There are contracts for drums, ensigns of blue Florence saracenet, with distinctions of gold laurels; in the proportion as it seems of eight ensigns for a regiment, tents of lockram, waggons, hair-cloth tilts, canvas, sheepskins, &c. also for sea-coal, at 23s. 6d. per chaldron, tools, ordnance, comprising the cannon, demi-cannon, culverin, demi-culverin and saker, and a mortar-piece for saker shot. The muskets are said to be matchlocks and snaphaunce, the latter measuring 4 ft. in length; of the pistols some are described as snaphaunce. Holsters, carbine belts, "snapsacks" of leather, bandoleers of wood painted, cartridge-boxes of plate covered with leather, cartridge-girdles, ash pikes 16 ft. in length, and Spanish pikes 15 ft., swords with Dutch blades, saddles, harness, horse-shoes and other articles are minutely described in these contracts. The ammunition consisted of the best English corn powder, match, hand-granadoes and granadoe-shells for a mortar piece, round shot, bullets, &c. The precautions taken to ensure the due fulfilment of the contracts are worthy of notice, and Mr. Dickenson pointed out the care with which the Parliamentary leaders provided to "keep their powder dry," in the minute specifications for the bandoleers, as also for the "good holdsters of calve-skine, inside and outside well sowed and liquored." This volume of contracts formed part, probably, as Mr. Dickenson observed, of the mass of public documents sold by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1838, to Mr. Jay, a fishmonger, to the extent of eight tons in weight, at 8*l.* per ton. Many have since been repurchased at large prices by the Government and by the British Museum.²

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—A representation of a diminutive urn found in August, 1850, in a small barrow, in the parish of Fylingdales, about 100 yards from Kirkmoor Gate, on the right hand side of the road from Whitby to Scarborough. The barrow measured 27 ft. in diam., 2 ft. in height, and the deposit of burnt bones was discovered nearly in the centre, 2 ft. from the surface, in a cavity cut in the natural soil, 15 in. deep. On examining the bones the small cup was found, in fragments, which were reunited, and its form accurately ascertained (see woodcut). It measured $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height; diam. at top 5 in., at base $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The surface is ornamented with an impressed corded pattern, which appears also within the rim. The inside of the cup is rounded at the bottom and has a neatly finished appearance. In general form this curious little vessel resembles that found in Holyhead Island, and described by the Hon. W. Owen Stanley in this *Journal* (Vol. vi., p. 230). The ornament in that example is rather more



Urn found at Fylingdales.

² Quarterly Review, March, 1855.

elaborate. The proximity of the interment to the coast in both instances may deserve notice.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An iron boss of a shield, of the Anglo-Saxon period, found at Fairford, Gloucestershire. Compare the examples figured in Mr. Wylie's "Fairford Graves," Pl. X., and that found in the cemetery on Linton Heath by Mr. Neville, figured in this Journal, Vol. xi., p. 106, Fig. 7.

By Mr. WAY.—A silver Family coin, of the *Gens Cornelia*, found near Prinstead, Sussex, near the shores of the estuary forming Chichester harbour. Obv.—CN. BLASIO. CN. P. the galeated head of Mars, with a star at the nape of the neck. Rev.—Jupiter standing, with a lance supported by his right hand, and the rays of a *fulmen* with a girdle in his left. He is being crowned by a galeated female on the right, and on the other side stands a draped female with the *hasta pura*, perhaps Minerva and Juno. The coin was probably struck about B.C. 40, but of Blasius nothing is known. Family coins are far less frequently found in England than imperial *denarii*, and the discovery of this coin in a locality where few vestiges of the Romans have been noticed, is deserving of record.

By Mr. M. AISLABIE DENHAM, of Piersebridge.—A sketch of a ring of bronze wire, of uniform thickness, well coated with patina, and found in September last around the neck-bones of a skeleton, at Carlebury, co. Durham, east of the Roman station on the river Tees, of which a plan by Mr. MacLauchlan was given in this Journal, Vol. vi., p. 217. This ring measures nearly 5 in. in diameter; and the ends are fastened together with spiral twists, so adjusted as to allow a certain degree of play or enlargement of the ring. The mode of fastening shows that it was intended to be worn permanently, probably as a token of servitude. Compare a bronze neck-ring with similar fastening, found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, Eeroyd Smith's Reliqu. Isurianæ, pl. xxv. a.



By the Rev. E. WILTON.—A fibula of tinned bronze, of Roman workmanship, found on West Lavington Down, in Wiltshire, and the iron spring-bolt of a fetter-lock, probably of Roman date. Numerous small reliques of metal are found by flint-diggers on Charlton Down, where the latter was disinterred, and where traces of ancient habitations are strikingly apparent. About two miles distant is Ell Barrow, and within half a mile only of the spot where these objects occur, from time to time, is another tumulus known by the name of Slay Barrow.

By Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT.—A collection of casts from the sculptures in ivory in the possession of Colonel Meyrick, at Goodrich Court. They had originally belonged to the late Mr. Douce, and comprise examples of early date and remarkable character. Some account of the "Doucean Museum" was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1836, by the late Sir S. Meyrick, in which a notice of the ivory caskets, diptychs, a remarkable set of sculptured paternosters, and other objects, may be found. Mr. Nesbitt produced also a facsimile, in "fictile ivory," of the curious head of a crosier, placed in the chapel at Goodrich Court; it is sculptured in

the style of the early Irish artists, in the XIIth century. It may be an example of the *Opus Dunolmense*. He brought also casts from one of the finest and earliest examples of sculpture in ivory, of Christian character, a work attributed to the IVth century, and actually at Berlin; also some admirable productions of the VIth century, from Mr. Maskell's collection, and part of a consular diptych, from that of the Vicomte de Genzi. Amongst the ivories at Goodrich Court there is a singular subject of spirited execution, although of very recent date, representing Orator Henley delivering a funeral sermon on Colonel Charteris.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Six casts from chess-men sculptured in ivory, or tooth of the walrus, preserved in the Kunst Kammer at the Royal Museum at Berlin. They are of the XIth and XIIth centuries.

Sir ARTHUR DE CAPELL BROKE, Bart., presented a collection of documents, comprising copies of Grants, Claims, and other ancient evidences relating to the Forest of Rockingham, co. Northampton, made by the late Sir Richard de Capell Broke, Bart., of Oakley Hall, a verderer of the forest. These documents had been collected from the public records preserved at the Tower, the Rolls Chapel, and from other sources.

By the Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE.—The Book of Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Woodbury, Devon, from 1537 to 1792; comprising an uninterrupted record during that long succession of years, curiously illustrative of the progress of the Reformation, the alternations and changes of public feeling in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, with numerous details of historical as well as statistical information. A selection from this unique series of parochial accounts will be published by the Camden Society.

By Mr. FARRER.—Several specimens of mediæval art,—a sculptured tablet of ivory, XIIth cent., representing Our Lord meeting the widow of Nain at the city-gate, following the body of her son to the grave. The back-ground is pierced with small cruciform apertures.—A reliquary, obtained in Germany, containing the jaw-bone of St. Mark (according to the inscription—*Mandibula S. Marci Evangeliste*) accompanied by a tooth of St. Sebastian. The former is supported by two small figures of angels, and the tooth is held by a third; the whole forming a curious example of the quaint metal-work of the fifteenth century.—Two priket candlesticks, ornamented with heraldic bearings, and described as being of Italian workmanship.—A nuptial casket of carved wood, inscribed,—*einig. din wil ich sin*.—Alone to thee I will be. Date, late XVth cent.—Another casket or forcer, covered with cuir-bouilli; and bearing the date 1512, with two armorial escutcheons *accollés*.—A corporas case, covered with embroidery and gold lace, probably Venetian.—Also a round miniature portrait, attributed to Holbein. The person represented is not known, it depicts probably a courtier of the time of Henry VIII., his age about forty, in a furred robe, with a small flat cap on his head, the left hand resting on his sword. The character of the design seems to indicate that it portrays some personage of note in England at the period.

In reference to the *Mandibula* of St. Mark, Mr. Kemble took occasion to observe that the entire body of the Evangelist is reputed to be preserved at Venice; the thumb was, however, alleged to be at Hanover, and no less a sum than 30,000 *scudi d'oro* had been offered, it is said, for its restoration.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Three clocks, of remarkable design.

and construction. One of them is in a form of an hexagonal temple, and bears the date 1545. Another is in the form of a griffin, bearing an escutcheon on which is the dial. The animal constantly rolls his eyes whilst the mechanism is in movement, and he opens his mouth when the quarters strike, and flaps his wings at the striking of the hour. The third is in the form of a crucifix; the hours are shown on a globe which revolves on the top of the cross. The date of the two last is the earlier part of the XVIIth century.—Also a model of Sawston Hall, Cambridge-shire, the ancient mansion of the Huddleston family; erected, as is stated, in 1557, by Sir John Huddleston, who entertained the Princess Mary on the death of Edward VI. This model belonged to the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, for whom it had been made, in 1838, by the Rev. Patrick O'Moore.

By the Rev. J. HOPKINSON.—A collection of Crimean reliques from the battle-field of the Tchernaya, the Redan, and the Malakoff, consisting of Russian military decorations, and the small metal diptychs and medallions of a sacred kind worn by the Russian soldiers. The more ancient types of Eastern art are frequently to be traced in these objects of daily use amongst the Christians of the Greek Church.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A silver Greek or Greco-Russian seal, of curiously perforated work, with a facet or central compartment turning on a swivel within the inscribed margin, so as to present two faces. On one of these appears the head of a figure in sacred vestments, apparently representing St. Nicholas, with the inscription—Ο Άγιος Νικολαος, on the other side a figure with a cross, possibly St. Helena, or Constantine. Around the verge is an inscription, which has been thus deciphered,—✠ ΣΙΛΒΕΣΤΡΕ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΙ · 1736, probably indicating that it was the seal of Silvester, the holy monk (? of the Monastery of Mount Athos). This seal was found, as stated, at Maldon, Essex. Several seals of similar workmanship, but varied in form, have been noticed; one, in the possession of Mr. M. F. Tupper, is figured in the *Journal Arch. Assoc.*, vol. i., p. 64; of another, described as found in the Isle of Paros, impressions are to be seen in the collection of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

By Mr. C. DESBOROUGH BEDFORD.—A massive gold ring, lately found at a great depth in sinking a shaft for the construction of a tunnel in Wapping. The impress is the initial—**W**, over which is the letter—**f**. Date, XVth cent.

January 4, 1856.

JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq., V.P. Soc. Ant., in the Chair.

A Communication was received from the War Department, in reference to the Roman pharos at Dover and the ancient Church at the Castle. An appeal in behalf of their preservation had been addressed to Lord Panmure on the part of the Institute, in pursuance of the resolution at a previous meeting. Lord Panmure courteously acknowledged the receipt of that expression of interest felt by archaeologists in the conservation of these ancient remains, and the complaint which had arisen that the Pharos had recently been appropriated to unworthy purposes. Lord Panmure in reply directed that the following gratifying assurance should be conveyed to the Institute.—“His Lordship regrets the emergency which it is found on inquiry induced the engineers so to misuse the Pharos in Dover Castle,

as you have represented ; but the wrong has been already repaired, and directions given that the ruins of the old church be cleared of coals, and that they be respected and kept more decently in future."

A communication was also read, addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France, to Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., in reference to his recent explorations at Caerwent, of which a detailed account had been given at the previous meeting of the Institute. The Minister had perceived, by the reports of the proceedings at that meeting given in the English journals, that Mr. Morgan had brought under public notice certain particulars of essential interest, illustrative of the vestiges of the Roman period, to which detailed attention has been recently directed by the French Government. He requested a more full account of the researches at Caerwent, as desirable for insertion in the "*Revue des Sociétés Savantes*," produced under the Minister's direction. M. Fortoul signified also, in a very gratifying manner, his wish to establish friendly relations in England with a Society such as the Archaeological Institute, devoted to literature and science, and he proposed an exchange of publications of the Institute for those produced under the auspices of the "*Ministère de l'Instruction*," at Paris.

The Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE communicated a notice of a remarkable collection of specimens of Roman glass, and produced admirable coloured drawings in illustration of their rich variety of decoration and hue. "These fragments of Roman coloured glass, with two exceptions, were collected some years ago from the site of the ancient Tartessus of the Greeks, the Calpe¹ Carteia of the Romans, situated near Gibraltar. They have lately been kindly submitted to my inspection by Mr. Kent of Padstow, who brought them over to this country after a long residence in Spain. They are highly interesting, not only from the beauty and agreeable combination of their colours, but from the fact that through these alone it might have been proved how completely the Romans had overcome almost every difficulty in the art of glass making;² for here are some specimens of highly translucent white glass, as well as of the purest milk white—some forming a combination of opaque and transparent portions,—some of clear glass having opaque rims,—some opaque, with pieces of transparent glass inserted in them; whilst others form a sort of glass conglomerate of variegated fragments, so well fitted to each other as to be perfectly smooth throughout their whole surfaces, although formed of many portions widely differing not only as to colour, but in quality. One fragment supplies an example of moulded or pillar glass: it formed part of a vase of the deepest green, partly transparent, having yellow streaks inserted in it, and two of scarlet. There is a very pleasing imitation of some fine marble, the ground puce-coloured, transparent, with veins of opaque white; another specimen, of opaque turquoise-blue and yellow, presents insertions of clear glass, exactly resembling agate; as does also a third, a wonderfully minute

¹ The full Roman name for Tartessus was undoubtedly *Calpe-Carteia*, some coins found on the site bearing this appellation, as well as a die for striking them, lately forwarded to Mr. Trollope. The spot it once occupied is now termed "*Rocadillo*," and has yielded many small intaglios and pastes, besides a few small

fragments of marble with traces of Roman inscriptions on them, and portions of a marble statue.

² M. de Caylus, in his "*Recueil d'Antiquités*," gives some similar specimens of Roman glass, and enters into the particulars of their production very minutely.

admixture of small white opaque particles in a blue-grey transparent body. The colours are exceedingly varied ;—transparent puce ground, with yellow and green opaque spiral, and white centre and ring, resembling an onyx ;—milk-white opaque ground, with insertions of scarlet and deep transparent blue ;—amber and deep blue conglomerate, with opaque white insertions, and a spiral of yellow blending into green. In another specimen are seen opaque yellow stars with white pipe-like centres floating as it were in the transparent green of the foundation, but yet thick enough to touch both the inner, as well as the outer surface ; but perhaps the most curious fragments are two formed apparently of a series of transparent strips, or rods, encircled with a worm or spiral of milk-white glass, and laid upon the top of each other until the required form and height of the vases were attained, when the whole, having been finished with a coloured rod, also encircled by a spiral thread, was consolidated, and the surface smoothed, by subjection to renewed heat, an operation which although perfectly effectual as to their complete fusion, has in no instance blended the colours of the various portions at their points of contact. All these specimens formed parts of small cups, plates, or flat Tazzas, portions of the circular rim from which they sprang being observable on some of them, whilst the curve and lip of others indicate the purpose for which they were intended when entire.

“ Two examples of ancient glass remain to be noticed, which have been found at Lincoln. Of these, one is of a bright transparent green, the other deep blue with white spots. It must be observed that, with the exception of its having been a portion of a moulded vase, in the pattern and colour this last precisely resembles one of those from Carteia ; before seeing that specimen I was in some doubt as to the Roman origin of the two Lincoln specimens which were found together within the walls of that colony, a doubt which has now been entirely removed by a view of the Spanish fragments.”

It is much to be regretted that it has proved impracticable to reproduce Mr. Trollope's exquisite drawings, for the gratification of the readers of the Journal. The minute descriptions by which they were accompanied can present but a very imperfect idea of the character of the glass. A considerable number of examples may be seen at the British Museum. Amongst these, Mr. Franks observed, there is only one supposed to have been found in England, and the fact had not been established. The discovery therefore of two specimens at Lincoln is of considerable interest. Although constantly found with Roman remains in foreign parts, it has been generally supposed that this curious glass was not actually of Roman manufacture ; and the facts connected with its occurrence in various localities, more especially at *Calpe*, regarded by some antiquaries as the Tarshish of Holy Writ, are well deserving of attention.

Mr J. M. KEMBLE resumed the comparison of the sepulchral usages of Scandinavia with the ancient vestiges noticed in the British Islands. His observations on this occasion related to the remarkable custom, both in heathen and early Christian times, of including certain animals, stones, and trees in the funeral rites. Such a practice prevailed long after the introduction of Christianity. The horse, especially, was burnt, and in a later age, buried, with the dead. Of this Mr. Kemble cited numerous examples, commencing with the usage of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus, and that of other Eastern nations, as likewise of the Germans,

the Franks, and various races whose remote origin must probably be traced to Asia. He cited evidence of this usage as traced in England. Mr. Kemble described a remarkable interment, at a very recent period, in which the ancient pagan rite had been renewed as part of a solemn Christian burial. On the decease of Frederic Kasimir, commander of the cavalry in the Palatinate, his obsequies were solemnised at Treves, in 1781; his charger was led after the corpse, and, at the moment when the coffin was lowered into the grave, a skilful blow laid the noble horse dead upon its margin, when it was deposited in the tomb and the earth forthwith filled in. Mr. Kemble pursued this curious subject, adverting to usages of the like nature in regard to the dog, man's faithful companion, often associated with him in the funeral rites of earlier times; as also the ox or cow, with which a remarkable superstition was connected; the hog, the hare, and the stag.

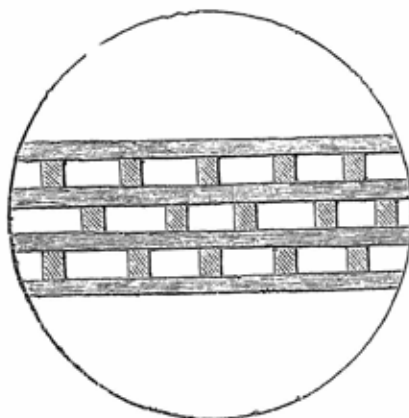
Mr. M. AISLABIE DENHAM, of Piersobridge, co. Durham, communicated the following particulars regarding recent discoveries of interments near the Roman station at that place. During the railway operations in the townships of Piersobridge and Carlebury several skeletons have been exhumed; the most remarkable discovery of this kind occurred in May, 1855, when the bones of a horse and those of a young bullock were found mixed with the human remains. In another grave at the same spot two small urns, formed on the lathe, were found on the breast of the skeleton, as described by the workmen. In September six skeletons were found to the E. of the station; at the side of one of these (buried N. and S.) were the bones of a horse; and around the neck of another was a bronze ring (see p. 96, *ante*). At a later time an interment was found at Piersobridge, with which were brought to light a spear-head, several iron nails which had been used in the construction of a wooden coffin, and broken vessels placed by the side of the body. These were of fine red clay, coloured black externally and internally; fragments of similar ware are often found at Piersobridge. This body lay E. and W., at no great distance from the spot where a leaden coffin, encased by roughly wrought ponderous blocks of sandstone was exposed to view, in 1771, by an unusual flood. Mr. Denham observed that Hutchinson (*Hist. of Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 281) mentions a tumulus at Ellenborough, in which the bones of a heifer and of a colt were found. Several instances of the occurrence of remains of the horse have been noticed in early interments; in some cases doubtless they may be remains of the funeral feast.³

Mr. W. P. ELSTED, of Dover, communicated an account of the discovery of a frame-work of timber, near St. James'-street, in that town, supposed to have been a pier or causeway connected with the landing-place, at a period long anterior to the building of the medieval town. He sent a drawing to show its construction. A communication was likewise received from Mr. Joseph Beldam, in reference to the same subject. This ancient work was found in the autumn of 1855, in constructing a gasometer. The accompanying woodcut represents the circular excavation made for that purpose, and the framed timbers found at a depth of about

³ Sir H. Dryden, Bart., found an entire skeleton of a horse in the Saxon cemetery at Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire. See, in regard to remains of the horse in early graves,

Proceedings of the Somerset Arch. Soc., 1854, p. 60; Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 455, 552; *Memoires, Soc. des Antiqu. de Picardie*, vol. v. p. 145.

24 feet below the present surface. This frame-work was formed of beams of oak, squared, 10 to 12 inches thick, and transverse pieces between the beams, at intervals of about two feet apart, the whole being dovetailed



Frame-work of oak found at Dover.

together, and not a trace of iron was to be found. This frame, now unfortunately destroyed, was in perfect preservation, resting on an irregular bed of black peat, from three to five feet deep, beneath which was chalk, broken flints, and fresh-water shells. Four beams of the size above-mentioned were fixed one upon another, forming solid fences or walls of about 4 feet 6 inches in height, enclosing a space 10 feet 9 inches in width, filled in with shingle and hard ballast, apparently to form a pier or causeway. Immediately over the timbers lay a thin stratum of

chalk and flints rounded by action of water; and upon these a layer of pure sea-sand, 4 to 5 feet deep, with a few shells at the bottom. Over the sand lay black vegetable mould, 17 or 18 feet in depth, mixed with roots and branches of trees; the whole showing a gradual accretion from materials brought down by the river, and thrown up by the sea. A portion only of the timbers was exposed to view by the excavation; the framed-work lay in the direction of north-east by south-west, and it extended on each side into neighbouring property where its course could not be traced. No tradition of any such pier exists. The spot where the discovery occurred is nearly in the centre of the mouth of the valley in which Dover is built, and through which the river Dour flows towards the sea. The course of the stream and the position of the haven at its mouth have obviously been subjected to great changes, and it appears probable that the timbers above described may be vestiges of the landing-place and haven at a very early period. Lyon, in his "History of Dover," states, that in the time of Henry VII., the mouth of the harbour was at the foot of the Castle Cliff, but this wood-work is considerably to the south-west of that spot.⁴

Mr. BELDAM's observations were in confirmation of the opinion that this discovery had exposed to view vestiges of an ancient pier or causeway, possibly the original landing-place of the haven in Saxon, or even in Roman, times. He described the spot as about 140 feet within the old Norman wall, and about 250 feet to the east of the present course of the river. The more probable opinion seems to be, that the sea once extended for some distance into the valley of the Dour; the Roman town was built, not in the vale, but on the western slope of the hill along the present market-place and Biggin-street; the Watling-street being supposed to have entered at Biggin-gate, demolished in 1762.

⁴ St. James's Street, Town-wall Street, Liverpool Terrace, and the Marine Parade, in all five rows of houses with

intervening thoroughfares, now separate the spot where the supposed pier was found from the present verge of the sea.

Mr. WELD TAYLOR, of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, communicated the following notice of some mural paintings lately brought to light in the church of that place :—

"The frequent appearance of portions of pictures, and of remains of scroll-work in colours, on the walls of the chancel and chancel aisle of Wimborne Minster, had attracted my attention. The opportunity being afforded for searching for other remains during the progress of a complete restoration of that part of the church, at the beginning of August last, I carefully examined the walls in many places, and at length brought to view, by carefully removing numerous coats of whitewash, a curious picture on the side of the east window. The entire walls of the Minster bear evidence that at an early period the whole had been decorated with fresco-painting ; but mural monuments, repairs, and destruction, through various causes, had left nothing visible but fragments. The painting discovered had happily escaped, and was almost entire. The subject commenced from the point of the arch of the east window, by patterns painted in oil, and taking the form of the usual exterior label. They consisted of broad ribands, with curved lines ending with balls at intervals. At the spring of the arch a horizontal pattern of black and red came close above the upper picture ; this represents six figures in red, yellow, and white, garments, apparently carrying a sort of cage or bier on their shoulders ; another figure, which was nearly destroyed by two holdfasts having been driven into the wall, appeared to have been a personage towards whom the procession advanced. The subject of this picture I am unable to explain, but it may represent the punishment of some martyr.

"Below this picture was another pattern in red and black, and below that four figures in red and yellow draperies, apparently representing the four evangelists ; each figure has the nimbus around the head.

"These pictures appeared, on examination, to have been executed in fresco. The outline caused by the indentations of the *stylus* on the wet plaster was very distinct, and on uncovering the outer plaster the white in most places filled up the groove formed by its indentation. The drawing is bold and the lines flowing ; the whole depending more upon the outline, painted with a mixture of red and black, than upon the colours. There is a solemnity in the effect of the whole very suitable to mural decoration in such a position ; and, had the opposite picture on the right of the window been in existence, the effect would have been very rich and pleasing.

"The only remains of other pictures in Wimborne church are two figures in the crypt, which were never painted over ; this subject has been supposed to represent King Edward receiving a model of the church from the architect ; this design, I believe, is well known, and has been published. These paintings will be lost on account of the repairs ; they might have been taken off from the walls and preserved as examples of the early state of the Arts in our country. Vestiges of similar decoration occurred throughout the church, but no other subjects of note were to be found."

The Rev. J. H. AUSTEN sent coloured tracings of the paintings above mentioned ; the figures measured about 3 feet in height ; the design was executed with greater freedom and spirit than is usually seen in works of this description. The date of the paintings in the S. chancel aisle may be assigned to the XIVth century. The subjects, as far as can be traced in their imperfect condition, appear to have been, the last scenes of the life of the Virgin, and her interment. The four figures in the lower band of

painting, may have been some of the apostles, in deep sorrow around her death-bed, the gesture indicates some severe emotion of grief; whilst the subject above is evidently the funeral procession. The bier is carried by several persons, preceded by two apostles, one of whom possibly represented St. Peter; upon the pall covering it appear the head and upraised arm of the impious Israelite, who according to the legend attempted to overthrow the bier. His hands were miraculously affixed to the bier, so that he was unable to remove them, until he was released by the intercession of St. Peter.⁵

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A bronze double-edged hook, a cutting implement, recently obtained from Ireland, where objects of this description have not unfrequently occurred. Mr. Fairholt, in submitting this object to the meeting, at Lord Londesborough's request, observed "that the form is known to archaeologists, but its uses are not clearly defined. The older writers have considered that it might be a sacred implement for severing the mistletoe, an opinion that wants confirmation. Modern antiquaries have thought it merely a *falx* or pruning-hook. Mr. Lukis discovered one in excavations made by him in Alderney, in 1833. It would serve an useful purpose if opinions could be elicited on this subject." The blade of this example measures about $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, the breadth, at the widest part being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. In form and the socket for its adjustment to a haft, fixed by a rivet, it closely resembles the example figured in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 186, and found in co. Tyrone. Lord Londesborough also sent a skilfully fabricated lance-head of black flint for inspection, and stated that it is a modern forgery recently purchased in Yorkshire: and he desired to call attention to it, in order that archaeologists might be on their guard against such rogueries, now too prevalent in that part of England.⁶

By the Rev. J. G. CUMMING, of Lichfield.—A cast from an object supposed to be an ancient lamp formed of granite, found at Maryvoar, in the Isle of Man. It is in the form of a small bowl with one handle, rudely shaped; diameter of the bowl, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of the cavity, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Similar reliques have repeatedly been found in Scotland, and several are preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh. (Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 148. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiqu. of Scot., vol. i. p. 115.) These stone vessels have usually been described as "Druidical pateræ." Stone reliques, however, precisely similar in fashion, are used as lamps at the present time in the Feroe Islands; and it may deserve remark that the same kind of rude lamp or cresset is in use in Ceylon.—Also a cast from a stone axe-head of unusual form in this country; it was found on the Curragh, in the Isle of Man, and is formed of white whin-stone. The original is in the Museum at King William's College. It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., by 6 in., width of the

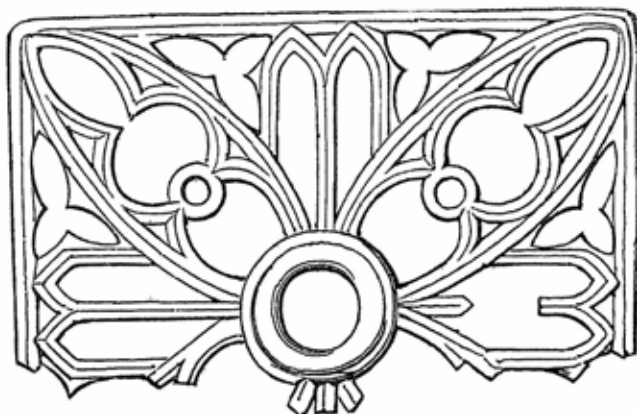
⁵ See Mrs. Jamieson's Legends of the Madonna, p. 332.

⁶ See another form of the Irish bronze *falx*, Dublin Penny Journal, vol i. p. 108. See also another type found in Cambridgeshire, Arch. Journ. vol. vii. p. 302.

Another, found in Norfolk, is described, Arch. Journ. vol. viii. p. 191; and one found at Rennes, in France, is figured, in the "Histoire Archéologique" of that place, p. 113, pl. iii.

cutting edge. In form it bears some resemblance to one brought from Alexandria, figured in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 421, but it is perfectly plain, without any grooved or other ornament. Mr. Cumming has presented the fac-similes of these ancient reliques from Mona to the Institute.

By the Rev. E. TROLLOPE.—A representation of a small ventilating quarry of lead, lately found with fragments of painted glass, in the course of excavations on the site of the Gilbertine Priory of Haverholme, near Sleaford, Lincolnshire. The glass appeared to be of the XVth century, and the quarry, according to the character of the tracery forming the open-work, may be assigned to the same period. Original mediæval examples of such quarries are of uncommon occurrence: some obtained at Ely were exhibited by Mr. Morgan at a previous meeting. This quarry, now imperfect, measured nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. It was doubtless cast in a mould, and the two sides are alike. (See woodcut.)



Portion of a pierced quarry of lead, from Haverholme Priory.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—A sketch of a small sepulchral brass, lately brought to light in Upminster church, Essex, by removing the floor of the pews in the Gaines Chapel. It had been supposed to portray Ralph Latham, Common Sergeant of the City of London, about 1641, but the costume is obviously that of the previous century. The discovery of this effigy is due to the researches of Mr. Johnson, of Gaines, who is preparing a topographical notice of the parish for publication.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Casts from several sculptures in ivory preserved in the Kunst-Kammer, in the Royal Museum at Berlin, comprising a *pax*, a mirror-case, writing tablets, and examples of various periods.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—Three leaden *signacula*, or pilgrims' signs, XVth century, found in the bed of the Thames. One represents the Virgin with the infant Saviour; another bears the figure of a bishop, with a crosier in his left hand, his right raised upwards, with a chain, or fetters, hanging from it (St. Leonard?); the third is a roundel, with a mitred head between two erect swords. (St. Thomas of Canterbury?)

By the Rev. G. M. NELSON.—A little perfume-bottle of cornelian, in the form of the flagon of the XVIth century, elegantly mounted and harnessed with silver, and a small perforated globe on the cover to receive a pastille.—Also a gold ring, found at Lamborne, Berks, and inscribed with this posy inside the hoop, "God's providence is our inheritance."

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

TYPES AND FIGURES OF THE BIBLE; Illustrated by the Art of the Early and Middle Ages. By LOUISA TWINING. London, Longman & Co. 1855. 4to. 54 plates.

HAVING recently (vol. xi. p. 201) taken occasion to notice Miss Twining's interesting "Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art," we have now before us another work by the same indefatigable artist, in which the remarkable development of another phase of the Christian spirit of the middle ages is brought before the view of the student of sacred art. We allude to the typical and figurative manner in which the subjects of the Old Testament Scriptures were supposed to represent those of the new dispensation. Of course, many of these typical analogies, which are not only self-evident, but are expressly referred to in the Bible itself, such as the Brazen Serpent and the Crucifixion, or Jonah in the whale, and Our Lord in the Sepulchre, will suggest themselves to the mind of every reader, but many others are of a far more recondite and, it must be admitted, often of a scarcely appreciable kind.

"The general belief," says Miss Twining, "which has existed more or less in all periods, and was expressed by St. Augustine, when he declared that 'the Old Testament is one great prophecy of the New,' is the source from which all the modifications of opinions and their representation in art have taken their rise. It is now generally believed that the principle of application was too widely extended by the writers of the early and middle ages, some of whom, without laying down any regular plan of interpretation, believed that they saw in every event and character of the Old Testament, a type, or at least a similitude of some person or event in the New. The ideas of the early Christians were carried on and even extended by those of the middle ages, and it was chiefly towards the end of the XIIIth century that this system of interpretation was generally adopted."

That the earliest Christians were compelled, almost in self-defence, to hide the objects of their devotion under the form of symbolical representations, is well known, and hence it is that we find the earliest pictorial illustrations of the Christian subjects concealed under the form of types, which, although well understood by the little band of believers themselves, were unappreciated by their enemies. Hence we find even pagan or pastoral subjects employed symbolically, Orpheus being represented not only as the type of David, but also as a symbol of the time when the nations of the earth should be attracted to Christ by the sound of the gospel, the Good Shepherd carrying the lost sheep as typical of Christ the "Good Shepherd, who carries the lambs in his bosom," &c., whilst, to come more directly to the subject before us, various well-known Old Testament subjects which would bear a figurative sense, were represented, such as Noah in the Ark, Moses striking the Rock, David in the Lion's Den, &c. But it is a remark-

able circumstance that, with the exception of some few of these now self-evident types, the artists of the subsequent centuries—that is from the IVth to the XIIIth—do not appear to have illustrated this branch of the subject; at least no such representations have come down to our own times, although many illuminated manuscripts and even sculptures of that period have survived. The immense development of symbolical views which arose in the XIIIth century on the one hand, and the desire to instruct an ignorant people by the aid of pictures on the other, led to an extended system of typical representations at this period, of which various manuscripts are remarkable examples. In these great folio books, whole pages are occupied with miniatures, often richly coloured and gilt, in which every circumstance in the Bible was interpreted either by some other event in the Holy Scriptures, or in the history of the church and the world. These volumes were the precursors of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanæ Salvationis* which appeared in the XVth century, and which were distributed to an extraordinary extent by the assistance of wood-blocks.

It is consequently from the paintings of the Catacombs,¹ and from these illuminated Bibles of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, together with the early block-books, that Miss Twining has derived her materials, and when we state that no fewer than 200 subjects are represented in these plates, we shall have no further occasion to insist upon either the activity of the authoress or the value of her work, each plate of which is accompanied by descriptive text, containing not only a short notice of the figures themselves, but also extracts from the works of the most eminent writers on the typology of Scripture, such as McEwen, Fairbairne, Jeremy Taylor, Chevallier, Jones, Hook, &c., in which the nature of the typical relationship of the subjects contained in the plates is described. We must add that the plates are etched in lithography by Miss Twining herself, and with the exception of some few subjects copied from certain Horæ and other later exquisitely illuminated missals, give a very good idea of the original rude designs which she has selected. We must, in conclusion, be permitted to express our regret that the work before us has not been brought out in a size to match with her former publication upon the Symbols of the Christian Art.

ANCIENT ARMOUR AND WEAPONS IN EUROPE: from the Iron Period of the Northern nations to the end of the thirteenth century: with Illustrations from cotemporary Monuments. By JOHN HEWITT. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker. 1855. 8vo.

In the present advanced state of archaeological investigation, when the value of minute details has gradually become fully recognised, it seems needless to point out to our readers the advantages to be derived from a correct knowledge of mediæval costume. On former occasions,² when inviting attention to the admirable "Dresses and Decorations," produced by Mr. Henry Shaw, the "Costume du Moyen Age Chretien," by Hefner, and other instructive publications of the same class, we have sought to show

¹ It is unfortunate that Miss Twining's work was undertaken before the publication of M. Perret's splendid work on the Catacombs. The latter, for which, as for many other noble publications of a similar character, we are indebted to the French Government, will, of course, supersede

the works of Bottari, Bosio, &c., the coarse engravings of which have supplied Miss Twining with her representations of the earlier subjects in her work.

² See Arch. Journ., vol. i. p. 284; vol. ii. p. 212.

that costume, correctly understood, supplies the key to the Chronology of Art. There is indeed scarcely any subject of research, connected with Mediæval history or antiquities, upon which the knowledge of costume does not throw light. It were only necessary to glance at the pages of the valuable manual for which we are indebted to Mr. Hewitt, to perceive how vain were the attempt, without such knowledge, to comprehend the chronicle or the romance, the historical documents or the poetry of the Middle Ages.

It is a far easier task to amass materials, than to combine them in scientific classification. To appreciate the value of the volume under consideration, for the practical purposes of the student of military costume, we must look back to the earlier productions of those who first approached a subject, at that time condemned as trivial pastime,—to the praiseworthy endeavours of Grose and of Carrè, of the laborious Strutt, and of other *emeriti* in the ranks of antiquarianism. To these succeeded the indefatigable researches of the late Sir S. Meyrick, of which the value, even if their results appear occasionally deficient in accuracy, or the conclusions insufficiently matured, can scarcely be too highly esteemed. An increasing interest in the subject

has rapidly been developed ; a mass of accurate evidence has been collected in all directions ; effigies, sepulchral brasses, illuminations, painted glass, seals, all sources of authentic information have been diligently searched ; the means of testing the truthfulness of conventional representations has been supplied by the comparison of mediæval reliques or works of art in foreign countries. Archaeological societies and publications in all quarters have gathered in a harvest of scattered facts, where till of late so much valuable matter had perished, for want of the encouragement to observe, and the ready opportunity to record.

It remained for some author well versed in all these vestiges of the mediæval period, long conversant with the best original examples of armour and arms preserved to our times, possessing also the critical skill and the perseverance requisite for the laborious enterprise of comparing and combining this testimony, to present the whole in a well-digested form, available for general information and ready reference. Scarcely less to be desired was it, that the hand which should reproduce, as in a magic mirror, the glowing picture of the days of Chivalry in all their picturesque detail, should possess the skill to wield the pencil with no less conscientious accuracy than the pen.

Mr. Hewitt has commenced his labours, as the title of his work enounces, with the so-called "Iron Period" of the Northern Antiquaries. It were to be desired that some master-hand might dispel the obscurity which still prevails in regard to the Periods prior to that of "Iron," and arrange in a



scientific order the weapons and warlike defences, the chief vestiges of that great crisis in the destinies of Western Europe. Archaeologists look hopefully towards one, whose intelligence and profound research has achieved so much for a later, and deeply interesting period of National History. Who, like a Kemble, could wield the hammer of Thor or the brand of bronze, dispersing as by a wizard's spell the dense mists which enwrap the Thule of our Primeval Period? In the first Part of the work before us Mr. Hewitt treats of the military equipment and usages of the Teutonic conquerors of Europe, from the dismemberment of the Roman empire to the triumphs achieved by the Normans in the XIth century; he has derived the chief evidences from contemporary writers, from illuminated MSS., and from sepulchral vestiges, of which the spirited exertions of such earnest enquirers



Great Seal of William the Conqueror.

as Mr. Akerman, Mr. Neville, Mr. Roach Smith, and Mr. Wylie, have recently exhumed so copious a series. We may refer to the plates in which Mr. Hewitt displays the varied forms of the spear, the sword, and the axe, the characteristic weapon of the Northern nations, as some of the most instructive exemplifications in the volume. Even at this early period valuable information is supplied by the drawings in MSS., as may be seen by the annexed subject from a copy of *Prudentius*, written in the XIth century, (see woodcut p. 108) which displays the peculiar spear with its cross-guard, like a *venabulum*, the round shield, the banded head-piece and the singular leggings of the Anglo-Saxons. Mr. Hewitt's critical remarks on the "war-byrnie," and the use of interlinked chain-mail at a very early period, deserve careful attention, as compared with the vague speculations hitherto advanced on the subject.

In the second Part, from the Norman Conquest to the end of the XIIth century, a more copious provision of contemporary evidence becomes available. Amongst these may be mentioned the Bayeux tapestry, royal and baronial seals. We are greatly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce for bringing within our reach accurate reproductions of the former, recently published in a form very convenient for reference and study.³ Of the latter, we are permitted to place a very remarkable example before our readers, the Great Seal of William the Conqueror, now for the first time, as we believe, represented with scrupulous accuracy from an impression at Paris. (See woodcut, p. 109.) The representation of chain-mail deserves



Great Seal of Richard the First.

notice: in connexion with the question arising from the various conventional modes of portraying defences of mail, we may refer to the very instructive examples shown by Mr. Hewitt in this portion of his work; (see p. 124). We may here commend to especial notice the admirable representations of the earlier Royal Seals, drawn by Mr. Hewitt's skilful pencil, and after careful comparison of several impressions. The Great Seals of William Rufus, of Alexander I., king of Scotland, of Henry I., Stephen, Henry II.,

³ "The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated." By the Rev. J. C. Bruce, LL.D. J. Russell Smith, 1856. 4to. Many of our readers will recall with pleasure the

interesting discourse delivered by Dr Bruce at the Meeting of the Institute in Chichester, in 1853, now published in this attractive form.

Richard I., King John, Henry III., and Edward I., form a series of great value. It is to be regretted that the obverses only are given, but these alone were immediately available for Mr. Hewitt's purpose.

Of the second seal of Cœur de Lion, we are enabled to give the accompanying faithful representation (see woodcut). This example is specially interesting on account of the curious cylindrical helmet, with its crest charged with a lion passant, a feature of very rare occurrence; and the shield charged with three lions, the first example of that familiar bearing.

On Richard's earlier seal a single lion rampant is to be seen. The loss of that seal, and the substitution of the one here figured, present a question of some interest, to which our author has not adverted, as indeed not directly relevant to his subject. A learned antiquary of Normandy, M. Deville, has published a Dissertation on these seals, with engravings, deficient in scrupulous accuracy, as compared with those given by Mr. Hewitt. Hoveden states that Richard caused a new seal to be made in 1194, declaring all grants bearing his earlier seal to be invalid; and he assigns as the cause, either that the chancellor had made improper use of the seal, or that it had been lost, when Roger, the vice-chancellor, was drowned off the coast of Cyprus. Vinesauf, however, distinctly asserts that after that disaster, which occurred on the Vigil of St. Mark, 1191, the body was found by a peasant, and the seal recovered (Gale, tom. ii., p. 320). On the other hand, impressions of the earlier seal occur in 1195 and 1197, and M. Deville points out that the new sealing of grants throughout the realm occurred, according to the Annals of Waverly, in 1198. Matthew Paris fixes the time more precisely, as having been about Michaelmas in that year. We owe, however, to M. Deville, the fact that the new seal had been in use some months previously, since he has found it appended to a grant to the Abbey of St. Georges de Bocherville, dated 18 May, 1198. The precise cause of the change of seals still remains obscure. In the formula which accompanied the second sealing of a grant



Knightly Effigy, Hasoley, Oxfordshire.
Date, about 1250.

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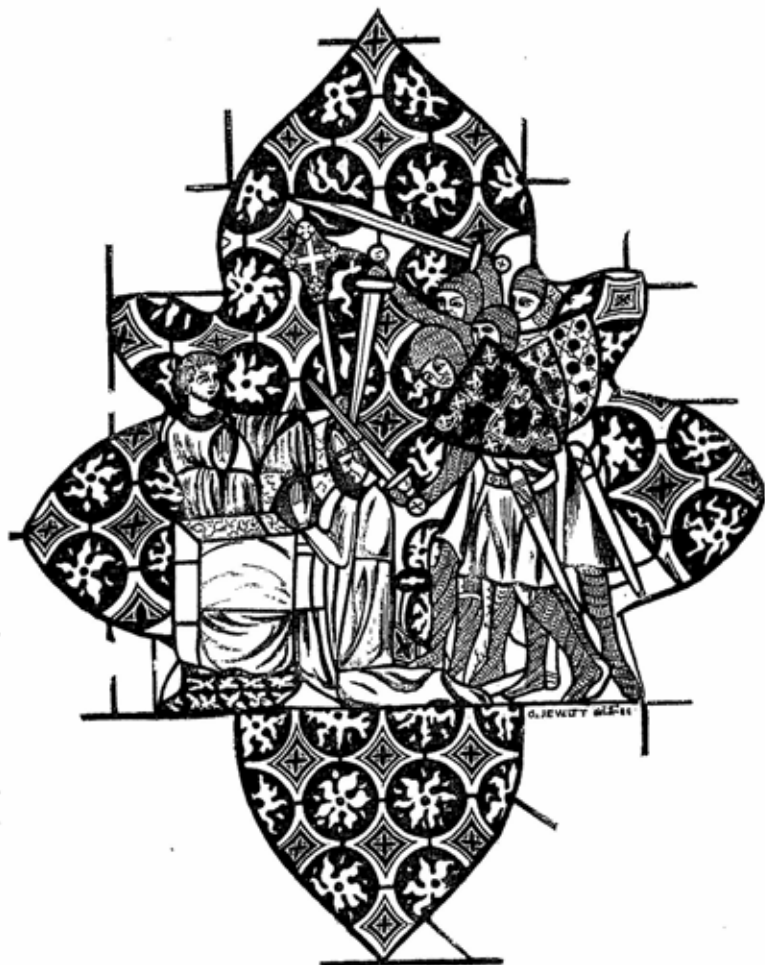
to the church of Durham (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, app. p. lxi. edit. Surtees Soc.), after reciting the terms of the earlier grant, mention is thus made of the second sealing;—"Is erat tenor chartæ nostræ in primo nostro quod quia aliquando perditum fuit, et dum in Almanna capti essemus sub aliena potestate constitutum mutatum est." The date of the re-sealing in this instance was 7 Dec. 1198. Compare another charter dated 15 June 1198; *Selden's Tit. of Honor*, Part II., c. v., s. 13. We have thought the precise age of so remarkable an example of military costume and heraldry not undeserving of investigation.

The third Part of Mr. Hewitt's volume is devoted to the XIIIth century; and here the most authentic information is supplied from the numerous knightly effigies preserved in England, so rich in sculptured works of this class, as also at a later period in the instructive and carefully elaborated sepulchral portraitures on brass plates. From these valuable sources Mr. Hewitt has drawn largely and with great judgment. The preceding woodcut enables us to present an excellent type of the military costume of the period. The shield in this example is placed under the knight's head, an arrangement, as far as we are aware, unique. Mr. Hewitt has carefully compared the sculptured and engraved memorials with the invaluable testimony supplied by illuminated MSS., painted glass, and other productions of mediæval art, in which may always be traced so remarkable a conformity with the peculiar and capricious fashions of each successive age. Illuminations more especially present to us innumerable details, to be sought in vain elsewhere. For example, one of the richest MSS. for the illustration



of armour and military usages of every kind (*Roy. MS. 20, D. 1.*) has supplied the very curious illustration (see woodcut) which displays a mounted

archer. Of that class of light-horse troops representations are rare ; of still less familiar occurrence is the mounted soldier armed with the cross-bow, a weapon which it must have been extremely difficult to render available for cavalry. Amongst the remarkable subjects obtained from the decorative tiles lately discovered at Chertsey Abbey, and produced at one of our meetings in London by Mr. Westwood, a striking example occurred of the Arblaster on horseback, steadily adjusting his aim, by aid of the enormous *arcons* of his saddle, which must have rendered him almost immoveable in



his seat. We hope that Mr. H. Shaw will include this curious subject amongst his beautiful illustrations of the Chertsey pavements.⁴ Mr. Hewitt has occasionally availed himself of another valuable source of information,

⁴ "Specimens of Tile Pavements," drawn by H. Shaw, F.S.A. No. vii. of this interesting work comprises some of VOL. XIII.

the best examples from Chertsey. This portion of the work may be purchased separately.

namely Painted Glass, and our acknowledgment is due to Mr. Parker, the publisher of this volume, for the obliging permission to give amongst the examples of its beautiful illustrations, one obtained from that class of mediæval art. It is a representation of the murder of Becket, from a window in Oxford Cathedral (See woodcut, p. 113). This subject is full of curious detail as regards the military equipment of the period, and it presents one of the best examples of the defences of "banded mail," the nature of which still remains without any conclusive explanation. Mr. Hewitt's valuable remarks given in this Journal (vol. vii. p. 362) supply the fullest information on that difficult question.

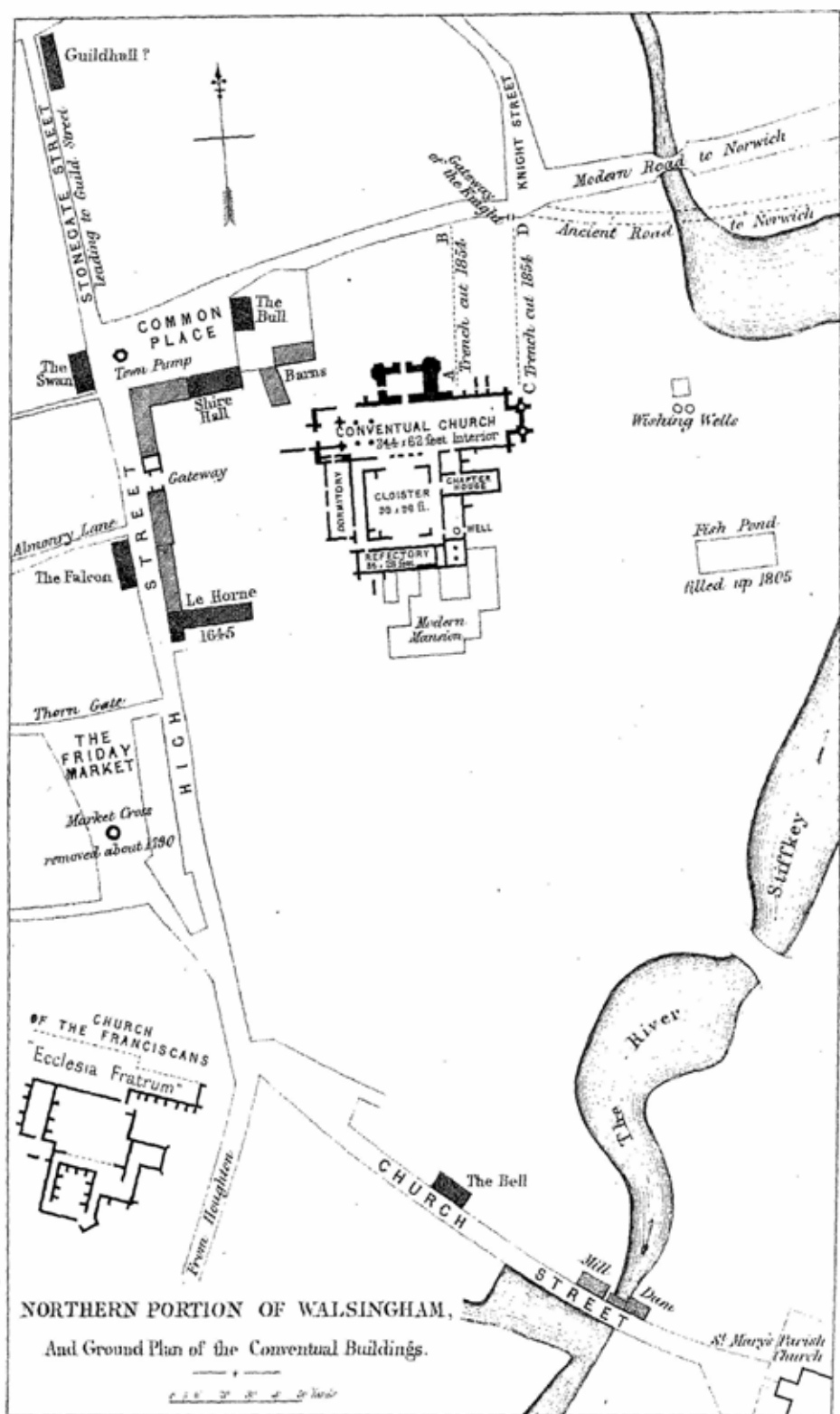
We are unable here to advert to the numerous matters of curious investigation, connected with the warlike times of Henry III. and Edward I., which are skilfully elucidated in Mr. Hewitt's attractive volume. Besides armour and weapons, his enquiries have been addressed to various interesting questions relating to tournaments and hastiludes, the wager of battle or judicial duel, the engines of war, the Greek fire and other subtle inventions, precursors of the introduction of artillery to which was due the great crisis in the history of mediæval warfare.

We hope at no distant period Mr. Hewitt may be encouraged to resume the theme of his treatise, so successfully commenced. The XIVth and XVth centuries present a field of investigation replete with interest, not less in connexion with stirring historical events, than with the progress of civilisation and the arts. We already owe to the taste and spirit of Mr. Parker many volumes not less deservedly esteemed for the beauty and accuracy of their illustration, than for the stimulus they have given to the pursuits of archaeological science. None probably will be more generally appreciated than the handbook under consideration. In none, perhaps, has the scientific and instructive arrangement of facts been more advantageously combined with an equal measure of artistic conscientiousness and perfection in the illustration.

We announce with pleasure the completion of Mr. C. ROACH SMITH'S undertaking, in the publication of the *Original Journal of Excavations in Kent*, by the Rev. Bryan Faussett, which brought to light the remarkable assemblage of Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, rejected by the Trustees of the British Museum, and actually in the possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. This volume, entitled "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*," is copiously illustrated by Mr. Fairholt; an Introduction and Notes by Mr. Roach Smith accompany the minute record of Mr. Faussett's explorations. We hope to notice more fully this invaluable accession to Archaeological Literature. Mr. Roach Smith has also in forwardness his "*Roman London*;" (published for subscribers only). Subscribers' names may be sent to the Author, 5, Liverpool Street, City.

The first Decade of the "*Crania Britannica*," by Mr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Thurnam, illustrating not only the physical peculiarities of the earlier occupants of the British Islands, but also their sepulchral usages, weapons, pottery, &c., has been recently produced. Subscribers to this important work should send their names to Mr. Davis, Shelton, Staffordshire.





NORTHERN PORTION OF WALSINGHAM,

And Ground Plan of the Conventual Buildings.

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1856.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY, A MEMOIR READ AT THE MEETING
OF THE INSTITUTE IN CAMBRIDGE, JUNE, 1854: WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES.

BY THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER.

THE connexion of the Priory of Walsingham with the University of Cambridge is at first sight far from obvious; yet the tide of pilgrims who visited the far-famed shrine, would, doubtless, going or returning, halt at the seat of learning which graced the banks of Cam. That this was the case with some of them, we have sufficient evidence. The sceptical doctor, Erasmus, the eccentric chronicler, William of Worcester—and perhaps we may add also, the author of the anonymous legend, preserved amidst the quaint archives of the “Bibliotheca Pepysiana,”—these are within our reach, and have all contributed their share in illustration of the great monastery of our eastern counties, which they had in turn visited. And, as on a former visit to our Lady of Walsingham, the shades of her Augustine Canons seemed to rise before us, and impart a tone of freshness to the scene of their former glories, so let us now in imagination spend a half-hour in company with our three pilgrims, and hear what they can tell us in illustration of our monastery, whose records must be gleaned slowly, and recovered (if it may be) from obscurity, to be placed in the light of day.

The anonymous ballad of the Pepysian library, surviving in an unique copy from the press of Richard Pynson, bears internal evidence of having been composed about A.D. 1460. Its title runs thus:—

“ Of thys Chappel see here the foundatyon,
Builled the yere of Christ's incarnatyon

A thousande complete sixty and one,
The tyme of Saint Edwarde, Kinge of this region."

It relates how "the noble Wedowe," sometime Ladye of the town of Walsingham, named Rychold de Faverches, was favoured by the Virgin Mother with a view of the Santa Casa at Nazareth, and commissioned to build its counterpart at Walsingham, upon a site thereafter to be indicated. It relates very circumstantially the widow's perplexity :—¹

"When it was all formed then had she great doute
Where it should be sette and in what manner place,
Inasmuch as tweyne places were fowne out
Tokened with meracles of our Laydie's grace."

"The Wedowe thought it moste lykely of congruence
This house on the first soyle to build and arrere :
Of thys who lyste to have experience ;
A Chappel of Saynt Lawrence standyth now there.
Faste by tweyne wellys, experience do thus lere :
There she thought to have sette this Chappel,
Whych was begone by our Ladie's counsel."

We shall not quote specially the progress of the work according to the monkish chronicler, because it is nothing more than the oft repeated story of a building removed by miracle and set up in another place. We are only concerned here with the site, which the building, in after ages destined to be of such celebrity, actually occupied. And the legend thus proceeds :—

"All night the Wedowe permayneing in this prayer,
Our blessed Laydie with blessed minystrys,
Herself being here chief Artificer,
Arrered thys sayde house with Angells handys,
And not only rered it but sette it there it is,
That is tweyne hundrede foot and more in distaunce
From the first place fokes make remembraunce."

And much interest attaches to the site thus occupied ; for however great the magnificence of the chief conven-

¹ The date of the erection of the Chapel of the Annunciation of Our Lady at Walsingham, by Richold de Faverches, has usually been assigned to the year 1061. Her son, "Sir Geffray Faverches, knyth, lord of Walsingham, foundyth the Chyrch of the seyd Priory ; and he gaffe therto the Chapel of our Lady with the grownd with inne the syte of the seyd place, wyth the Chyrch off the seyd ton."

Account of the Foundation of the Priory, Cott. MS. Nero, E. vii. New edit. of Dugdale's Monast., vol. vi., p. 70. Blomefield has erroneously described the foundress as "the widow lady of Ricoldie de Faverches" (Hist. Norf., vol. ix., p. 274), but the charter of Roger, Earl of Clare, in the Cott. MS. expressly mentions, "Capellam quam Richeldis mater Galfr' de Favarches fundavit in Walsingham."

tual buildings about to be described, it was to the Lady Chapel that they owed all their splendour. That in fact was the shrine which kings visited barefooted—the wonder-working spot, which rivalled Compostella or Loretto—the “counterfeit Ephesian Diana” of the 14th Homily; the Parathalassian temple, which the travelled Erasmus saw, and declared that its costly magnificence, its gems, and its relics, surpassed all that he had ever seen in his most distant wanderings. “Divorum sedes! adeo gemmis, auro, argentoque nitent omnia!” Where was it? Archæology enquires, and hitherto no solution has been given or attempted. And although our legend informs us that 200 feet from the wells will bring us to the spot where it stood, still, so changed is the surface of the soil, and so occupied at the same time by the gravel walks and shrubberies of an ornamental pleasure-ground (to say nothing of a large yew tree, which has probably grown and luxuriated for at least two centuries) that excavation with a hope of success is well nigh impracticable. Yet within recent times something has been accomplished,² and the result has been the formation of a ground-plan, in which the *disjecta membra* are for the first time put together, so as to show their connexion and arrangement, as far as hitherto discovered.

The great feature of interest in these venerable ruins, in addition to the two wells already mentioned, is the great eastern window of the conventual church, despoiled of all its tracery, but flanked by staircase turrets, and surmounted by the peak of the gable, which rises, thus supported, about 70 feet. The buttresses are perfect specimens of the early Perpendicular period,³ divided into three stages of ogee-headed niches with pedestals, crockets, and canopies. Some arches of the Refectory, and the principal western gateway complete the picture; and to these may perhaps be added the town pump, a construction used originally as a domed covering to a well, and roofed with ashlar, whose slope is broken at intervals by three mouldings (See woodcut, p. 121). This well is situated in the area called the ‘Common

² The first excavations, of which the results are here described, were carried out in the year 1853.

³ In his forthcoming work, on “The Castles and Convents of Norfolk,” Mr.

Harrod, the Secretary of the Norfolk Archaeological Society, has assigned the erection of this Eastern end to John Snoring, Prior, who died A.D. 1425. It is engraved in Britton’s Arch. Ant., vol. iv.

Place,' a designation which has come down to us from remote antiquity. Thus we read in a document, *temp.* Henry VI., reciting various donations, *int. al.* as follows:— "Aftyr him come Gylbertus de Clar, Erle of Glowceter & of Hertford, and he gaff thereto the ground withouth the west zate of the yerd of our Ladys Chapell which is now callyd the common place." And more remotely we have on a fly leaf inserted at p. 26 of the Registr. Wals. among the Cotton MSS.,⁴ the copy of an admission in the 10th of Richard II., which mentions "quendam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell in communi villatura de Walsingham parva."⁵ In testing our ground-plan by the admeasurements of William of Worcester, which may be seen in the library of Corpus Christi College,⁶ it is satisfactory to be able to trace a sufficient coincidence. Some confusion may have arisen from his mentioning two churches: "Longitudo ecclesiæ Fratrum Walsyngham 54 gressus;" and again, "Longitudo totius ecclesiæ de Walsingham 136 gressus." The smaller church doubtless was that of the Franciscans, or "Fratrum Minorum," and taking the *gressus* to be somewhat under two feet, the length corresponds with traces existing of that edifice. That William of Worcester's *gressus* averaged about two feet appears from his measurement of the cloister, which being 99 × 96 feet he puts at 54 *gressus*: or the chapter-house, which being 16 feet wide he puts at 10 *gressus*. This evidence to the chapter-house is conclusive and circumstantial, as coinciding with the large foundations now covered with the greensward. "Longitudo propria de le Chapter-hous continet 20 gressus. Latitudo ejus continet 10 gressus. Sed longitudo introitus de le Chapiter-hous a claustro continet 10 gressus. Sic in toto continent 30 gressus."⁷

The chief point of interest in the recent excavations has been the discovery of portions of the two western piers with the corresponding abutments of the western wall, the jambs of the western doorway, and the exterior buttresses. (See

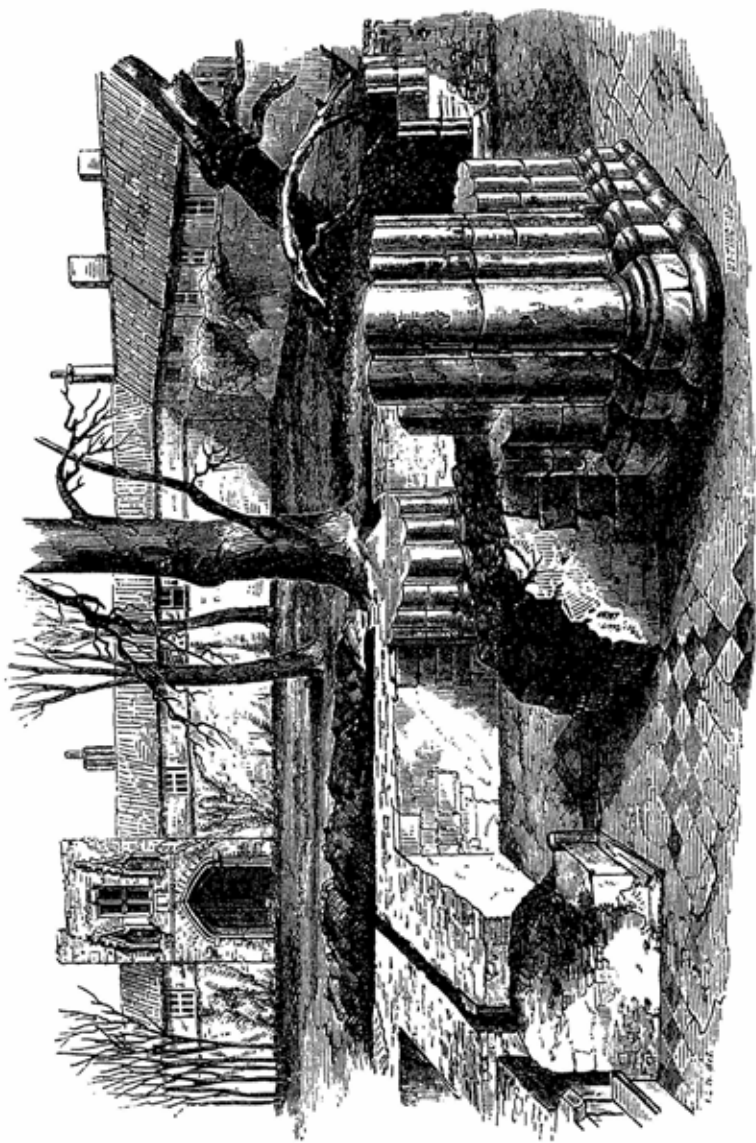
⁴ Cott. MS. Nero, E. vii.

⁵ See the entire document in the Appendix.

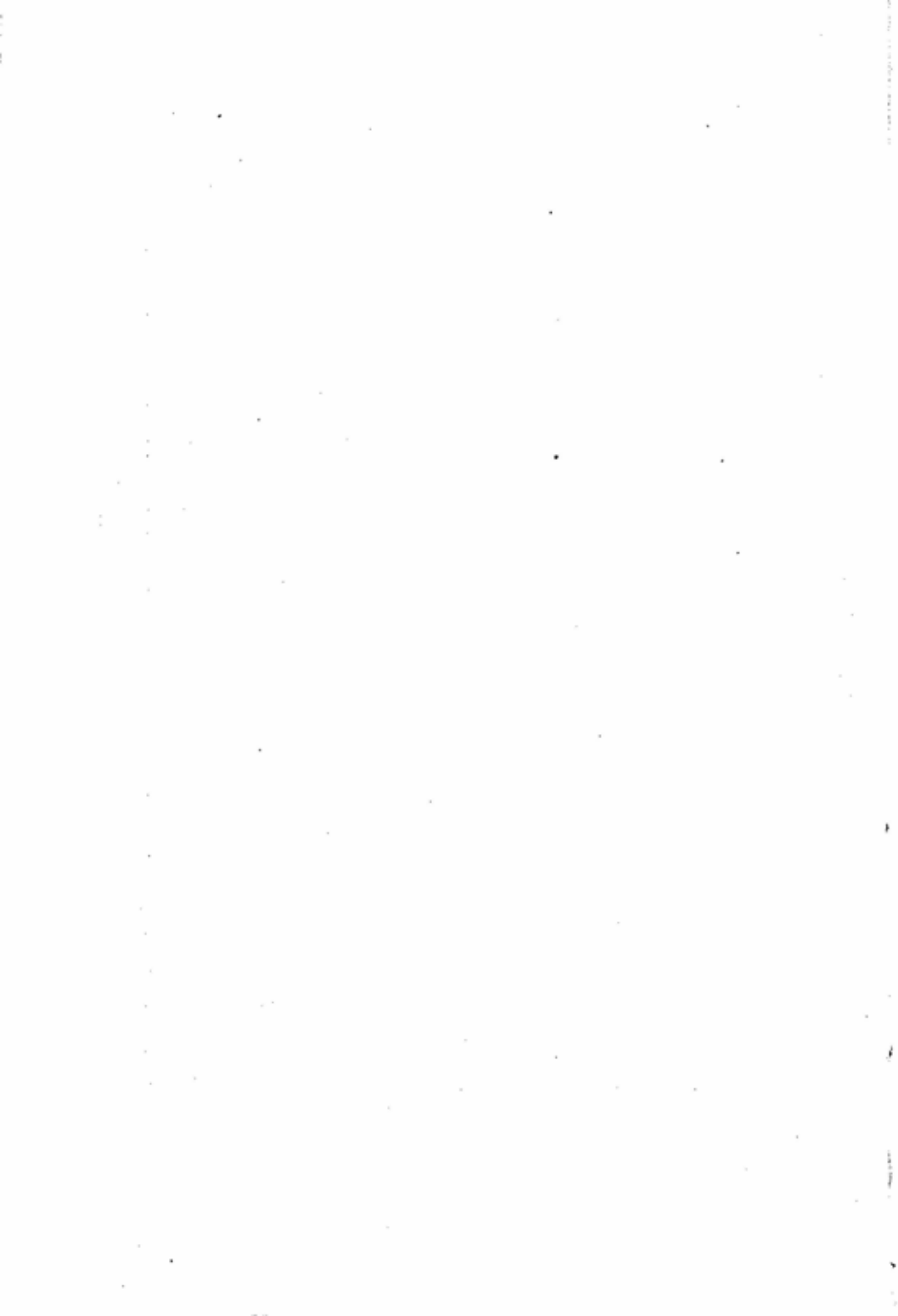
⁶ Edited in 1778 by Nasmyth in the volume entitled, "Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Will. de Worcestre." See p. 335.

⁷ It must be observed that a consider-

able discrepancy appears in William of Worcester's own estimate of his *gressus*. In one part of his Itinerary we find the statement, "Mem. quod 24 steppys sive gressus meas faciunt 12 virgas;" whilst in a later part he wrote, "item, 50 virgæ faciunt 85 gradus sive steppys meos." Itin. ed. Nasmyth.



View of the pier and remains at the West End, excavated in 1833-54, looking West towards the Gatehouse, the principal access to the Priory Close.



woodcut.) The bases of these piers are of early decorated character.⁸ The pair nearest to the doorway are massive clustered columns; each being a combination of fifteen circular shafts separated by hollows, and disposed in three groups, from whence sprang originally the architraves of the nave and side arches; and each connected by a cross wall 5 feet thick with the north and south walls of the building respectively. These grand proportions indicate most distinctly the existence in the original construction of a western tower; but it is probable that this tower had been removed before William of Worcester's visit, as he speaks only of the "*campanile in medio ecclesiæ*." This had been the case beyond all doubt with the smaller piers of the nave generally, which had been taken down nearly to the level of the pavement, and upon them may now be seen Perpendicular bases of inferior design and execution. Another peculiarity must also here be noticed, viz., that the south wall of the church, and the north wall of the adjacent dormitories, each several feet in thickness, run parallel for nine yards, separated only from each other by an interval of nine inches. A doorway through the walls, pierced at the same point, established a communication with a vestry, separated from the bay of the nave, by an ancient intrusive wall joining the large pier and its respond. This curious arrangement is exhibited at one view in the subjoined illustration, except that the interpolated wall between the pier and its respond has been removed since the discovery. The state of the smaller piers (from one of which the view here given is supposed to be taken) proves that, at some time during the Perpendicular Period, the nave was re-roofed, the piers taken down, and the pavement raised about six inches. If at that period the cloister and dormitory were added, and if in the prosecution of these extensive works a few feet additional were desired for the breadth of the aisle, no other method would so readily present itself, as to make the whole wall continuous for the church and dormitories, thus leaving untouched the western end of the church, which probably owed its preservation to the great western towers superimposed upon it.

⁸ The Institute is indebted to the courteous liberality of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, the present possessor of the site, for the woodcut representing these re-

mains of the fabric, which have been brought to light through the exertions of his nephew, the author of this memoir.—Ed.

Before dismissing the Itinerary of William of Worcester, we will simply quote his reference to two smaller buildings:—"Longitudo novi operis de Walsyngham continet in toto 16 virgas; latitudo continet infra aream 10 virgas; longitudo capelle Beatæ Mariæ continet 7 virgas 30 pollices; latitudo continet 4 virgas 10 pollices." As to the precise locality of the buildings thus indicated, we must hope that the day will come when it may be no longer conjectural; for there can be no question but that one or other of them was the Chapel of the Annunciation, the house "arrered with angells handys," which has been already mentioned, and which formed the glory of Walsingham in its most palmy days. The writer of this memoir, having had the subject much forced on his attention, by living amidst the ruins for a series of years, may be permitted to avow his opinion, that of these two buildings one was a covering to the other, that of the interior being a wooden shrine, the "*sacellum angustum*" of Erasmus, that of the exterior being "*novum opus*" of William of Worcester, corresponding with the "*opus inabsolutum*" of Erasmus.

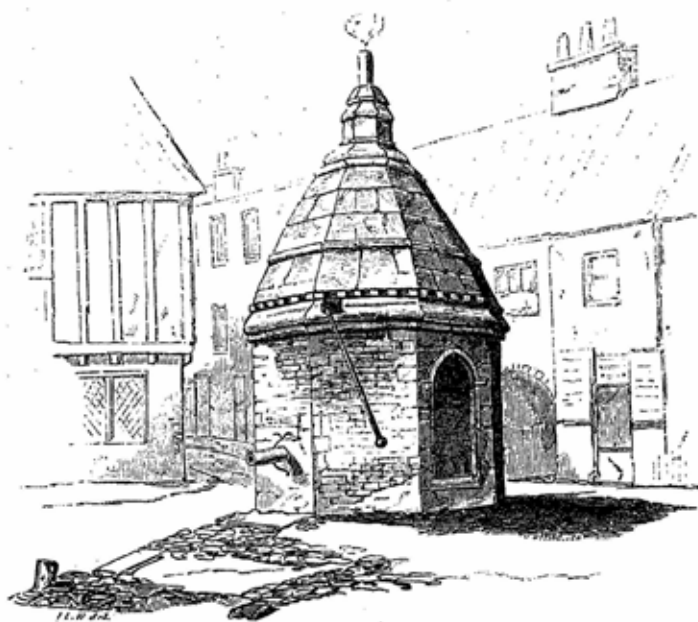
But in making this reference to the Colloquies of the great Erasmus, I feel that I am not (as previously) dealing with a legendary rhyme, or an obscure itinerary. In the case of a learned audience, I must presume a general acquaintance with the writings of the accomplished traveller; especially that the "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*" is well known to those who hear me. Yet the world-wide reputation of that great man, contended for by so many universities (as the great bard of antiquity by the cities and islands of Greece) may well justify a regret in the hearing of his own Queen's, that the Cambridge of the XVIth century could not boast its Frobenius, as well as Canterbury its Warham.

The first connexion of Erasmus with the University of Cambridge was in 1509, a connexion but slightly interrupted for ten years subsequently. During this period he twice visited Walsingham. His first visit was productive of his elegant votive offering, so curiously mystified by the sub-Prior at his visit three years later (*Peregr. relig. ergo*), "*Erasmi*

⁹ In Browne Willis' "*Mitred Abbeyes*," *Addenda*, vol. ii., p. 330, this passage in W. of Worcester's MS. is thus given, "*Latitudo continet infra aream 10 virgas*," supposed, probably, to signify the breadth

under the vaulting. By careful examination of the original MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the word is certainly *aream*, as correctly printed by Nasmith, "*Itineraria*," p. 335.

Roterodami carmen Iambicum ex voto dicatum virgini Vualsinghamicæ." In his letter to Ammonius, afterwards Latin Secretary to Henry VIII., dated from Cambridge, 9 May, 1511, Erasmus mentions his visit to Walsingham, and his votive *carmen*. It commences thus, "ὦ χαῖρ' Ἰησοῦ μητὲρ εὐλογημένη;" and it was printed by Frobenius as early as 1518. The first edition of the Colloquies appeared but a few years later; and even had it been otherwise, no one could venture to gainsay the truth and freshness of the description. In that spirited dialogue, "Peregrinatio religionis ergo," a quondam Augustine Canon is drawing a picture of his fraternity, and, after a lapse of more than 300 years, the numerous pilgrims to Walsingham can find no better handbook than that of the jesting Cantab, whilst enjoying his long vacation in 1514. It is hoped that a correct plan is now produced in illustration, and it is offered in confidence, that whatever additions may hereafter be made to it, its accuracy will be established, and its errors found insignificant.



The Covered Well in the Common Place, Walsingham (See p 117).

ACCOUNT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES AT WALSINGHAM.

Since the above was written, the hope that the lost foundations might gradually be recovered, has been fully realised. Such having been the case, the writer is now induced to relate the steps of his discovery, not only by way of marking the accuracy of his ground-plan, but also as a permanent record of many points of interest attaching to the celebrated locality, which it has been his lot to illustrate.

The first desideratum was to assign to the ground-plan of the choir its true form and dimensions. The title of Vandergucht's engraving of this part of the building, "*Cænobii Walsinghamensis quod reliquum est, A.D. 1720,*" (published by the Society of Antiquaries in the "*Vetusta Monumenta,*" vol. i.) compared with that of Buck, A.D. 1738, traces for us the progress of decay, or rather of ruin and spoliation. An examination of a few inches beneath the level turf revealed the hidden motive which prompted this destruction; for there the last remnant still exists of a noble pair of stone buttresses, connected with each other at their intersection by a diagonal splay, which formed the main angle of the building. Each of these buttresses is 4 feet 4 inches across, and they project 4 feet 10 inches from the north and east walls respectively. Their position enables us to give 16 feet as the exterior face of the chancel wall, and 11 feet as that of the north aisle. Following the external face of the north wall, three single buttresses of similar dimensions were successively developed, separated by irregular intervals, and of less careful construction than the pair first noticed. The intervals between them are as follow: from 1 to 2, 14 ft. 6 in.; from 2 to 3, 10 ft. 3 in.; from 3 to 4, 10 ft. The second and third buttresses, subsequently to their original construction, had been prolonged northwards, so as to form a porch or vestibule, in one corner of which there still exist *in situ* a red and a yellow glazed tile, a portion of its chequered pavement. The portion of church wall intervening between these last buttresses, is formed below the ground line with a massive arch, turned to a span of 6 feet, apparently the entrance to a vault or crypt beneath the original pavement of the church. It is filled with loose mould, and circumstances did not permit an exploration of its interior. The portion of wall connecting the buttresses

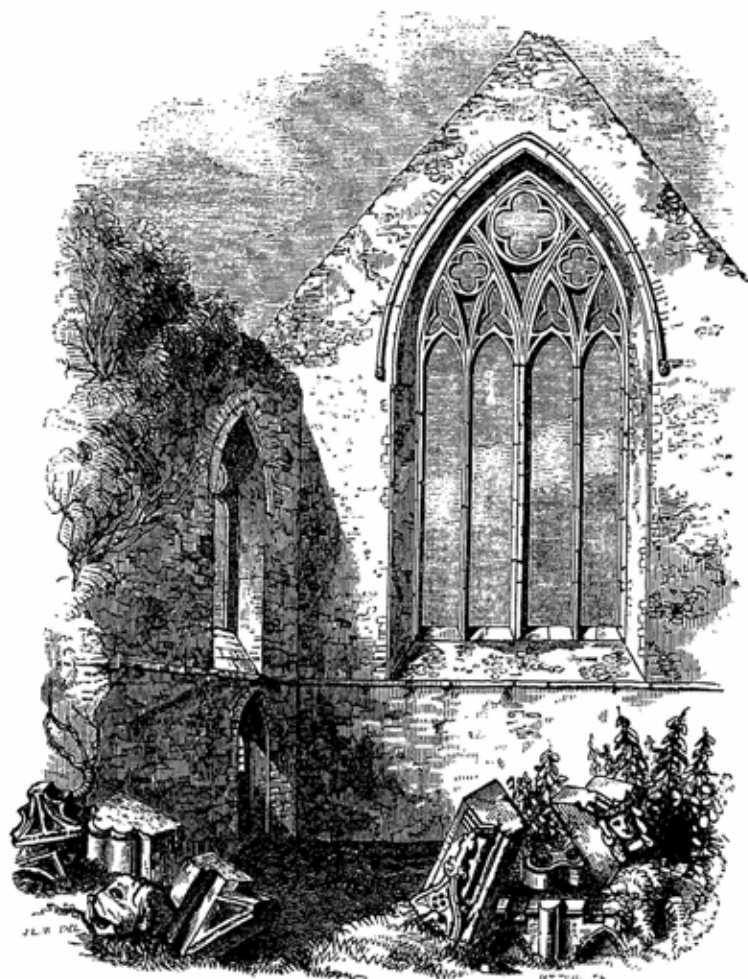
hitherto described is about 5 feet in thickness, but on the other side of a gravel walk, which crosses it diagonally over the foundations of the fourth buttress, it is found to have increased in thickness to 12 feet. The additional 7 feet are gained externally, but the formation of the gravel walk has not only in part broken the junction, but prevents a proper examination of the precise point of increase.

Remarkable, however, for solidity as these foundations are, they are comparatively insignificant by the side of others connected with them, which are now about to be noticed. The 12-foot wall pursues its course westwards, and, at a distance of 78 feet from the north-east corner of the aisle, is found to abut upon a platform of solid grouted masonry, which measures from east to west 20 feet, and from north to south 40. It is now covered with garden mould to a depth of several inches, sufficing merely for the growth of shrubs and flowers, beneath which its surface is for the most part level ; but attempts seem to have been made both at the sides and centre to break through its solid crust, as if with a view to discover the secrets of its interior. Neither has the hope peradventure been disappointed ; for nearly at the angle formed by it with the 12-foot wall (which passes beyond it), a stone coffin remains, which contained the larger portion of an undisturbed skeleton, interred in the south-east angle of the Lady Chapel, whose enclosure we have now entered. The measurements of this building coincide so exactly with the dimensions of the "*novum opus*," as already quoted from William of Worcester, that not a shadow of a doubt can exist as to their identity. The length, we may remember, is stated by him at 16 *virgæ* ; the breadth "*infra aream*" at 10. And he adds, (apparently as connected with this particular building) "*Longitudo capellæ Beatæ Mariæ continet 7 virgas ; Latitudo continet 4 virgas, 10 pollices.*"

But what was the "*infra aream* ?" Authority seems wanting for the use of the word *ara*, as equivalent to *altare*, or a mere slip of the pen would account for the ambiguity. But the *area* (whatever it was) seems to have been identical with the platform of solid masonry (see the Ground-plan) which forms the eastern end of the "*novum opus*." The expression "*infra aream*" may imply that it was elevated ; but why William of Worcester excluded it from his internal

measurement of the chapel, of which it formed the most honourable part, is not so apparent. Here, however, the description of Erasmus comes in very seasonably, and enables us to fill up the "lacuna," at all events conjecturally. "In eo templo," he says, "quod inabsolutum dixi, est sacellum angustum, ligneo tabulato constructum, ad utrumque latus per angustum ostiolum admittens salutatores." And speaking of it afterwards, he adds, "In intimo sacello, quod dixi conclave Divæ Virginis, adstat altari Canonicus." It seems reasonable to suppose, that this wooden sacellum, in which the costly image was thus honourably enshrined, and thus carefully guarded by no inferior minister, must have occupied the east end of the chapel, and thus that it was superimposed upon the *area*, or platform, whose place and purpose we have thus minutely investigated. With respect to the chapel itself, its level was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above that of the church; its pavement was of Purbeck marble, bedded on solid mortar of 3 inches in thickness; and it was entered by a doorway of three steps pierced in the 12-foot wall, which separated the church from it. This being the door of entrance, a corresponding door of egress was placed directly opposite, flanked by large buttresses; or possibly these foundations may have carried a shallow porch. Their position must have had reference to the streaming throng of pilgrims, who on all grand occasions would thus be enabled to obey the "*Guarda e passa!*" of the Mystagogus, without hindrance or confusion. Their situation explains also the "*patentibus ostiis*" of Erasmus, who, probably visiting the shrine on the 25th of March, would have ample reason for remarking in the person of his Ogygius, "*Prope est Oceanus, Ventorum Pater!*"

And now, quitting the building by its northern doorway, we find ourselves in the separate yard of our Lady's Chapel, and might have left the precincts of the abbey, either by the West gate opening on the Common Place, or by the "*ostiolum perpusillum*" of Erasmus, the memory of which is preserved in Knight Street. The foundations of these gates have yet to be discovered. Not so the foundations of the north and west walls of the chapel. The west, as well as the north, appears to have had its doorway; and the north wall, at its ground line, was bedded in flat masonry at two separate levels, as if it had been cased originally with squared blocks



West End of the Refectory.

of stone of large dimensions. And it may be also noted, that small fragments of magnesian, or Roche-Abbey, limestone are found repeatedly around these foundations, although never wrought, as if they had been used in construction. And under the head of fragments, it may be added further, that amidst the copious wreck of rich mutilated carving which frequently comes to light in digging around the ruins, two unconnected portions of angels, each bearing part of the scroll, inscribed AVE MARIA—GRATIA PLENA, attest the exquisite finish and costliness of the decoration. It will be seen by the Ground-plan, that the north façade of the chapel exhibited in this instance the rather unusual composition of a central doorway flanked by octagonal turrets, and that it occupied in external appearance the place of a north transept. Its general effect must have harmonised with the east window of the church, as now standing, which, combined with the ancient wells, the elegant pulpit of the Refectory,¹ and the faithful restoration of its beautiful western window (due to the present proprietor, the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, and of which a representation accompanies this memoir) forms a group of ruins, as grand in actual effect as it is rich in ancient reminiscences.

APPENDIX.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

In connection with the foregoing memorials of Walsingham, and of the actual condition of the existing remains, it has been thought desirable to give the following documents, hitherto unpublished. The Acknowledgment of supremacy, in September, 1534, and the actual Surrender of the Priory, in August, 1538, to Sir William Petre, Commissioner for the Visitation of Monasteries, appear worthy to be placed on record in the full detail of their legal phraseology, since they serve as exemplifications of the formality and the deliberate purpose with which the Suppression of Monasteries was carried out. The former is especially deserving of attention; the original, bearing the autographs of the prior and canons, with a perfect impression of the fine conventual seal, has been preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer, at the Chapter House, Westminster. The Surrender has been found entered on the Close Roll, 30 Henr. VIII., deposited at the Rolls Chapel. Our acknowledgment is due to the kindness of Mr. Joseph Burt, in directing our researches for those documents, and obtaining transcripts. Bishop Burnet has given in the Appendix of Records, Hist. of the Reform., Book iii., c. iii., the Latin preamble of the

¹ A representation of this pulpit is given in Mr. Parker's Architectural

Notes, Transactions of the Archaeological Institute at the Norwich Meeting, p. 188.

Surrender of Langden Abbey, being also that occurring in most of the Surrenders, as in the subjoined document. Some houses, however, as he observes, could not be persuaded upon to adopt such form. The examples obtained by Weever from the Augmentation Office, and printed in his "Funerall Monuments," p. 106, as also in part by Fuller and Collier, and the Surrender of Betlesden Abbey (Burnet, Records, B. iii., c. iii., sect. iv.), are in English, and are not accompanied by the tedious minutiae of legal diction, of which an example is here given. Within a month after the visit of Sir William Petre, namely, in Sept. 30th, Hen. VIII., the image of our Lady, long the glory of Walsingham, was brought to London by special injunction from Cromwell, with all the notable images to which any special pilgrimages were made, and they were burnt at Chelsea.

The seal of Walsingham Priory, of which an impression, on white wax, is appended to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, has never, as far as we are aware, been published. For the woodcuts representing the obverse and reverse of the seal, we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, the present possessor of the site and remains of the Priory, and who has liberally presented several of the illustrations of this memoir. On one side of this seal appears a cruciform church of Norman character, with a central tower, and two smaller towers both at the east and west end. The roof of the church appears to be covered with tiles, a crest of small intersecting arches runs along its ridge. Through a round-headed aperture in the nave and another in the choir are seen heads, as of persons within the church; and in a larger opening or door in the transept is likewise perceived a demi-figure in the attitude of supplication; it represents an aged man with a beard, clad in a sleeveless garment, with a hood which is thrown back, and his sleeved arm passed through the wide opening in the shoulder of the upper garment. The inscription, commencing from the cross on the summit of the tower, is as follows,—*SIGILLVM ECCL'IE BEATE MARIE DE WALSINGHAM*. The work is in higher relief, and has an aspect of greater antiquity, than that of the reverse: at first sight, it might be supposed that the date of its execution was earlier, or that the other side had been copied from an early type. On that side appears the Virgin seated on a peculiar high-backed throne; she holds the infant Saviour on her left knee; on her head is a low crown, an elegantly foliated sceptre is in her right hand; the draperies are poor and in low relief; over the figure is a sort of canopy with curtains looped back at each side, and falling in ungraceful folds. The Angelical Salutation is inscribed around the margin,—*✠: AVE: MARIA: GRACIA: PLENA: DOMINUS: TECUM*. In addition to less archaic effect of the workmanship, suggesting the notion that this side may be the reproduction of an earlier seal, it may be noticed that the word *PLENA* is blundered, a *D* being found in place of *N*, an error which might easily occur from the similarity of the two letters in the particular character here used. From the general execution, however, of these seals, their date may probably be assigned to the later part of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century. On careful examination of the impression preserved in the Chapter House, the seal of Walsingham is found to supply an example of the rare practice of impressing an inscription upon the edge or thickness of the seal, as on that of Norwich Cathedral, the city of Canterbury, and a few others.² In the present

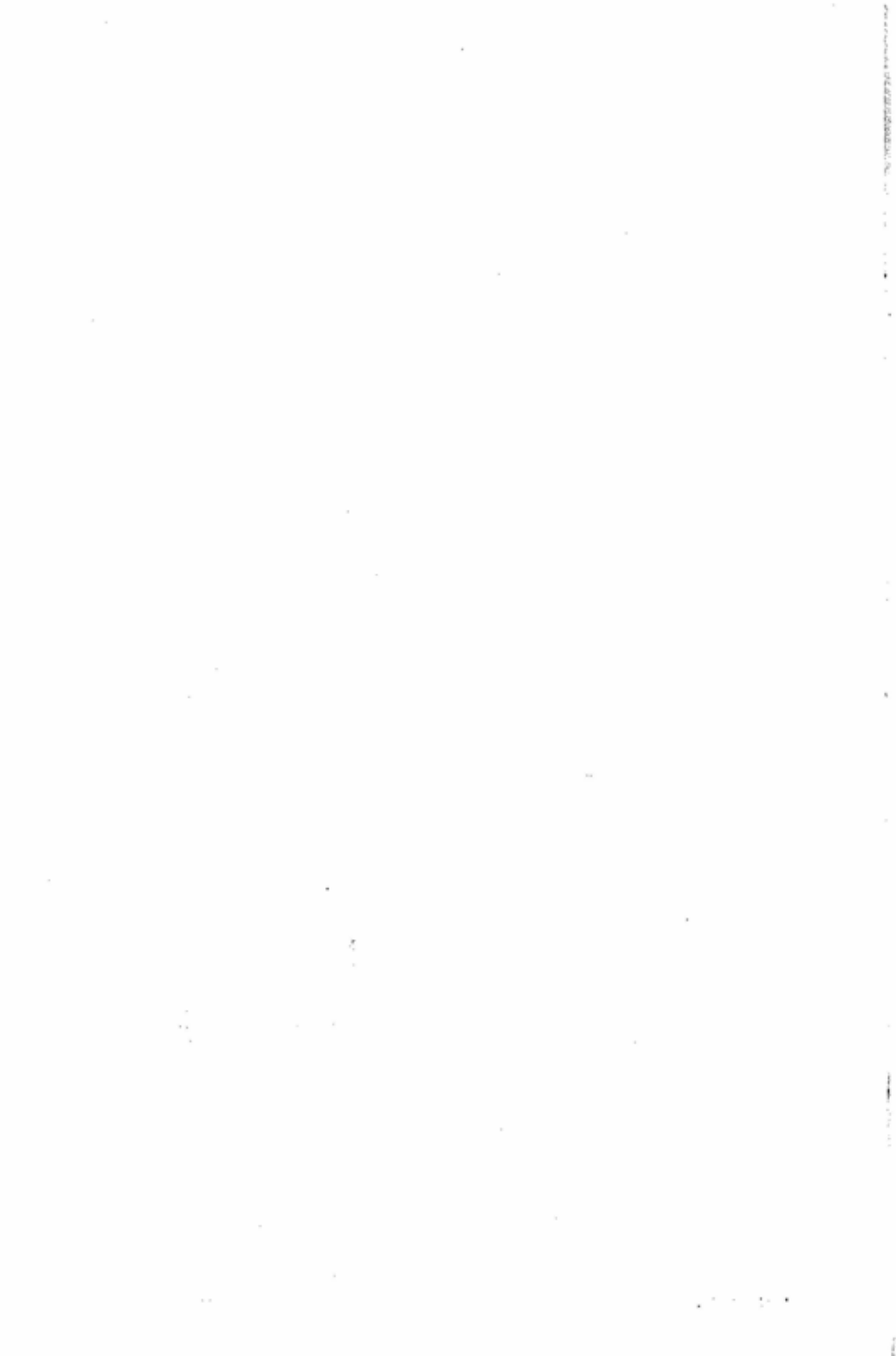
² See Sir F. Madden's Remarks on this peculiarity. *Archaeologia*, vol. xx.



WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

Obverse and reverse of the seal appended to the Acknowledgment of Supremacy, Chapter House, Westminster.





instance, the following words of a Leonine verse may be decyphered,—
 VIRGO:PIA:GENITRIX:SIT:NOBIS:—In Taylor's "Index Monasticus" a second impression of the seal of Walsingham is mentioned, in imperfect state; it was in the possession of Mr. Miller, of London. This we have not had the opportunity to examine.

No seal of any of the Priors of Walsingham has hitherto been described. Of Richard Vowel, the last Prior, who succeeded on the resignation of William Lowth, 1514, a relique deserving of notice exists in the east window of the chancel, in the parish church of Walsingham; where it was placed about 30 years since, having been found in a lumber-room in the modern mansion occupying the site of the Prior's dwelling, for a window of which this painted glass may have been originally destined. Through the liberality of the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner we are enabled to give the accompanying representation. Three different coats of arms, it must be observed, have been assigned to Walsingham Priory (See Taylor's Index Monast., p. 26). *Argent*, on a cross *sable* five billets of the first:—*Argent*, on a cross quarterly pierced *sable*, a tree erased, *vert*:—and, *Argent*, on a cross *sable*, five lilies stalked, of the first. The last, for which Tanner is the authority, here appears impaling the bearing of Vowel, *Gules*, three escutcheons *argent*, each charged with a cinquefoil pierced of the first. The colour of the cinquefoils is faded, but there can be no doubt that this escutcheon commemorated Richard Vowel, whose signature appears on the



Acknowledgment of Supremacy. The upper portion of the dexter coat has unfortunately been destroyed; a line in the annexed woodcut shows the portion of the cross and of the uppermost lily here restored by the engraver. It is very unusual, as we believe, to find examples of the arms of any monastery thus impaled with those of its superior, in like manner as the arms of a see are often found occupying the dexter side, or place of honour, and impaling the personal coat of the bishop. Deans and heads of colleges, however, have been accustomed to impale their own arms with the insignia of their offices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SUPREMACY.

(RECORDS PRESERVED IN THE LATE TREASURY OF THE EXCHEQUER, IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF SUPREMACY, NO. 112*).

Quum ea sit non solum Christiane religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostre etiam obediencie regula, Domino Regi nostro Henrico ejus nominis octavo, cui uni et soli post Christum Jesum servatorem nostrum debemus universa, non modo omnimodam in Christo et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque animi devotionem, fidem et observanciam, honorem, cultum, reverenciam prestemus, sed etiam de eadem fide et observancia nostra rationem quotiescunque postulabitur reddamus et palam omnibus (si res postulat) libentissime testemur; Noverint universi, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, quod nos prior et conventus prioratus canonicorum de Walsingham, Norwicensis Diocesis, uno ore et voce atque unanimi omnium consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillo nostro communi in domo nostro capitulari dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnibus et singulis imperpetuum profiteamur, testamur, ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos priorem, conventum, et successores nostros omnes et singulos integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque fidem, observanciam, et reverenciam semper prestaturos erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam Reginam uxorem ejusdem, et erga sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitime tam progenitam quam prognerandam, et quod eadem populo notificabimus, predicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et perpetue habituri sumus, quod predictus Rex noster Henricus est caput Ecclesie Anglicane. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis bullis pape nomen usurpat, et summi pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Anglie quam quivis alius externus episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum in ulla sacra concione privatim vel publice habenda eundem episcopum Romanum appellabit nomine pape aut summi pontificis, sed nomine episcopi Romani vel Ecclesie Romane; et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam papa, sed tanquam Episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et successoribus suis adharebimus, et ejus leges ac decreta manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis, et canonibus, qui contra legem divinam et sacram scripturam, aut contra jura hujus Regni esse inveniuntur, imperpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex sacris scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere presumat, sed quisquam Christum ejusque verba et facta simpliciter, aperte, sincere, et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum scripturarum et vere catholicorum atque orthodoxorum doctorum predicabit catholice et orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum in suis orationibus et comprecationibus de more faciendis primum omnium Regem, tanquam supremum caput Ecclesie Anglicane, deo et populi precibus commendabit, deinde Reginam Annam, cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopos Cant' et Ebor', cum ceteris cleri ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli predicti, prior, conventus, et successores nostri, consuecencie et jurisjurandi sacramento nosmet firmiter obligamus, et quod omnia et singula predicta fideliter imperpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic

scripto nostro commune sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus. Datum in domo nostra capitulari, xvij. die mensis Septembris, anno Domini Millesimo, quingentesimo, tricesimo quarto.

per me Ricard Vowel, Priorem
per me Willelmum Rase (*sic*).
per me Edmundum Warham, Subpriorem
per me Johannem Clenchwardton
per me Nicholaum Myleham
per me Robertum Salt.
per me Robertum Wylsey
per me Willelmum Castellacre
per me Simonem Ovy
per me Johannem Harlow
per me Johannem Lawinxley.

per me Ricardum Garnett
per me Johannem Clark
per me Johannem Awstyn
per me Johannem Marthe
per me Thomam Pawlum
per me Edwardum Marstone
per me Johannem Byrcham
per me Johannem Hadlay
per me Thomam Holte
per me Thomam Walsyngham
per me Umfredum London

L. S.

SURRENDER OF WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

AUGUST 4, 30 HENR. VIII., A.D. 1538.¹

(PRIMA PARS CLAUS⁹ DE ANNO REGNI REGIS HENRICI OCTAVI TRICESIMO. N. 68.
DE SCRIPTO PRIORIS DE WALSINGHAM FACTO DOMINO REGI.)

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens Scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus Prior Domus sive Prioratus Beate Marie de Walsyngham, Ordinis Sancti Augustini, Norwicensis Diocesis, et ejusdem loci Conventus, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatos Priorem et Conventum unanimi assensu et concensu nostris, animis deliberatis, certa sciencia, et mero motu nostris, ex quibusdam causis justis et rationabilibus nos, animas, et consciencias nostras specialiter moventibus, ultro et sponte Dedisse, Concessisse, ac per presentes Damus et Concedimus, Reddimus et Confirmamus illustrissimo principi, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Anglie et Francie Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hibernie, et in terra Supremo Capiti Anglicane Ecclesie, Totam dictam Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, et precinctum ejusdem Domus sive Prioratus de Walsyngham predicta, necnon totam cellam nostram de Flycham, ac totum situm, Fundum, Circuitum, et precinctum ejusdem Celle de Flicham; ac omnia et singula Maneria, Dominia, Mesuagia, Gardina, Curtilagias, Tofta, Terras et Tenementa, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Boscos, Redditus, Reversiones, Servicia, Molendina, Passagia, Feoda Militum, Wardas, Maritagia, Nativos, Villanos cum eorum sequelis, Communias, Libertates, Franchisias, Jurisdicciones, Officia, Curias, Letas, Hundreda, Visus Franciplegii, Ferias, Mercata, Parcos, Warrennas, Vivaria, Aquas, Piscarias, Vias, Chimina, Vacuos Fundos, Advocaciones, Nominaciones, Presentaciones et Donaciones Ecclesiarum, Vicariarum,

¹ It is stated in Dugdale's Monasticon, new edit. vol. vi. p. 71, that Richard Vowel, with the sub-prior and Canons, on Aug. 4, 30 Hen. VIII. by deed enrolled in Chancery, surrendered the Priory with the Cell of Flitcham, and all their possessions to the king. Blomef. Hist. Norf.

vol. ix. p. 278. The document is here given (*in extenso*) from the entry on the Close Roll, preserved at the Rolls Chapel. We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Joseph Burt in directing our search and obtaining a transcript.

Capellarum, Cantariorum, Hospitalium, et aliorum Ecclesiasticorum Beneficiorum quorumcumque, Rectorias, Vicarias, Cantarias, Pensiones, Porciones, Annuitates, Decimas, Oblaciones; ac omnia et singula Emolumenta, Proficua, Possessiones, Hereditamenta, et Jura nostra quecumque, tam infra dictum Comitatum Norfolchie quam infra Comitatus Suffolchie, Essexie, et Cantebrie, vel alibi infra Regnum Anglie, Wallie et Marchiarum eorundem, eidem Domui sive Prioratui de Walsyngham predicta, ac Celle de Flicham predicta, ac eorum utrique quoquomodo pertinentia, spectantia, appendentia, sive incumbencia; ac omnimodo Cartas, Evidencias, Scripta (et) Munimenta nostra eisdem Domui sive Prioratui, ac Celle predictae, Maneriis, Terris et Tenementis, ac ceteris Premissis cum pertinentiis, seu alicui inde parcellae quoquomodo spectantia sive concernentia; Habendum, Tenendum, et Gaudendum dictum Domum sive Prioratum, Situm, Fundum, Circuitum, et precinetum de Walsyngham predicta, necnon Cellam, Fundum, Circuitum et precinetum de Flicham predicta, ac omnia et singula Dominia, Maneria, Terras, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, et cetera Premissa, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis, prefato Invictissimo et (sic) Domino nostro Regi, heredibus, et assignatis suis imperpetuum. Cui in hac parte ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi poterit aut potest, nos, et dictum Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac omnia jura nobis qualitercumque acquisita, ut decet, subjicimus et submittimus, dantes et concedentes, prout per presentes damus et concedimus, eidem Regie Majestati, heredibus, et assignatis suis, omnem et omnimodam plenam et liberam facultatem, auctoritatem, et potestatem nos, et dictam Domum sive Prioratum de Walsyngham predicta, ac Cellam de Flicham predicta, unacum omnibus et singulis Maneriis, Terris, Tenementis, Redditibus, Reversionibus, Serviciis, et singulis premissis, cum suis juribus et pertinentiis quibuscumque, disponendi ac pro suo libero Regie voluntatis libito ad quoscumque usus majestati sue placentes alienandi, donandi, convertendi, et transferendi; hujus modi dispositiones, alienaciones, donaciones, conversiones et transaciones per dictam Majestatem suam quovismodo fiendas extunc ratificantes, ratasque et gratas ac perpetuo firmas nos habituros promittimus per presentes; et ut premissa omnia et singula suum debitum sortiri valeant effectum, eleccionibus insuper nobis et successoribus nostris, necnon omnibus et singulis querelis, provocacionibus, appellacionibus, accionibus, litibus, et instantiis aliisque nostris² remediis et beneficiis nobis forsitan et successoribus nostris in ea parte, pretextu dispositionis, alienacionis, transacionis, et conversionis predictarum et ceterorum premissorum, qualitercumque competentibus et competituris, omnibusque doli, erroris, metus, ignorancie, vel alterius materie sive dispositionis excepcionibus, objectionibus, et allegacionibus prorsus semotis et depositis, palam, publice, et expresse, ex certa nostra sciencia, animisque spontaneis renunciavimus et cessimus prout per presentes renunciamus et cedimus, et ab eisdem recedimus in his scriptis. Et nos, prefati Prior et Conventus et Successores nostri, dictum Domum sive Prioratum, Precinetum, Situm, Mansionem, et Ecclesiam de Walsyngham predicta, necnon Cellam, Fundum, Circuitum, et Precinetum de Flicham predicta, ac omnia et singula maneria, Dominia, Messuagia, Gardina, Curtilagia, Tofta, Prata, Pascua, Pasturas, Boscos,

² "Aliisque quibuscumque juris remediis," &c., in the Surrender of Bardney, according to the same form as the above.

Dugd. Mon. edit. Caley, vol. i. p. 640. In the Surrender of Cerne, however, *ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 628, the reading is—"nostris."

Subboscos, Terras, Tenementa, ac omnia et singula cetera premissa cum suis pertinentiis universis, Domino nostro Regi, heredibus, et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum. In quorum testimonium nos, prefati Prior et Conventus huic Scripto Sigillum nostrum Commune apponi fecimus. Datum in Domo nostra Capitulari, quarto die Mensis Augusti, Anno Regni Regis Henrici supradicti tricesimo. [A.D. 1538.]

Et memorandum quod die et anno predictis venerunt predicti Prior et Conventus in domo sua Capitulari apud Walsingham coram Willemo Petre,³ pretextu Commissionis dicti Domini Regis ei in hac parte directo, et recognoverunt scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta, in forma predicta.

CABBOKESWELL. See page 118, *supra*.

The following is a Copy of the Document which forms a fly-leaf at fol. 26 of the Walsingham Register, Cotton MSS. Nero, E. VII. with its various endorsements and notes.

Copia Semitæ inter Priorem de Walsingham et Stephanum Black.

Ad curiam tentam apud Walsingham, XV.^o die Junii, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum X^o, coram Roberto Hethe tunc ibidem Seneschallum, Dominus concessit Johanni Priori Ecclesie de Walsingham et ejusdem loci conventui quandam semitam ducentem de communi via versus quandam fontem vocatum Cabbokeswell in communi villatura de Walsingham parva, ut unum . . . non . . . ad nec—aliquorum Communarium ibidem ut testatum est per homagium redditum inde domino per annualem obm in festo Sancti Michaelis. Et dat domino de fine VI. denarios.

(Notes)

Et nota quod ista semita jacet sub fovea aquilonari vocata Blacks, juxta Cruftam vocatam Powerscroft. Et Cabbokeswell jacet in angulo Australi foveæ de Powerscloos, juxta prædictam foveam de Blacks.

Et nota quod Dominus Richardus Dux Eboraci postea tempore Thomæ Hunt Prioris, Confirmavit prædictum, et super hoc etiam dedit Prioratui totam parcellam terræ ex parte occidentali vocatam Elemosinariam, quæ jacet inter semitam et prædictam Elemosinariam.

(Endorsements)

Item pars terræ vacuæ inter semitam et vetus Elemosynarium Priori.

Ista Billa facit mentionem de quadam semita ad finem aquilonarem hujus villæ subtus tenementum quondam Nicholai Black postea Jacobi Cabb—k.

THE KNIGHT'S GATE: LEGEND OF SIR RALPH BOTETOURT.

(See page 124.)

The probable position of the *ostium* is shown in the plan accompanying this memoir. Erasmus distinctly states that the gate, to which the legend cited by Blomefield related was on the north side. It is singular that

³ Sir William Petre, a great favourite of Cromwell's, and one of the Commissioners employed by him to visit monasteries, of which Henry VIII. had nominated Cromwell General Visitor. Petre was afterwards Secretary of State and held posts of high trust in four successive

reigns. He had large grants out of the spoils of the monasteries, as enumerated in Biog. Brit., Life of Petre; and he obtained a Bull from Pope Paul IV., in the reign of Mary, permitting him to retain them.

Mr. J. Gough Nichols (*Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury*, p. 8) should have fallen into the error of giving the principal gateway to the west of the church as that in question, and he produces in illustration Cotman's representation of that gatehouse, with its old gates and "the very wicket which was the supposed scene of the miracle." Blomefield gives the following relation, from an old MS. On the north side of the close there was a very small wicket, "not past an elne hye, and three quarters in bredth. And a certain *Norfolk* knight, Sir *Raaf Botetourt*, armed cap-a-pee and on horse-back, being in days of old, 1314, pursued by a cruel enemy, and in the utmost danger of being taken, made full speed for this gate, and invoking this lady for his deliverance, he immediately found himself and his horse within the close and sanctuary of the priory, in a safe asylum, and so fooled his enemy." *Hist. of Norf.* vol. ix. p. 280. An engraved brass plate representing this miracle was affixed to the gate, and was there seen by Erasmus. One of the articles of enquiry for the monastery of Walsingham (Harl. MS. 791, p. 27) is—"What is the sayng—of the knyght, and what of the other wonders that be here, and what proves be therof?" It is singular that amongst numerous representations of miraculous interpositions of the Virgin Mary, as for instance amongst the sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely Cathedral, erected so shortly after the alleged date of this miracle, no representation of it should have been noticed.

The name of the "Knight Street," Mr. Lee Warner observes, "is the sole local evidence now remaining of the scene of Sir Ralph Botetourt's exploit. The outline of the boundary of the precincts might lead us to the supposition that the foundations of the original gate are below the present turnpike road:—but when we remember that the road has been altered, as shown in the annexed plan, we are inclined to attach credit to the report of ancient inhabitants, that formerly an old building existed nearer to the Wishing Wells, which may have been the gate in question, or possibly the chapel of St. Nicholas. This notable miracle is perhaps alluded to in the Pepsian Ballad, cited at the commencement of this memoir, and written about a century after the time to which the miracle has been assigned:—

"Foke that of feenes have had incumbrance,
And of wicked sprites also much vexatyon,
Have here been delivered from every such chauce,
And souls greatly vexed with gostely tentatyon."

Before we close these notices of a place of such interesting memories as Walsingham, it may not be irrelevant to mention the signs, *signacula*, of metal, which were doubtless as much in request here by the innumerable pilgrims to the shrine of Our Lady, as they were in other notable resorts of pilgrimage. These tokens of vows performed were usually of pewter or lead, and they were often formed so as to be affixed to the cap or the dress, or hung round the neck, as Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Bishop of Winchester and his company, lately come from Canterbury, "*cum signaculis B. Thome a collo suspensis*." It has been supposed that the pewter *ampulla*, of which representations are subjoined, bearing on one side the initial W. under a crown (see woodcuts), may have been a Walsingham sign, carried by some pilgrim to Cirencester, where it was found; it was brought under the notice of the Institute by Professor Buckman. Another, marked with the crowned W., found at Dunwich, is figured in Gardner's *History of that place*, Plate III. p. 66. Such *ampullæ* may have served to contain small quantities of the waters of the Wishing Wells, as at

Canterbury they were filled from Becket's healing well, miraculously tinged as if with blood. Mr. Roach Smith has given a curious essay on Pilgrims' Signs, in the *Journal of the Arch. Assoc.*, vol. i. p. 200, and they are more fully noticed in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 81, vol. ii. p. 43, and in the catalogue of his museum, p. 134. The original *signacula* have recently been deposited with his collections in the British Museum. Mr. Roach Smith has also kindly made us acquainted with an undoubted Walsingham sign, of which he possesses a cast. It is a small rectangular ornament of lead, on which appears the Annunciation with the vase containing a lily between the figures, and underneath is—Walsygham. We have not been able to ascertain where the original was found, or in whose possession it is preserved.

There is a curious relation by Richard Southwell, one of Cromwell's Commissioners for the visitation of monasteries, addressed to him in July, 1536. It describes a secret laboratory discovered in Walsingham Priory, a circumstance eagerly seized by the captious visitor, whose special object it was to magnify suspicion and give a colour to any mysterious discovery. The sequestrators, Southwell states, had taken possession of money, plate and stuff, found at Walsingham, and "emoung other thinges—dyd ther



fynd a secrete prevye place within the howse, where no channon nor onnye other of the howse dyd ever enter, as they saye, in wiche there were instreumentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of such strange colers as the lick non of us had seene, with poyries⁴ and other thinges to sorte, and denyd (?) gould and sylver, nothing ther wantinge that should belonge to the arte of multiplyeng."⁵ It is by no means improbable that this furnace was for no processes of alchemy, but simply the place where the sacristan melted the metals suited for his craft of casting *signacula* and "ampulles" for the pilgrims. Such a privy furnace, very probably destined for a similar purpose, may still be seen in an upper chamber in Canterbury Cathedral.

⁴ Weights.

⁵ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv., f. 231. Let-

ters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, p. 138. Camden Soc.

SOME REMARKS ON A CASKET AT GOODRICH COURT.

IN the collection of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick, still preserved at Goodrich Court, is a small casket of silver-gilt, which formerly belonged to Mr. Astle, and afterwards to Mr. Douce. By the kind permission of Colonel Meyrick squeezes were taken from it a few months ago by Mr. A. Nesbitt, from which a remarkably good electrotpe in copper has been executed, that was exhibited by him at a recent meeting of the Institute.

The present gilding of the casket is modern, but there is no good reason to doubt that it was originally gilt. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and resembles a rectangular Gothic building, with a pitched roof, that forms the lid. On each slope of the lid are three quatrefoils; and in each quatrefoil, on one side, are the arms of England dimidiated with France semée, entire; and in each quatrefoil, on the other side, are the same arms with a plain label of 3 points over all. A woodcut of each coat is given below. The last-mentioned arms



are in *front*. The former must be those of some queen of England, who was a daughter of a king of France. There were only two queens of England answering this description before Edward III. quartered the arms of France in 1339 or 1340; namely, Margaret, the second queen of Edward I., and Isabella, the queen of Edward II. It will presently appear, that while the latter was queen, there was no one

who bore the other coat ; and, therefore, the arms without the label must be Queen Margaret's.

The other coat is probably, to some extent, incorrect as regards the label ; for no such arms, as England dimidiated with France, and a label over all, were borne by any one while either of these two princesses was Queen of England, unless it were by Isabella herself as the betrothed of Prince Edward while his father was living. This coat was once supposed to be that of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I. He bore England with a label of France, having married for his second wife Queen Blanche, the widow of Henry I. of Navarre. Her father was Robert Count of Artois, whose arms were France with a label *gules* charged with castles *or*. But, beside that the label would not be correct, the earl would not have used either a dimidiated or an impaled coat ; and in fact he was dead before Margaret became Queen of England.

If we suppose the label to have been meant for two labels, or for parts of two labels, there was no one that bore such a coat while Isabella was queen ; but in that case it might possibly have been intended for the arms of Blanche herself after the death of her second husband, the Earl of Lancaster, in 1296 ; for she survived him, and did not die till 1302, which was three years after Queen Margaret's marriage. There are, however, considerable difficulties to be overcome in order to arrive satisfactorily at that conclusion. For the label is quite plain, and to all appearance but one and uncompounded ; whereas, for this Blanche the dexter part of the label ought to have been charged with fleurs-de-lis, and the sinister with castles ; and even granting that the space is too small for such charges, there should, and most likely would, have been some means resorted to in order to distinguish the two parts, and show that it was not a single label. It may be noticed too, that, as France, in these arms, is entire, the label for Artois ought not to have been dimidiated, but to have been entire also. It may be thought difficult to distinguish between France dimidiated and France entire, because the coat was *semée* ; but I think, if a few seals in which those arms are dimidiated be compared with the arms on this casket, any one will be soon satisfied that such is not the case. I need hardly mention, that instances of half of one coat being impaled with the entirety of

another about that date are not very rare.¹ Add to these considerations, that there is no reference to Navarre ; yet Blanche was Queen consort of Henry I. of Navarre for nearly four years, and was generally styled Queen of Navarre until her death, notwithstanding her second marriage. Since the coat in question occurs three times on the same side of this casket, the omission of Navarre could not have been for want of room. According to the heraldic usage of that age, her arms would most likely have been placed between Navarre on the dexter and Lancaster on the sinister. Should it be objected that Navarre was not on Crouchback's monument at Westminster, though Artois was, I grant it, and reply, that neither was the coat of Blanche herself there ; which would have been a dimidiation or impalement of Lancaster and Artois, most likely with Navarre introduced in some manner. The coat of Artois on that monument had reference to her father to show the alliance, and not to herself. With Navarre Crouchback himself was unconnected. Therefore, there was no reason why Navarre should have appeared on his tomb, unless her arms had been there, and then only as part of them. I am thus brought to a conviction, that it is improbable that the arms in question on this casket should have been intended for those of Blanche Queen of Navarre and Countess of Lancaster.

If they were not meant for *her* arms, I think they *must* be those of Isabella, while she was the betrothed of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II. ; for I can discover no other person to whom they can with any show of reason be attributed ; since they must have belonged to some princess of France who married, or was affianced to, an English Prince that bore a label as a mark of cadency, while either Margaret or Isabella was Queen of England. There was a usage, which those who have read Mrs. Green's *Lives of the Princesses of England* may recollect, of a Princess after her betrothal assuming the same title that she would have borne had she been actually married to her betrothed ; and there is no reason to doubt, that with the title she assumed the corresponding arms. Now had Isabella been married to Prince Edward in his father's lifetime, she would have borne England with a label *azure* dimidiated with France *semée*,

¹ One of the seals of Margaret, Countess of Artois, Blanche's sister-in-law, is

a contemporaneous example, as appears by an engraving of it in Vredius, pl. 48.

either dimidiated also or entire. There was a treaty between Edward I. and Philip the Fair in 1299, by which it was agreed, not only that Edward should marry Philip's half-sister Margaret, but that Prince Edward should marry his daughter Isabella, who was then not quite seven years old. The betrothal of the Prince and Isabella did not take place till May 1303. Their marriage was deferred till January 1308, which was about six months after Prince Edward had succeeded to the throne of England. It is possible the label may have been designedly placed over both England and France, but that would, I conceive, have been anomalous; for ladies' seals of corresponding date occur, in which the label is confined to the arms to which it properly belonged.² I am therefore inclined to believe, that the extension of it over France was an error of the artist; and in this opinion I am confirmed by observing, that it appears to have been treated as an error; for though that part of the label was not removed, the engraving of the arms of France is in each case carried through it. I think, therefore, we may upon the whole conclude, that the arms with the label are those of Isabella as the betrothed of Prince Edward between May 1303 and the death of Edward I. in July 1307; and if so, they are a coat which had long become unknown; for I am not aware of any other example of her arms during that period being in existence or even recorded.

The form and size of the casket have been mentioned, and also the material, and that it was in all probability originally gilt. It has all the appearance of being of English workmanship. The arms are too slightly engraved to lead me to think they were ever enamelled. Its form may have been intended to represent a house, a chapel, a shrine, or a chasse. There is no saint, symbol, name, or other peculiarity to mark it as ecclesiastical, unless the form suffices for that purpose. Chrismatories are to be found of a similar shape: one such was discovered a few years ago in St. Martin's church, Canterbury; and I have been informed of another, in which the three compartments for the different kinds of chrism or holy oil were marked with the letters used to distinguish them;³ and I am told by Mr. A. Way, who

² As an example, it may be sufficient to mention the seal of Margaret, Countess of Artois, before noticed.

³ The chrisms or holy oils were of three

kinds: 1. The Chrisma properly so called, which was made of oil and balsam, and was used at the blessing of fonts, chalices, and patens, at the consecration of churches

had examined this casket before it was regilt, that there were then traces of two partitions, which divided it into three compartments, as if for the small vessels, probably of glass, that held the chrisms. This, therefore, may have been a chrismatory. If it were not that, it may have been a box for trinkets or the like, such as might have been a very suitable present from Queen Margaret to her niece, a child of ten or eleven years of age, and indeed more appropriate for her than for Isabella's grandmother, as Queen Blanche really was, having been the mother of Joan Queen of Philip the Fair. That it was a present from Queen Margaret is highly probable; for the arms with the label being on the front, the *more* honourable place, would seem to indicate the donee, and those at the back the donor. Had it been a joint gift by those whose arms are upon it, the differenced coat would, no doubt, have been in the *less* honourable place. Therefore, whether ecclesiastical or not, I think we may safely assume this casket was presented by Queen Margaret to some one, and most likely to her niece Isabella on or soon after her betrothal; and if it be ecclesiastical, it may have been intended to form part of the furniture of her chapel. We find, for example, a chrismatory in the Inventory of the effects of the Duke of Berry, in 1417, "*un crespier d'argent, veré, a trois estuis pour mettre le saint cresseme;*"⁴ and there was also one of silver gilt among the jewels, &c., of King Henry V.⁵

At any rate, whatever may have been its object, and whether a present or not, one thing seems morally certain, viz., that the date of it must be between September 1299, when Margaret married, or very shortly before, and January 1308, when Isabella became Queen of England; and with this inference derived from the heraldry upon it, all, I think, who examine the electrotype, will agree that the design and workmanship accord. It is not often that an undated work of art can have the time of its execution so clearly ascertained.

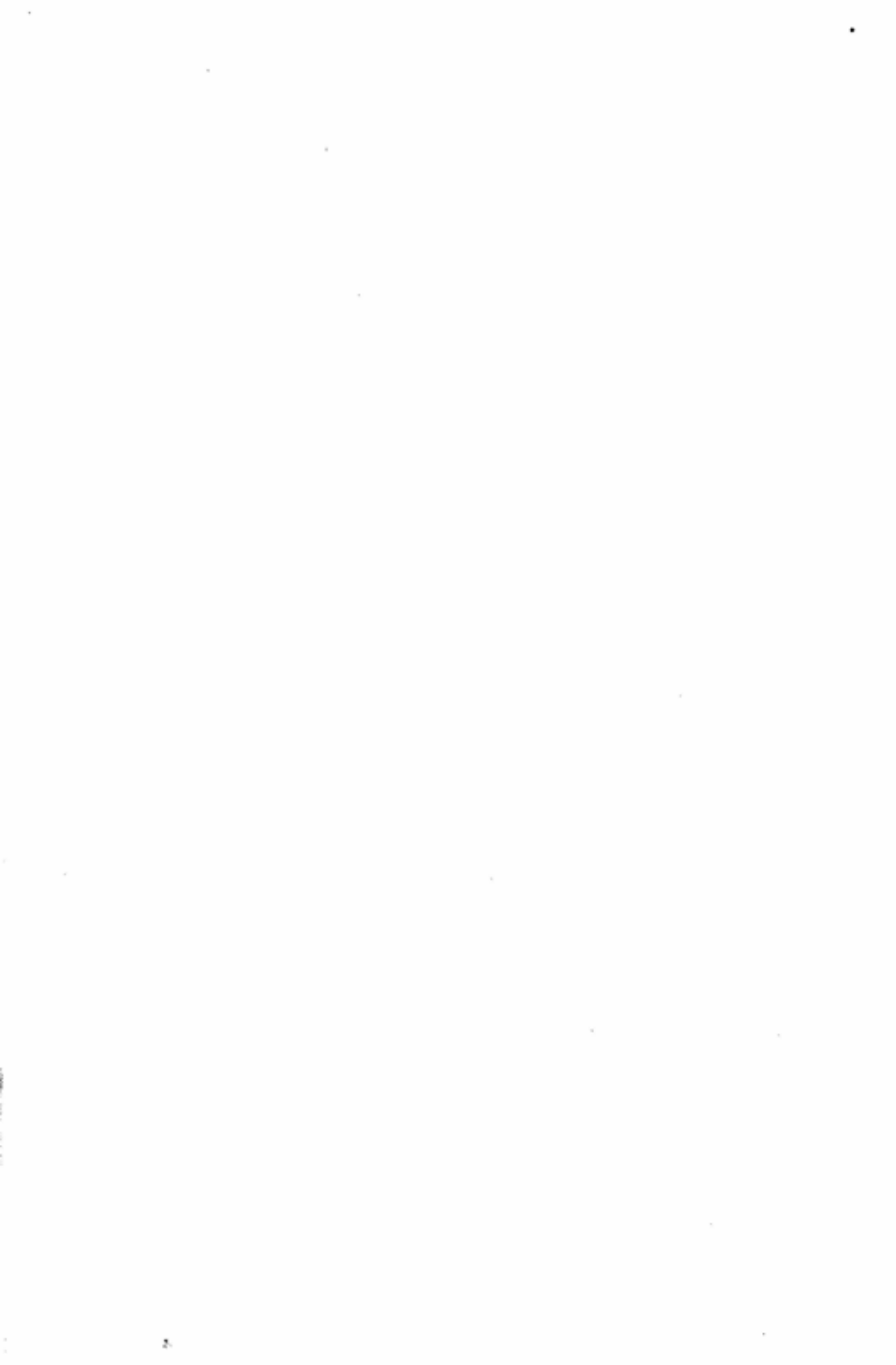
W. S. W.

and altars, at baptisms and confirmations, and at the consecration of bishops; 2. *Oleum Catechumenorum*, used also at baptisms and the consecration of churches and altars, and at the ordination of priests, and the coronation of sovereigns; 3. *Oleum Infirmorum* for the extreme unction of the sick. See *Supplementum Nicolai de Ausmo*, voce *Oleum*, and

Decretales, Lib. 1, tit. xv. de *sacra unctione*. These different kinds were generally distinguished on the respective vessels containing them by the abbreviations CHR. CATH. and INFIR.

⁴ Laborde's *Emaux du Louvre*, Glosaire, p. 233.

⁵ Rot. Parl. IV. p. 225.





NITRE OF DAMASK WITH EMBROIDERED ORPHREYS.
Formerly in Beauvais Cathedral. Date, XIIIth Century.

NOTICE OF AN ANCIENT MITRE PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM
AT BEAUVAIS.

DURING a recent visit to Beauvais, M. Mathon, one of the Conservators of the Public Museum in that city, was kind enough to afford me facilities for making a careful drawing of a mitre which that institution has now possessed for little more than a year. At the same time he communicated to me some interesting particulars respecting its history.

In bringing these particulars under the notice of the Institute, I have added a few observations upon some fragments of ancient textile fabrics, possessing analogies either of design or manufacture with the peculiar features of the Beauvais mitre.

It appears that when purchased for the Museum, at a sale of a collector of ancient reliques at Beauvais, there was a short notice appended to it, of which the following is a translation :—

“ This mitre, of somewhat ancient form, was nailed to the top of one of the presses in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Beauvais. The revolutionary devastations of the year 1792, and the years following, abandoned it as an object of too small value to be noticed. The bands *semées* of fleurs-de-lis, with which this mitre is ornamented, would appear to denote that it was the best of those mentioned by Philippe de Dreux in his will, and which he left to the church. Philippe de Dreux, grandson of Louis le Gros, was elected Bishop of Beauvais in 1175, and died in 1217.”

We find accordingly in the will made by this prelate, on the day after the feast of All Saints, the following directions :—“ Ego Philippus, Dei patientia Belvacensis Episcopus . . . lego Ecclesiæ B. Petri Belvacensis, præter textum aureum quem jam dederam, meliorem crucem auream meam, et calicem unum aureum, et navem argenteam, et missale et ordinarium tecta argento, et meliora sandalia, meliorem mitram, et omnes pannos meos senios (? *sericos*) quæ dependere

solent in Ecclesia, et quindecim cappas sericas, et decem infulas,¹ et octo dalmaticas."

It appears that the former possessor, above mentioned, was under a misapprehension when he imagined the term "*meliozem mitram*" to apply to the subject of the present notice. It is more probable, I think, that the expression would mean the *mitra preciosa*, of which every bishop possessed one or more. This latter was generally formed of plates of gold and silver, and was enriched with pearls and precious stones; and it was by no means an uncommon occurrence for a bishop to leave it at his death to his cathedral. In the inventories of the treasures of St. Paul's, London, and St. Peter's at York, several instances of this munificence of the deceased prelates are recorded, while the less costly mitres are stated to have been given by the gentry and persons of lower degree.

If this mitre ever did belong to Philippe de Dreux, (and from its form and armorial decoration this has been considered by no means improbable,) I think it must have been included in the "*omnes pannos meos sericos*" mentioned in the latter part of the extract from his will.

It is not very clear whether it must be classed with what was denominated the *mitra auriphrygiata*, which was to be "*aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex serico albo intermixto, vel ex tela aurea simplici*," or with the *mitra simplex*, which was without gold, made of simple damask, or even of linen.

This mitre, it will be perceived, partakes of both varieties, for it is formed of linen damask with embroidered orphreys. The fleurs-de-lys of these orphreys are worked in the common embroidery stitch, upon a ground of violet-coloured silk, strengthened by a double layer of strong canvas underneath; a small silk thread, formerly black, but now brown, is worked round each fleur-de-lys to define the outline. The orphreys and the linen damask were then sewn together, and the whole strengthened by a stiff piece of vellum, which in fact forms the body of the mitre. A lining of red silk concealed this from view, and formed a border by turning over the inner edge.

¹ By reference to Ducange, we find that the word *infula* has several significations:—1. A chasuble—which I think is its meaning in this case; 2. the labels

of a mitre; and 3, a covering for the head, and perhaps, occasionally, the mitre itself.

The *infulæ* or pendant labels have unfortunately disappeared, but if we may judge by the mitre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, preserved in the treasury of Sens Cathedral, and published by Mr. Shaw,² they would be of the same material as the mitre, and accordingly may have been of linen damask, lined with red, and terminated by violet fringes.

The colour of this linen damask has no doubt much altered from its original tone; at present the figures are almost yellow, and the ground brownish purple. In all probability the original colour was not far different from that of the coarser kind of napkins of the present day. M. Michel, in his "*Recherches sur la Fabrication des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent*," adduces a curious passage from the collection of "*Poësies latines antérieures au douzième siècle*," edited by M. de Meril, to prove that linen napkins were woven and in use in western Europe anterior to that epoch. Most probably this piece of linen came from Abbeville, which had a considerable reputation for the manufacture during the XIIIth century.

As to the rest of the precious bequests given by the piety of Philippe de Dreux to his church, M. Mathon states the following particulars:—

"I have spoken with old men who remember having seen all the copes, chasubles, crosses and pictures which were in the church and treasury collected into a great heap before the door of the church, and set fire to as a *feu de joie*, in 1793."

The mitre is described in the Museum at Beauvais as having belonged to Philippe de Dreux, and indeed generally attributed to him in that town. In regard, however, to the tradition, which would assign to that prelate this interesting example of a class of sacred objects of which very few, of early date, have been preserved, it must be admitted that certain doubts have arisen. Mr. Franks has kindly pointed out that, from the form of the fleur-de-lys, this mitre must be referred to at least a century later than the time of Philippe de Dreux, and that the armorial decoration may be accounted for by the fact, that kings and distinguished personages often gave, or left by will, their best garments to be made into sacerdotal vestments. I am afraid that Mr. Franks' objection extinguishes the claim of Philippe de Dreux to the ownership of this mitre. With regard to the latter fact a singular contemporary testi-

² Dresses and Decorations, vol. i., pl. 13.

mony is contained in the story of Martin Hapart in the "Nouveau recueil, Contes, Dits, et Fabliaux des 13, 14, 15 siècles. Par Achille Jubinal." Paris, 1839. Vol. II., p. 204.

" Il ne a riens de Saint Michiel
Fors les paroïs
Et l'ymage que le bian rois
Fist parer des ses vieux ORFROIS."

Considerable attention has been of late years bestowed by French archaeologists upon the class of fabrics of which such quantities were ruthlessly destroyed. In addition to the light thrown upon the subject by M. Michel, Le Pere Martin, in his "*Mélanges Archéologiques*," has engraved many interesting reliques, in which an oriental character of design is strongly imprinted; and, although it appears probable that the materials of the Beauvais mitre were French, there can be no doubt that the pattern of the fabric which forms its base was founded upon the traditions of Byzantine art, popularised throughout Europe through the Mahometan weavers, and their successors of the royal establishment in Sicily. To illustrate this connection I would notice some details relating to such manufactures.

Amongst interesting reliques of this class found in France may be mentioned the remains of a sacerdotal vesture, with Arabic inscriptions found in a tomb of a bishop of the XIIth century at Bayonne, opened in 1853.³ The original, with the crozier of Limoges enamel, and other objects, is preserved in the Hôtel de Cluny at Paris. There can be little doubt that they belong to that period when Europe generally was supplied with fabrics of gold and silk from the East through Jerusalem and Constantinople.

I may here also notice an example of what M. Michel calls the second period, when first the Sicilians, and afterwards the Italians, began to manufacture silk on their own account, so as to become independent of the East; but still, as might be expected, with a very strong infusion of Oriental taste in the designs.

It would appear that when the Normans conquered Sicily they found attached to the Palace of the Emirs of Palermo a very common state appendage of Eastern Monarchs,

³ Mr. Burges has very kindly presented to the Institute his beautiful drawings of specimens of ancient tissues, as also of

the mitre preserved at Beauvais, described in this Memoir.

namely, a manufactory of precious fabrics destined for the wardrobe of the king himself, or to be used for presents in the form so common in the East at the present day, namely, dresses of honour. The kings of Sicily of Norman race retained this manufactory, and Roger I. even increased it by transplanting to Sicily the workers in silk from the Greek towns sacked by his army. Many of the original artificers would be Mahometans, and we accordingly find Moorish patterns and even Moorish inscriptions in most of the Sicilian fabrics of that time. Thus the coronation garments of the German emperors, formerly preserved at Nuremburg, but now deposited at Vienna, have an entirely Eastern composition; the cope presents Cufic inscriptions, informing us that it was made in the city of Palermo, in the year 1133; while the tunics claim a little later date, 1181, but this date is inscribed in the Latin language.⁴

The piece of stuff, to which I have adverted, was discovered in the tomb of the Emperor Arrigo or Henry VI., who died 1196. It would appear originally to have been of that colour called in the inventory "*Diarhodon*" and which, we are told, "strikes the look with the appearance of fire." This at the present day has faded into a reddish *murry* colour. Lighter than this was the *Rhodinum*, or rose colour, and a still more delicate tint of the same colour was the *Leucorhodina*. The inventory of the *Capella Réale*, taken in 1309, presents a vast number of sacerdotal vestments made of silk and gold figured with lions, parrots, peacocks, wheels, antelopes, &c.; so much so, indeed, that we almost appear to be reading again the accounts of Anastatius of the riches of St. Peter's, at Rome, in the IXth century. Among the items the inventory describes "*cappam unam vetustam deauratam super seta rubea, ad aviculos et alias operas,*" a description which might almost serve for the

⁴ Representations of these remarkable vestments were published in a work produced at Nuremburg, by M. d'Ebner, in 1790; one of the tunics is given by Willemin, in his "*Monuments Inédits*," pl. 21. The inscription records that it was "*operatum felici urbe Panormi*," in the reign of William, King of Sicily. Gally Knight, "*Normans in Sicily*," vol. ii., p. 242, states that a learned Italian antiquary, by careful examination of the Saracenic inscriptions on the ceiling of the *Capella Réale*, built by King Roger,

and finished in 1132, ascertained that they are identical with the inscription on the robe of honour, above-mentioned, wrought for King Roger in 1133, and carried away by the Emperor Henry VI. It was subsequently used as the Imperial coronation robe, and was ultimately conveyed to Vienna. The Saracens of Sicily wrought another robe, and presented it to the Emperor Otho, whom they desired to conciliate. It came into the possession of Frederic II. and was found in his tomb.

tissue found in the tomb of Henry VI. I have only to point out the drawing of the animals, which is particularly Eastern, and indeed bears considerable resemblance to that on the hunting-horn of ivory preserved in the *Trésor* at Aix-la-Chapelle, and said to have been given by Haroun Alraschid to the Emperor Charlemagne.⁵

Sicily at this time was celebrated all over the world, not only for its stuffs of gold and silk, but for the application of precious stones to embroidery. A contemporary historian quoted by M. Michel, says,—“*Margaritæ quoque aut integræ cistulis aureis includuntur, aut perforatæ filo tenui connectuntur, et eleganti quadam dispositionis industria picturati jubentur formam operis exhibere.*” One piece of this manufacture has come down to us and is preserved with other things, including the piece of the garment of the Emperor Henry VI., in the Duomo at Palermo. (See woodcut.) It is the border of the dress of Constanza, the consort of Henry, and is composed of plates of gold, alternately decorated with *cloissonnés* enamels and filagree work,



Border of the Robe of the Empress Constanza, size of the original, and one of the enamelled ornaments, enlarged.

sewn on linen, the interstices being filled up with pearls—“*perforatæ filo tenui.*”⁶ Most of the pearls, however, have now disappeared. An enlarged representation is here given of one of the enamelled ornaments; the colours, red, blue, and white, are varied; in two of the segments composing each quatrefoil, the central ornament is red, surrounded by blue and a white margin; in the other pair, blue, surrounded by red, with a blue margin. The Empress, who died in 1198, was interred in a tomb of porphyry in the Duomo.

WILLIAM BURGESS.

⁵ Representations of the remarkable reliques found in the tomb of Henry VI., as also in those of Roger, King of Sicily, who died in 1154, and of the Empress Constanza, may be seen in the “*Regali Sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo*,” pub-

lished at Naples, 1784, fol.

⁶ See full-sized representations of this rich decoration, as also of the jewelled diadem and other very interesting reliques found in the tomb of the Empress, “*Regali Sepolcri*,” Tav. M. and N.

THE MONASTERIES OF SHROPSHIRE: THEIR ORIGIN AND
FOUNDERS.—HAUGHMOND ABBEY.

BY THE REV. R. W. EYTON, M.A.

IN entering upon this subject, we are at once beset by a variety of previous statements, which, as being discordant with each other, must involve some degree of error. To detect that error shall be our first concern.

The first statement which I shall cite upon the matter is embodied in the Abbey Register.¹ It has been printed in the *Monasticon*,² but with much verbal and grammatical incorrectness. This is not chargeable on the original, which runs as follows:—

*Fundata est Abbathia de Haghmon anno domini millesimo centesimo et in anno ultimo regni Regis Willielmi Rufi et anno regni Regis Henrici primi primo, per Willielmum filium Alani, ut patet in pluribus, et specialiter in duobus Bullis sub plumbo Alexandri Papæ Tercii vocantis eum Fundatorem predicti loci.*³

This document then asserts Haughmond Abbey to have been founded in 1100, and William Fitz-Alan to have been its founder. It alludes to much unspecified evidence of the fact, or facts (for it is ambiguously worded), and particularly cites two Bulls of Pope Alexander III. in support thereof. Now we happen to know something of Pope Alexander's two Bulls to Haughmond. One, dated apparently in 1172, is of "Privileges." It is preserved in the Register⁴ in all its essential parts, and says not a word about the founder or

¹ Chartulary of Haughmond Abbey (in possession of Andrew W. Corbet, of Sundorn, Esq.), fol. 76. This Chartulary is the same with that which Tanner speaks of as, in 1653, in possession of Dame Margaret Barker. The Harleian MS., No. 446, which once belonged to Peter le Neve, is a fragment (less than a quarter) of a very fine original Chartulary. A few of the lost contents of this seem to

be transcribed or rather abridged in Harleian MSS., 2188 and 3368.

² *Monasticon*, vi., 108, No. I.

³ The words "de sede et loco abbathie ibidem," which in the *Monasticon* are added to this sentence as if part thereof, form in the Chartulary the title of the succeeding document.

⁴ *Monasticon*, vi., 112, No. XII.

date of foundation, nor indeed is it a document of the class which would be likely to contain such allusions.

The other Bull also exists in the shape of a full and apparently accurate transcript.⁵ It is dated at Tusculanum, May 14, 1172. It is a confirmation of "grants" to the Abbey. It distinctly indicates William Fitz-Alan as the founder thereof, but says nothing about the date of foundation. In short, a matter so irrelevant and discursive can hardly be conceived to have crept into a Papal Bull of any kind. We therefore have no other authority for dating the foundation of Haughmond in 1100, than the assertion of that Abbot or Canon of the house who wrote the above extract at least 72 years after the event he affects to describe (otherwise he could not quote the bulls of 1172).⁶

Any one acquainted with those monastic documents, usually entitled "*De Fundatione*," or "*Historia Fundationis*," will know that they are not to be received without caution. The antiquity of a house was a matter of pride as well as of advantage. It was therefore seldom underrated by any member of the house concerned.

We have external evidence which is very strong against this alleged date of foundation. William Fitz-Alan, the undoubted founder, was, as we learn from Ordericus, but a youth in 1138, and therefore not born so early as 1100. Also, there were no Canons-regular of St. Augustine, such as were those of Haughmond, introduced into England, till 1105 at the earliest.⁷

A second date has been assigned for this foundation under the following circumstances; in the year 1253 a Shropshire jury had been empanelled to try an issue as to the right of patronage over this house. Their return, made to the Courts at Westminster, in Michaelmas Term of that year, remains on the Plea-Rolls, and a seeming copy thereof is given in the Abbey Register. The latter amplifies the information contained in the Plea-Rolls. Part of the verdict as recorded in the legal document is, "*Dicta Abbacia est de feodo Johannis*

⁵ Harl. MS. 3868, fol. 11.

⁶ The extract is written in red ink throughout, and is therefore the work of the Rubricator of the Chartulary. All documents professing to be copied from original deeds stand in black ink. The Chartulary was probably written as late as the reign of Henry VII.; but I have

allowed in the text for a possibility that the writer got his information from some older source.

⁷ Their first houses seem to have been at Colchester, founded in 1105,—Christ Church, London, founded about 1108,—and Nostell, Yorkshire, founded about 1114. See *Monasticon*, vi., 37.

fili Alani et a predecessoribus suis fundata." To which words the Register adds, "anno xxxvii Regis Henrici Secundi."⁸ Henry II. did not, however, live to enter on his 36th regnal year. This inaccuracy is not, I imagine, to be explained by charging it on a false chronology of the jurors, who probably did not make any date part of their verdict. It rather belongs to the transcriber of the chartulary, who has assigned the year in which the trial was taken (viz. 37 Henry II.) to the foundation of the Abbey, and so incorporated it in the supposed verdict, altering, however, the name of the King to suit his own ideas.

The third date assigned for the foundation of Haughmond is 1110,⁹ which may be possible, so far as that about that time Augustine Canons were settling in England, but is inconsistent with the known era of the founder.

We may now dismiss all previous statements on this subject, and investigate the question of date on other evidence.

The mistakes which have given to Haughmond Abbey a too high degree of antiquity, may possibly be connected with a circumstance which Leland heard and recorded, viz., that there had been an Hermitage and Chapel there previous to the erection of the Abbey.¹

The Chartulary contains no Charter of Foundation by which we may estimate the date when the abbey was begun. The document purporting to be a Foundation-Charter is in fact nothing of the kind, but, as I shall presently show, belongs to a much later period. The next object of search must therefore be the earliest deed which the charter contains. This, when found, though it may say nothing about foundation, will probably belong to the period immediately succeeding that event. The deed then which I fix upon hypothetically, as the oldest in the Chartulary, is one whereby William Fitz-Alan gives to "the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Haghmon the fishery of Upton, which is upon Severn, and the man and land pertaining thereto, free and quit of all service, for the maintenance (victum) of Fulco

⁸ Compare *Monasticon* vi., 111, No. VIII., and *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, page 129.

⁹ Tanner assigns this date on the evidence of a MS. chronicle, formerly in possession of Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough (1685-1690).

¹ *Itinerary*, vol. viii., fol. 113 a. Leland

also gives 1101 as the date of the Abbey, and William Fitz-Alan as the founder. He says also that William Fitz-Alan and his wife were buried at Haughmond. If the founder is hereby meant (and Leland's words can only be so taken) it is a mistake. He was buried at Shrewsbury Abbey.

the Prior and all his brethren living in the aforesaid church, in right perpetual, so long as faithful brethren shall serve God in the same church. Witnesses, Walter, his (the grantor's) brother, and Christiana, his (the grantor's) wife."²

Now this deed exhibits, I think, the church of Haughmond as a Priory, and so in an intermediate state between the previous hermitage and the subsequent Abbey. As no other charter to Haughmond has so obvious an appearance of being a grant to a Priory, we have thus far justified our selection of this as the earliest of its charters.

The difficulty of dating this charter is not so great as its very brief testing-clause would promise. The grantor was a "youth,"³ and became an exile from Shropshire in 1138. He is not heard of at any earlier period than the close of Henry I.'s, or beginning of Stephen's reign. To that period (1130—8) I therefore assign the deed. With this agrees all that can be ascertained of the two witnesses; e.g., Walter Fitz-Alan had no feoffment in his brother's barony till after 1135. In 1141 he appears as an active partisan of the Empress. He died in 1177. Christiana, the wife of William Fitz-Alan, was a niece of the Earl of Gloucester. The latter was the eldest of Henry I.'s illegitimate children. It is not probable that he should have had a marriageable niece much before 1135. At the same time Fitz-Alan must have been married at least as early as 1136, for in August, 1138, he was father of more than one child by this wife, of whom we are speaking.

There is another very early grant by William Fitz-Alan to Haughmond. It does not speak of the church either as a priory or an abbey, but I cannot help looking on this charter as nearly coeval with the last. "William Fitz-Alan with his wife, Dame Christiana, give to God and to the Church of St. John of Hamon, and to the Canons there serving God, two carucates of their own demesne (*de proprio nostro fundo*) of Hales" (Sheriff Hales): they give the same "for support of the Canons' necessities, in perpetual alms, for the remission of the grantors' sins and the souls' redemption of their parents and ancestors, and specially for the soul of their son Alan, whose body they had bestowed in burial there" (at Haughmond).⁴

² Chartulary, fol. 168, tit. Preston.

³ Orderic calls him so, but the expression must be construed with some

latitude. Fitz-Alan was upwards of thirty years of age in 1138.

⁴ Chartulary, fol. 53. The land given

The next charter which I shall cite is one of which the date can be proved within a year, almost within a month, but it does not inform us whether Haughmond was as yet an abbey, or only a priory.

"Matilda the Empress, daughter of King Henry, and Lady of the English, addressing the Bishop of Chester and others, informs them that she has given to God and to Saint John the Evangelist of Haghmon, and to the Canons Regular there serving God, three carucates of land in Walecote, with the men and all things belonging, with soch, and sach, and thol, and infangetheof, for the remission of her sins. This charter is attested by David King of Scots, R. (Robert) Bishop of London, A. (Alexander) Bishop of Lincoln, W. (William) the Chancellor, R. (Richard) de Belmes Archdeacon (of Middlesex), Rainald Earl of Cornwall, W. (William) Fitz-Alan, and W. (Walter) his brother, and Alan de Dunstonvill. At Oxenford."⁵ This Deed passed in June or July, 1141,⁶ and so during Stephen's imprisonment and the temporary ascendancy of the Empress.

Another grant of the Empress to Haughmond I can say little of. It was of Walcot Mill, and was attested by Robert Fitz Heldeber, Walter Fitz-Alan and Nigel de Brac. The infamy of the first witness happens to furnish us with the proximate date of this charter. It must have passed before 1144, when Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, having betrayed the interests of the Empress to Stephen and the Bishop of Winchester, and being tainted with the further crimes of adultery and sacrilege, expired by the same horrible death which is recorded as the judgment of Heaven on Herod Agrippa.

was Cuttesson, then a member of Sheriff Hales. The forms of expression used in this Charter are more antiquated than in many other deeds of William Fitz-Alan. Two of the witnesses, viz., Roger Fitz-Siward, and Gluric the priest (Sacerdos), do not appear in any other or presumptively later deed hitherto seen by me. The other witnesses are John le Strange and Marescote, whose feoffments in Shropshire, were later than 1135. Marescote, unless this deed be the exception, does not appear till after Fitz-Alan's restoration in 1155. John le Strange held, however, a fee in Norfolk under Fitz-Alan, which was apparently of old feoffment, i.e. granted to him or his ancestors before 1135. However, the early history of the Stranges is itself too

great a problem to allow of its yielding any facts for the clearance of other difficulties. I would only advise enquirers to suspect former statements on that subject—Dugdale's especially.

⁵ Chartulary, fol. 220, collated with Harl. MS. 2188, fol. 123.

⁶ Robert de Sigillo, Bishop of London, was so appointed by the Empress in June, 1141, when she visited the Metropolis. From London she and King David went to Oxford, thence to Gloucestershire, and back to Oxford, where they are known to have been on July 25. On August 2nd, they had invested Winchester. Thence, after their disastrous defeat, King David fled to Scotland. He never saw his niece afterwards.

There was a charter of King Stephen to Haughmond, in which, addressing the Bishop of Chester, he gives three carucates and the mill of Walcote, as if his own original gift, and without any reference to the Empress' previous charters.⁷ This was the usual course pursued by these great antagonists. It is again to be noted in this charter, that the grantees are described only as the "Canons Regular of Haghmon." Another early grant to Haughmond is by Walcheline de Maminot, a noted partisan of the Empress, and who early in Stephen's reign succeeded, in what way is not known, to a share of the Shropshire Barony of the Peverels. This charter is to the "Church of St. John of Haghmon," to which it conveys the Mill of Bradeforde,⁸ then involved in the Manor of High Ercall. It is attested by Roger Fitz Warin and Fulk, his brother, whom I believe to have been tenants of the Peverels at Whittington. This deed passed before the year 1147, as we know from the concurrent act of William Peverel of Dover, at that time a Coparcener in the Peverel estates. William Peverell's grant, the original of which still exists,⁹ is verbally to "St. John and the Canons of Haiman." Its date, as well as the date of Walcheline Maminot's deed (to which it refers), is fixed as in or before 1147, for William Peverel went on the crusade of that year, and perished therein.

"Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou," confirmed his mother's donation to Haughmond, according to her charter. The prince was at Leicester, and William Fitz-Alan attests his Deed.¹ It can be dated almost to a day, and so is not only a fact for history, but a monument of Fitz-Alan's constancy. The prince attained the titles which he uses in 1151 and 1152. On January 6, 1153, he landed in England to fight for his crown. He was at Leicester on June 7, at Warwick on June 12, and on August 18 entered on that pacification with Stephen which at length ended in his leaving England about Easter 1154. In eight months he returned, not however as Duke of Normandy only, but as Stephen's successor on the throne.

In 1155, the Haughmond Chartulary supplies us with

⁷ Chartulary, fol. 221. Stephen calls Walcote a member of *his* manor of Welinton.

⁸ Chartulary, fol. 39.

⁹ In possession of Mr. George Morris

of Shrewsbury. It is printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. v., p. 175.

¹ Chartulary, fol. 220 b.

another interesting circumstance and its date. In the beginning of July a great council of the nation had been summoned to Bridgnorth to settle the terms of the king's peace with Hugh de Mortimer, hitherto in rebellion. William Fitz-Alan now no longer an exile, had restitution of his lands and honours from the king. On the 25th of July, the day on which he took the homage of his tenants at Bridgnorth, and in presence of a great concourse of barons and knights, Fitz-Alan gave the church of Wroxeter to the Abbot and Canons of Hageman in perpetual alms, for the well-being of the Lord the King, and the souls'-health of himself, his ancestors and successors.²

At Michaelmas, 1156, the same William Fitz-Alan, as Sheriff of Shropshire, discharges his account of the *ferm* of the king's demesnes of a sum of 3*l.* 11*d.* 4*s.* It was for "land given to the *Abbot* of Hageman;"³ and we know from later records that this sum represented the annual revenue arising from those grants in Walcote which the Empress had made long before.

Between his restoration and his death, which happened about Easter, 1160, William Fitz-Alan made and encouraged various other grants to Haughmond Abbey. He gave them land at Downton, Marscot, his tenant there, acceding, and also Isabel (Fitz-Alan's wife) to whose dowry the premises belonged. He gave them the Mill of Upton, with half a virgate of land, and the islands belonging thereto, which grant only appears on the chartulary as if originally made by his son, which it was not.

He gave them the land of Pipinginges (in Sussex) with a right of such common-pasture in the neighbouring vill of Stokes, as had been enjoyed by Avelina, his mother. This grant he made while Ingenulf was Abbot of Haughmond, and before he (Fitz-Alan) had enfeoffed his brother Walter

² Some of these particulars are taken from two curious certificates of John le Strange and Roger de Powis, who (perhaps in consequence of some question as to the Abbot's title to Wroxeter Church) were called upon to state their recollection of the grant, some years, apparently, after the grantor's death. The original of Roger de Powis's certificate is in the possession of Mr. George Morris of Shrewsbury.

The grant by William Fitz-Alan, as preserved in the Chartulary, is a most

curious document, but too long for insertion here. I should state, however, that he gives Wroxeter Church to his Canons (Canonicis meis de Haghamon) "to increase their number, so that they may thenceforth have a full convent." He also stipulates certain conditions which the "Abbot of Haghamon" is to observe. Here, therefore, we have not only the first assurance of Haughmond having become an Abbey, but also a specific assertion of its previous lowly condition.

³ Rot. Pip., 2 Hen. II. Salop.

in Stokes. He gave them the church of Stokes with consent of his wife, Isabella.

He gave them half a salt-pit in South-Wich (Cheshire), a grant afterwards, it would seem, increased by his son, but again without reference to the previous gift of the father.

He further encouraged and confirmed several grants of his tenants, viz., of Hamole Strange in Naginton; of Gilbert de Hadnall in Hardwick; of Osbert de Hopton and others in Hopley; of Alan Fitz Oliver and others in Sundorn, and of Roger Fitz Hunald in Ree.⁴

I have said that William Fitz-Alan died about Easter, 1160. By his first wife, Christiana, he left no surviving male issue, but by his second wife, Isabel de Say, Baroness of Clun, whom he seems to have married about 1153-4, he left a son, William, an infant, whose minority seems to have expired about June, 1175.

It was during this minority that King Henry II., at request of Alured, Abbot of Haughmond, who seems to have sometime been the king's tutor,⁵ granted to William Fitz-Alan and his heirs, custody of the abbey and its possessions in all future vacancies; and this notwithstanding any grants which had been, or might be made, by the king or his heirs to the said abbey.⁶

This was in effect a cession of the right of patronage by the king to the youthful heir of the founder of Haughmond. The Deed passed unquestionably either between 1163 and 1166, or else in 1170.⁷ The favour thus granted at petition of Abbot Alured, rather than of Fitz-Alan, is curiously consistent with the known minority of the latter.

Another charter remains on the abbey register, which requires a few remarks, inasmuch as its expressions are such as to render it easily mistaken for the Foundation Charter. It is entitled, "*De Sede et Loco Abbathie ibidem*," and, in fact, conveys the site and precinct of the church,

⁴ Chartulary, passim: and Harl. MS. 2188, fol. 123.

⁵ *Ad preces Aluredi Abbatis de Haghmon, nutritii mei.*

⁶ Monasticon, vi., 108, III.

⁷ The Deed passed at Woodstock and purports to have been tested by Geoffrey, "Archbishop of Canterbury" (a person who never existed) and Richard de Camville. The first witness, whose title I have seen similarly misrepresented elsewhere, was Geoffrey Ridel, *Archdeacon* of Can-

terbury, so appointed in 1163, and who was elected Bishop of Ely in 1173.

A grant of land which the King made coterminously to Haghmond has the two witnesses rightly described (Chartulary, fol. 132). It also is dated at Woodstock, and it received the Papal Confirmation in May, 1172. These facts, when combined with the known movements of the King, limit the date of both deeds as stated in the text.

with all appurtenances, to the canons.^s This is done without any reference to a previous grant thereof. The charter is, however, by the second William Fitz-Alan, and so is really only a charter of confirmation. I could quote several other charters of the same baron, which have similar delusive appearance, but avoiding a matter of such detail, I will merely say that this deed passed positively between the years 1175 and 1196, probably towards the close of that period.

Summarily then we conclude the Augustine House of Haughmond to have been founded as a priory between 1130 and 1138, to have grown into an abbey in or before 1155, and that its founder in all respects was the first William Fitz-Alan; that its other benefactors, during the life of the founder, were the Empress Matilda, King Henry II., Wacheline Maminot, William Peverel of Dover, and several of the founder's tenants. We need not include Stephen, whose grant was either an act of usurpation, or a piece of mimic piety; but we must add the names of Randolph de Gernons, Earl of Chester, who was poisoned by the partisans of Stephen in December, 1153, and of Walter Durdent, Bishop of Chester, who died in 1159.

The foundation of Haughmond was therefore associated with a distinct political creed, for those whom I have named were, for the most part, either the representatives or champions of that cause of legitimacy which was at issue during the twenty years that followed the death of Henry I. All or nearly all were sufferers either from the eminence of their position, or the greater loftiness of their principles. Thus out of calamities such as Shropshire has never again experienced, were elicited at least two beneficial results—the increase of its religious establishments, and the triumph of those hereditary rights which it has ever since venerated as divine.

^s Printed *Monasticon*, vi., 108, No. II.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT
AND NUBIA.

BY A. HENRY RHIND, F.S.A., LOND. AND SCOT.

So valuable have been the results derived by modern investigation of the Monuments of Egypt, that it may not be uninteresting to be reminded of the present condition of remains which have occupied so prominent a place in the field of antiquarian research. For my own part, although prepared to find the evidence of the vicissitudes through which they have passed, and of the neglect or destructive cupidity of the Egyptian government, so strongly deprecated as well in official documents¹ as by personal remonstrance, still I did not expect the reality which on actual inspection is so painfully apparent. Accustomed as we are in Britain to the desecration and destruction of memorials of the past, there is a lower depth of degradation reserved for the monuments of the ancient Pharaohs—a degradation rendered more intense by the noble aspect of the structures themselves, and by the importance of the facts to be deduced from them. Already, in remote ages, they had suffered from the violence of invading conquerors, and the zeal of iconoclasts whose chisels made sad havoc on the sculptured walls; but much of the sense of indignity which their present appearance suggests, arises from the circumstance that the original character which most of the religious edifices, at least, possessed, as centres of population, descended as was natural, after they themselves had ceased to be venerated, and in many cases even to the present day. Hence it is that, except in those instances where the sand of the desert has done its work unaided, the temples are often choked up or encumbered by the débris of dwellings, which gradually encroaching on their precincts, had been built in and upon them. And hence it is, as no attempt has in recent times been made to rescue them from similar inroads, that ruins of

¹ Dr. Bowring's Parliamentary Report on Egypt and Candia.

extraordinary interest and magnificence are devoted to the vile purposes of a Fellah village. Thus, at Edfoo, a small colony of men and cattle is established on the top of the half-buried temple, after Dendera, the most perfect in Egypt, and foul streams of manure trickle down its decorated walls. So in like manner at Luxor, squalid hovels are huddled round the splendid columns, many of which cannot be approached at all, and many only by penetrating the filthy intricacies of those miserable dwellings. Nor is this by any means an unusual state of things.

The grandest remains of all, however, those at Karnak, have happily escaped a fate so degrading as a matter of sentiment, and so detrimental as a matter of fact. But even they have not been left quietly to the dealings of the hand of time, and they have suffered from the paltry rapaciousness of government officials, who sought there, as it was their habit to seek too often in similar monuments, materials for building some public work, or for burning into lime. In fact, to such a pitch had this species of spoliation arrived some years ago, that, besides other indications of dissatisfaction, several gentlemen of influence addressed remonstrances on the subject to the then Viceroy, Mohammed Ali. The result was a promise from the Pacha that a different course would be pursued, and, as I am informed, a standing order in consonance with this promise was issued and exists. This, however, has not been strictly attended to; and it has happened oftener than once that government quarrymen have only been deprived of their prey by subsequent representation to the higher powers. I have not heard that they have of late injured the ruins to any great extent, but it is hinted that this is as much owing to the absence of any demand for building materials, as from a desire to abide by the prohibitory ordinance. At all events, in the best point of view, the conduct of the government with respect to the monuments is simply passive; for they may be appropriated by the Fellahs as cattle-pens or pigeon-cotes,—in fact abused or mutilated in every way not even short of actual demolition, without apparently the slightest interference.

The temples in Nubia are similarly circumstanced to those of Egypt. In like manner some are embedded in mud-built hovels, some nearly overwhelmed by the drifting sand, and even some of those excavated in the rock are partially filled

up by the restless activity of the same agent. The entrance to Abou Simbel which was cleared about thirty years ago, is particularly exposed to obstruction, and once more is nearly blocked up. With this exception, that wonderful memorial of the ancient religion is in excellent condition, and would not leave much to be desired were it not for the abominable practices of travellers which have so constantly excited indignation.

It will not, of course, be supposed—and the numerous illustrated works which are everywhere met with, would, without any allusion here, counteract the impression—that many of the ruins on the Nile are not singularly perfect considering their great antiquity, and strikingly noble notwithstanding the disadvantages with which they have to contend. Their substantial workmanship has stoutly defied the influence of three thousand years in a climate whose exquisite equality has rendered resistance more simple; their massive proportions cannot easily be degraded even by the closest contact with the degenerate products of modern misery; and they rise up grand and imposing amid surrounding desolation or among the puny parasites that cluster around them. With respect, also, to some of those of which this may be said, it is perhaps often the case that as regards picturesque effect they sacrifice little by being partially buried and encumbered by masses of débris. But scenic interest is a small part of the character of vestiges so intimately bound up with all that concerns the early history of human civilisation, and which have for that very reason been subjected to such sustained scrutiny. Still, notwithstanding the fruits of this investigation; notwithstanding the earnestness with which they are desired; notwithstanding the vigorous pursuit implied by the despatch of four or five national expeditions, no one ruin of constructive architecture, save that at Dendera, whether in Egypt or Nubia, has been thoroughly cleared of rubbish: nor, with the additional exception of Mohammed Ali having caused the portico of the Temple of Esneh to be excavated during one of his visits, has any attempt deserving of notice been made beyond partial explorations at points of interest. No doubt the labour of disclosing the whole of huge temples to their foundations, which might be productive of general instruction and gratification, rather than of any specific discovery of commensurate brilliancy, could not

reasonably be expected from unaided private enthusiasm, and is, from its nature and magnitude, an undertaking which, did the country possess an enlightened government, could only be looked for from it. Certainly it was a work not sufficiently inviting, beyond the compass of their resources, and savouring far too much of the principle *vos non vobis* to recommend itself to the scientific commissions who had museums to fill at home, and were laudably ambitious to secure a higher and less barren fame.

With regard to the tombs, which are so valuable from presenting in infinite diversity the various phases of life, manners, and religious belief, their nature—being excavated in the living rock—has preserved them in a great measure from the chance of being gradually dismembered and utterly swept away like structural buildings. But although it is true their chambers and passages deep in the sides of limestone mountains may last to the end of time, these may still be but as the shadow when the substance is gone; for the more perishable decorations on the walls, which may be regarded as the latter, enjoy no similar immunity. In fact, the deterioration which they have experienced, even of late years, is alarmingly considerable, as they manifestly show, and as I have been assured by those familiar with them at the period when a voyage up the Nile was only undertaken by the zealous few, and who have seen what they are to-day. In certain instances, a good deal of this is owing to dust and other impurities arising from some of the tombs, being, as many were centuries ago, inhabited, or at all events occupied as lumber-stores attached to mud-dwellings in front. For example, one of the most remarkable, that known as the Brickmakers', at Goorneh, where scenes of the most interesting description illustrative of arts and customs are depicted with great precision, is in this condition, and is likewise a nursery for tame pigeons, which resent intrusion by fluttering from side to side, and charging the atmosphere with impalpable dust.² That under these circumstances the paintings on the walls should grow dim is not surprising; and it may be anticipated with regret, that a continuance of this state of things will render them at no distant date hopelessly obscure.

² Dr. Robinson found this same tomb filled with an Arab family and their

cattle. Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c. Vol. i., p. 543.

The splendid Sepulchres of the Kings, situated in a mountain gorge, are not, from their sequestered position, liable to this sort of treatment, but in them as everywhere—in temples as in tombs—the grand enemy of the sculptures has been the very reputation which demonstrates their value. Unlike the usual course, where increasing interest in any object is followed by increasing care, notoriety has in their case been the death-knell of some and the curse of all. It has been their fortune that hosts of the visitors attracted by their fame, instead of bestowing upon them the cheap tribute of respect, have left traces not unworthy of the followers of Attila or of Genseric. Apart from the violation of good taste, the amount of damage which has been inflicted in this manner can scarcely be believed. Whole tableaux previously uninjured either in outline or in colour, have been sacrificed in the attempt to chip out, perhaps, the head of a figure that excited an ignorant acquisitive desire; elaborate inscriptions have been ruthlessly mutilated to gain possession of one or two of the characters; while here and there are to be found examples of that species of vulgar humour akin to idiotcy, which exhibits itself in irremediably spoiling a historical document or a work of art, for the sake of producing some grotesque effect. But the most glaring offence arises from the pains which so many have taken to secure lasting ridicule for themselves, by scrawling or chiselling their names in the very midst of the sculptures. So often has this silly and hateful practice been reprobated, that I had no intention to allude to it; only, as a part of the *present* state of matters which I have ventured to describe, I am compelled to say, with regret, that up to this hour a few names seem to be added in equally objectionable positions to those which already excite derision or contempt. While leaving on ruins so distant a record of their visit that might possibly be their only epitaph, it did not probably occur to men like Bruce and Belzoni to what a disastrous extent it might be in the power of followers to copy their example without the slightest exercise of discretion. It is humiliating, however, to find a scientific body quite recently countenancing this modern folly, by disfiguring the Great Pyramid at Gizeh, and inserting above its entrance, under the sanction of the classical title *proskunéma*, a slab with their names, inscribed to the honour of a northern king, who, among other pedantic and equally appropriate

hieroglyphical epithets, is designated "the Favourite of Wisdom and History."

In connection with this subject it is impossible not to notice the mode of action pursued by some of the scientific expeditions, and particularly by that from Prussia, under Dr. Lepsius, which spent three years in the country from 1842 to 1845. Everywhere this body made free use of the hammer and the crowbar; and if half the absent groups in tombs and temples, whose removal is attributed to Dr. Lepsius, were carried off by him, he certainly dealt with the monuments with no sparing hand.

It is of course evident that there can be no fixed rule by which to test the propriety of dismantling ancient ruins and transporting the excised fragments to other lands. What in one case would be highly meritorious, would in another be equally reprehensible, the peculiar circumstances of each being the turning-point. Hence an investigator professing to act in the interests of science can only be guided by a sound discretion. That in the exercise of this discretion Dr. Lepsius saw good grounds for some of his proceedings, may unfortunately be very true; but there certainly is room for a grave difference of opinion with regard to some of his more prominent operations. Take for instance the most magnificent tomb in Egypt, Belzoni's, where, finding every column standing, and the whole in general good order, he overthrew one to secure a portion of it, leaving the remaining half crumbling on the floor. Many, we apprehend, would not undertake to defend the decision of Champollion, who, twenty years before, cut away one or two slabs from the same sepulchre; and certainly the act contrasts most unfavourably with the right feeling and considerate care of another distinguished archæologist, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and his fellow-workers, who, about the same time, laboriously examined and sketched the figures on the walls by the light of wax candles, rather than injure the paintings with the smoke of torches.

But not only are the dilapidations by Dr. Lepsius of a more violent character, they were accomplished under a very different order of things. They were executed after numerous visitors from all countries had begun to visit Egypt chiefly for the sake of those monuments which he was helping to destroy, and at a time when, by increasing facilities

of communication, a voyage up the Nile was becoming a matter of so easy achievement, that in such a point of view to bring the ruins piecemeal to Europe might be deemed as advisable as to break off the mouldings from some remarkable gothic edifice in Germany, and deposit them in London or Paris. Nor is it enough to say that the sculptures which Dr. Lepsius removed at such a sacrifice, might have been scribbled over or otherwise ruined by successors like those I have before alluded to. For, first, the alternative was no inevitable sequence ; second, in so far as the general aspect of the monuments themselves is concerned, it is of little consequence whether they are mutilated by the crowbars of a scientific commission, or by less learned chisels ; and finally since the skill of the draughtsman and modeller has attained such excellence, the presence in our museums of the actual blocks hewn by the old workmen, is not so indispensable for purposes of scientific research, that whole buildings of matchless interest must be irremediably defaced to procure them, and that they should be deprived of the chance, probably every year now becoming less remote, of being preserved in their original and peculiar positions where their value would be tenfold greater. Neither should it be forgotten that this sort of authoritative demolition, by declaring *ipso facto*, that the ruins are delivered over to perdition, must have largely tended to encourage the destructive faculties of succeeding visitors, and to countenance the wanton carelessness of others. It also ought to be remembered that, formerly, when Mohammed Ali was urged to save the antiquities, he retaliated by saying, "How can I do so, and why should you ask me, since Europeans themselves are their chief enemies?" And thus, although one well-known investigator before named, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, could and did intercede for them with, as we have already seen from his own conduct, the best title to be heard, another, Champollion, who was also particularly pressing in his solicitations, certainly assumed a curiously inconsistent position when he besought³ the Pacha to cherish with religious care those very memorials which he himself had just returned from despoiling.

These considerations seem to show that the propriety of the course pursued by Professor Lepsius was at least highly

³ Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie.—Appendix.

questionable. It is to be hoped that he saw other reasons which were adequate in themselves and sufficient to satisfy his judgment; for certainly if he were actuated by no higher motive than to bring home tangible fruits of his mission to fill new galleries at Berlin, his well-earned fame and the liberality of his government in sending forth the expedition will not shelter both from the charge of unjustifiable spoliation. His proceedings have frequently been censured severely, and they have sometimes most unfairly been attributed to personal objects. To accusations of this nature, as unjust as they were invidious, he has thought it necessary to allude by repeating that "we made the selection of the monuments not for ourselves, but, commissioned by our government, for the Royal Museum, therefore for the benefit of science and a public eager after knowledge."⁴ Yet this alone would not be enough; the end, we know, cannot always justify the means; and where would this reasoning lead? Antiquarian collections are no doubt admirable institutions, and so rare is it to see any overweening zeal displayed in their management, that no reasonable man would think of squeamishly conjuring up obstacles to their progress. But there are certain limits to their field of operation; and were they to be conducted on principles of refined cupidity akin to those which stimulated Aurelian, as some allege, to sack Palmyra for the purpose of seizing the works of art within its walls, or induced Napoleon to dismantle St. Mark's—were their stores to be augmented at the cost of dilapidating ancient structures in every quarter, without due reference to the circumstances or conditions which might render that course desirable in itself or otherwise,—then we should have seed capable of producing all the fruit of a fresh barbaric irruption, and the world might one day be startled by enormities as glaring as the despatch of an expedition to treat for the removal of the Fountain of Lions from the Alhambra, or to subsidise the Neapolitan government for permission to quarry out the choicest vestiges of Pompeii.

Six hundred and fifty years ago a traveller in Egypt, Abd-el-Lateef, condemning by arguments drawn from reason and philosophy, the ravages which had already commenced, deplores that, while "in former times the kings watched

⁴ Letters from Egypt and Ethiopia. Note p. 41. Horner's Translation.

with care over the preservation of these precious remains of the past, in these days the reins have been cast loose to men, and nobody has troubled himself to repress their caprices."⁵ Of the present century this, as we have seen, could be said as truly as of the XIIIth, with the unfortunate addition, that the rulers were now to be regarded as the most dangerous, because the most sweeping and persevering, delinquents, and that too, unhappily, at a time when the progress of scientific discovery was imparting fresh value to the doomed vestiges, and calling more loudly for their conservation. But this would hardly influence in any great degree a semi-barbarous despotism; and under such a government, careless, yet rapacious, lavish, yet niggardly—served by employés corrupt as those in the East proverbially are, even the medium course of quiescent toleration was little likely to prevail if directly opposed to the fancied exigences of a grasping self-interest. Many have probably heard of the havoc committed, not earlier than the present generation, by vice-regal authority or consent; and for those who may desire minuter information on the subject, an energetic writer has drawn up a long catalogue of the misdeeds of Mohammed Ali,⁶ with a zeal which cannot be disputed, but with a bitter censoriousness almost indicative of personal resentment.

A mere cessation, if such be really the case—a mere cessation of these wholesale *razzias* is no doubt an important gain, still the monuments, as has been pointed out, suffer from so many other quarters, that no languid supineness would do much more than protract their deterioration, if not destruction. But surely these noble relics are not to perish so miserably just as they are becoming at once more accessible, better understood, and more generally attractive. Every day brings Egypt, so to say, further within the circle of European nations, and more within the influence of that feeling with which those heirlooms of primeval skill are there universally regarded. Yet I fear it will be vain to hope for spontaneous active supervision on the part of the native government, although the organisation of its inferior departments would afford extraordinary facilities for the work at the most trifling expense. If, however, this were ever undertaken before it is too late, whether under the present

⁵ Relation de l'Egypte, trad. par S. de Sacy, p. 195.

⁶ Gliddon's Appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe. 1841.

tottering régime, or after great political and territorial changes foreseen on all sides shall have occurred—and especially if by judicious exertions the principal ruins were cleared and exhibited to fair advantage, there would be saved for future ages a heritage such as neither they nor we would willingly lose. And it is perhaps not unworthy of notice that, in the position of affairs, a request from the British or French Government to the Porte, and its vassal the Viceroy, would scarcely be neglected. Nor would it be an ignoble use of the paramount influence in the East which the stirring events of the period have given to the Western States, were they to stretch out a hand to preserve for the admiration of generations to come, the remnants of the greatness of a people to whom are traced the germs of our higher civilisation.

Original Documents.

REGULATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE OFFICE OF ARMS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

FROM A TRANSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
AT SYON HOUSE.

THE following documents, connected with the functions of the officers of arms, in the XVIth century, and the high position which they occupied in all matters of state and ceremony, have been preserved in the library of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. They are here printed through his kind permission. The oath taken by Heralds at the time of their creation has been given by Weever¹ and other writers, but the form as preserved in the MS. at Syon appears to be of earlier date than those hitherto printed, to some of which it is for the most part similar. The inauguration oaths used in 1685-6, at the creation of Sir Henry St. George, Garter, John Dugdale, Norroy, and other officers of arms, closely resemble the form given by Weever, and printed from Philipot in the "*Antiquarian Repertory*," vol. i. p. 159. The very brief oath used in more recent times may be found in the "*Repertory*," vol. iii. p. 375, where it is given from Vincent's Collections, preserved at the Heralds' College.²

The draught of the order "for the welthe and quyetnes of th'office of Armes" has not, so far as we can ascertain, been printed or even noticed by any of the writers on the subject. We are disposed to attribute it to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king of arms in the reign of Henry VIII. He made large collections and wrote much himself on all matters connected with his official functions; and on his death, in 1534, bequeathed his books to his friend, Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux, and after his life to those who should hold the office of Garter, for ever. The proposed ordinances, of which a transcript, probably contemporary, has been preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's library at Syon House, appear to have been submitted by Garter to the Earl Marshal, designated at the close of the document, "your noble grace," with the request that he should put his hand to the confirmation of such articles therein as seemed advantageous to the office, and cause the officers of arms to do likewise. If the supposition be well grounded that Wriothesley was the author of this project, it was probably submitted either to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, created Earl Marshal in 1509, or to his successor, Charles

¹ Weever, *Funerall Monuments*, p. 666.

² Compare also the oath as used at Nicholas Dethick's creation as Windsor herald, 1583, in his own account of the ceremonial, *Gent. Mag.*, November, 1836,

and given in his collections, Ashm. MS. 1116, p. 1. The herald's oath is also found in Ashm. MSS., 846, p. 106; 857, pp. 1, 7; 1113, p. 31, and in other MS. collections.

Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The former died in 1524, and in the previous year certain orders were concluded, of which a copy may be seen amongst Ashmole's Collections, thus entitled—"At a chapter houlden at the frise of Greenwich, the 23rd of May, 15 Henry VIII., it was ordained that the ordinances insuinge should be observed by the king at armes, wherunto the then officers at armes did set the[ir] signets manuell."³

It is not however certain that the provisions "for the welthe and quyetnes" of the office of arms, proposed by Garter in the draught under consideration, were actually carried into effect. The indecorous variance which too frequently prevailed, and the intrusion of one functionary upon the province of another, had from an early time called for some wholesome discipline.

In 1568 (18 July, 10 Eliz.), orders to be observed by the officers of arms were made by the Duke of Norfolk, at that time Earl Marshal.⁴ At a subsequent period no slight prejudice having arisen from disputes, at the time when Burleigh, with Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord Hunsdon, was deputed by Elizabeth by commission for the office of Earl Marshal, the orders were set forth, in 1596, of which the titles may be seen in Noble's "*History of the College of Arms*."⁵ It will be seen that although not identical with the ordinance here given, there is so close a resemblance in many clauses, that those orders were very probably grounded on the regulations drawn out, as we have supposed, by Wriothesley. Noble has also given the heads of regulations, for the most part to the same effect, proposed by Sir William Dethick, Garter, who held that office from 1586 to 1603.⁶ The principal features of all these injunctions are moreover familiar to us through the well-known "*Discourse of the Duty and Office of an Herald of Arms*," written by Francis Thynne, in 1605.⁷

A remarkable feature of the following document consists in the evidence which it supplies of the arbitrary power exercised by the officers of arms, especially in matters connected with funeral ceremonies. In the XVth century, and the earlier part of the XVIIth, the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal's Court appears to have been absolute in all questions concerning the office of arms or the privileges of heralds. The correspondence between the provincial deputies and the officers of arms, such as has been preserved amongst Ashmole's Collections, presents singular instances of such arbitrary jurisdiction.⁸ We find these functionaries making bitter complaint that "Gent' keepe theire buryalls secret, and are growne so miserable that they will not have an escutcheon of armes made for them;" whilst illegal hatchments or penons were pulled down, and on one occasion the ignorant arms-painter, who had intruded upon the proper functions of the heralds, suffered the loss of an ear for his presumption.⁹

³ Ashmol. MS. No. 763, f. 181, b—182, b. See Mr. Black's Catalogue, col. 377.

⁴ See transcripts of this ordinance, Ashmol. MSS., 846, p. 102, and 857, p. 22. A general chapter was held, 14 Eliz., at which statutes and orders were established by consent of all the officers of arms. Glover's draught may be seen, Ashmol. MS. 839, p. 693.

⁵ History of the College of Arms,

Appendix p. xii. The chapters enumerated are fifteen, commencing with "the scite of the house appropriated to the college of heralds," of which no mention occurs in the draught of the order by Garter, here printed.

⁶ Ibid. p. x.

⁷ Hearnes Collection of Curious Discourses, vol. i., p. 153.

⁸ Ashmol. MS. 836, f. 171, &c.

⁹ The following documents are here

THE OTHES OF HERAULDES.¹

(Syon MS., fol. 17.)

Furste, ye schall sweyre to our Suffraigne Lorde the Kyng, that made you of the Ordre of Heraude in his exelent (*sic*) presence, and to be trewe in all maner poyntes. And if ye here ony maner Language or ony other thynges that sholde towch treason to His Highe and exelent personne or other wise in ony poyntes, as God defende, ye shall discover hit to his highe and excellent parsonne, or to his noble and discrete Cowncell. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be servysable and Secret in all poyntes, except Treasone, and obediense to all knighthode and gentilnes to Lordes and Ladies, and to all gentilmen and gentilwomen, and as a Confessour of Armes, and Cawse, and Conceill to all them trowthe, worschippe, and vertewe, in that you² in you is (*sic*). So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be trewe of all your repourtes, And diligent to seke wourshippe and desire to be in place ther greate Semble of prynces and pryncessis, Lordes, Ladies, and Estates of great worshippe, wher through ye may have connyng to reporte to youre prynce or pryncesse or other astates such wurshippe as is Occupied ther. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall promyse in Case that fortune fall ye to mete ony gentilman of name and of Armes, that hath loste his goodes in our Suffraigne Lorde Service or in ony other place of wurshipe, if he requyred you of youre goode to his Sustenance, ye shall gyve or Leande hym to your powre. So helpe you Gode and Holydome.³

Item, if Case fall that ye be in ony place that ye here ony language betwene gentilman and gentilman that sholde towche ony stryfe or debate betwene them twoo, and after that ye be send for to come befor our Suffraigne Prince, Lorde, or Juge, to beyr a witnes of the forsaide langage (*sic*), ye shall kepe your mowth close and beyre no witnes withoute leave of both parties. And with their leave ye shall say the Trewth, and leyt neyther for love nor drede. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall be serviseable and trew to all wydowes and Maydens of their Supportes in all wurshippe and conceill to all vertewes. And if ony man wuld diswurshipe or fource them other in ony maner, or otherwise take

printed *in extenso*. The words—the, their, that, &c., being sometimes so written, sometimes—ye, &c., have been printed uniformly with th. The volume of miscellaneous collections in which these transcripts occur comprises various contemporary draughts, ceremonials, &c., chiefly relating to the sixteenth century. Amongst these are certain notices of Scottish affairs, which, by the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, have been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

¹ Weever, Fun. Mon., p. 666, printed "The Oath of the Herald at the time of his creation before his Sovereigne," for

the most part similar to this but not identical with it, and the language in which it is expressed seems of a more recent time.

² Compare the expression *infra*,—"in all that in you is." Possibly these words were written by the first hand "y^e in you is."

³ This pledge of a generosity, worthy of the most vaunted days of chivalry, does not occur in the later formula of the herald's oath; in that printed by Weever the promise is thus qualified, "Ye shall give him part of such good as God hath sent you, to your power, and as you may leare." Fun. Mon. p. 667.

from them their goodes against the Lawe of God and of al gentylnes, yf they requyre you of your goode Supportacion ye shall diligently and trewly certifie it to your Suffraigne Lorde, Prynce, or Lorde, or Judge, to helpe them that they may have right in all that in you is, as the Matter requyrithe. So helpe you God and Holydome.

Item, ye shall promesse to your powre to forsake all vyces and take you to all vertewes. And to be no commen gooar to Tavernes wich mighte cawse onvertewouse and oncleane langage. And that ye be no dyse Playar nor Hasardar. And that ye flee places of debate and onhonest places. And the Company of whomen onhoneste. This Articles and other abovesaide ye sweyre trewly to kepe with all your myghte and power. So helpe you God and Holydome.⁴

THORDER DRAWEN AND MADE BY GARTIER KYNG OF ARMES OF ALL YNGLOND
FOR THE WELTHE AND QUYETNES OF THOFFICE OF ARMES.

(Syon MS., fol. 24.)

Furst, Where thoffycers of Armes of this Noble Realme of Englund afor this tyme have ben had in greate Estymacion, and reputid the most experte and most approvyd persons in knowledge of all thinges aparynyng to nobilitie, above all other officers of strange reaulmes, And so have contynued and have bene suffyciently mayntenyd by many yeres in the tyme of dyverse famous and noble kynges and prynces, Wich officers of armes both of utilitye and Necessitie be requysite to be had, both for ording of armes and Crestis, Connysancis and devicis, Regestryng of Pedegrewis and recordyng of marciall actis and valiante dedis, achewide by persons of Nobilitie and Reynowme, The knowledge wherof can not be lightly had withowte grete study, longe contynuaunce, and daily experyense, for lernyng and exersycyng of the same, wich Lernyng and Exersice must ryse of reasone, of diligent study, serchyng of Antiquities, and of oftyne communycacion had, and assemblies of all such as be experte and playnly instruct in the featis of the said office, so that thoffice do not decay through owr negligens, that we may reforme owr selfis, doyng owr dewties to god and to owr Suffraigne Lord the Kyngis Highnes.

Item, that we three kyngis of armes, Gartier kyng of armes over all Englund, Clarenceux kyng of armes of the Sowth, and Norrey kyng of armes of the Northe, loke to owr othes, that we bee sworne befor the kyngis highenes to his honour, and advauntage of this his realme, to study every day to be more cunnyng then other in thoffyce of armes, to tech every of the saide office, how they shuld doo accordyng to owr olde ordynauncis and Rolles of the same, To have knowledge of noble gentilmens of this realme, of their Cootis, Who is moost able to serve the kyng owr Suffraigne Lord in his warres, or otherwise, Them with their Ysewis trewly regester, all such armes as they beyre, with their

⁴ This clause, as given in Weever, ends thus.—“So God you helpe and holydome, and by this Booke, and Crosse of this sword, that belongeth to Knighthood.” Fun. Mon. p. 667. Amongst the ne-

cessaries there enumerated for the creation of a herald, are, a book, whereon he must take his oath, a drawn sword, collar of SS., a bowl of wine, to pour over his head, &c.

- difference dewe in armys to be gevyne, and their servisse that they owe by their tenour to the kyng our Suffraigne Lorde.
- Item, the saide kingis of armes to kepe trewly their visitacions, and to teach other herauldis and pursyvauntis of all dowbtis concernyng their offyce, if they demande them so to doo, to tech them their demandis.
- Item, as oft as nede shall requyre, to kepe chapters for the reformacion and welthe of thofficers, to thencrase of Cunnyng and lernyng, and to regester all actis of honoure in maner and forme as they be doon, as farfourth as their Cunnyng and power may extende.
- Item, that Clarenceux and Norrey kyngis of armes [bring] all such patentis of armes or confirmacions and pedegrewes by them gyvyne (and visitacione *interlined*) to any parson or persons, to be seen and Regesterde after the old Custome by a certain day, in the bokys of gartier Pryncipall kyng at armes, upon payne—
- Item, that all herauldis and pureyvauntis of the Kyngis Coote, and all other Ordynary or extraordinare, or any other offyce of armes of the Realme of Ynglond, not being of the Kyngis Coote, to kepe their order in goyng on Festyvall days according to their rowmes and awneyentye, not goyng oon at thother Heelis, but a good space on from the other at all tymes, so that it may be saide, that we kepe good order seyng we be thorderers of all other.
- Item, that every offyce know and forbeir his awneyent feylowe to suffer hym to speyke, not to Reply ageinst hym till he have herd his reasone, And then to speyke and shew his mynd; And if that ony demande hym ony questione, to putte it to his awneyent if he be there, and that no pureyvaunte assoyle if a Herauld be there, And if a Kyng of armes be there to put it to hym to assoyle, so that no man of thoffice medle, his awneyent being present.
- Item, for all such days as they Ordynarye shuld gyve attendaunce on the kynges highenes at any festyvall day,⁵ if it be a kyng of armes, and he be absent, when the kyngis grace goith to Evensong, he shall lose of his parte to his company being there for that defaulte—xvj d. A Heraulde—viij d. And a pureyvaunte—iiij d. that shuld be their ordynarye. And if he defawte the next day, to dowble the same some, onles he be sicke or have commandment of the Kyng or his concell contrary, or els thes to stand in effect without favour of any of them of what degree so ever he be, without the cause or leytt aforsaide.
- Item, that neyther Heraulde ne Pureyvaunt of armes medle with nothyng that longith unto the kyngis of armes, without the aucthorytie of the said kyngis, that is to say, Enterementis, nor to order any armes, as quartier, or mynishe,⁶ or putt in Pale mariages, without the lycens of the Kyngis of armes, Nor crestis nor devices, nor Instruccions or Pedegrewis of⁷ any thing longyng to thoffice of the forsaide Kyngis of armes, withoute theyr lafull auctorytie, upon such payne as shalbe ordyned by chapter. Nor they to have non advantage of the kyngis of

⁵ Henry VII. in the third year of his reign made an ordinance for the regular attendance of the heralds on principal feasts, councils, &c., and that on all ordinary occasions a king of arms, herald and pursuivant, should attend in rotation, according to the scheme then settled, with

certain liveries and fees. Antis, Order of the Garter, vol. i. 472.

⁶ Marks of cadency, or differences of arms, were sometimes termed diminutions.

⁷ Sic. Possibly an error of the transcriber for "Or any thing," &c.

- armes, till they be well reconsylde and know their defaultis, without their lawfull auctorytie in that behalf, They havynge auctoritie to have them entred in the Bokis of the kyngis of armes their doings from tyme to tyme trewly and according to thold ordynauncis of the saide office.
- Item, that no paynter medle with no armory of no mans puttyng to hym, Nor take upon hym to medle with burials of any maner of parson or persons, of what degre, astate, or condicion so ever they bee, without the Lycens of a kyng of armes appoyntid ; and if he doo, the kyng of armes to put the Busynes to other wurkemen till he be reconsyld ; And they to have no profytt of the saide kingis of armes handis after a Lawfull woryng.
- Item, that thofficers of armes, herauldis and pursyvauntis shall visytte all the paynters, Marblelers, glasyers, and goldsmythes, for armes not lawfull, to brynge the Trycke to the kyngis of armes ; And if he be not trew Armory, to deface them at their pannels or they goo to any place for memorye ; to thynntent they may aske counsell in so doying of Kyngis of armes and of them that have Auctoritie.
- Item, that No waxchaunders seit or poynte any armes uppe or achementis of any parsons, till the parties have agreid with the kyng of armes, as they will have the favour of the saide kyng of armes for their profyttes in gretter caussis for ther advauntagis, and therfor to be paynede.^s
- Item, that thofficers of armes that be expert in lernyng, takyng payn in thes thinges to see them executid, shall have profytte and advantage befor them of thoffice that applieth them to no lernyng, nor in this thing aforsaide take no payne, [who ?] schall have no profytte in tyme comynyng.
- Item, that no offyicer of armes from hensforth complaynyng⁹ to any Estate or gentilman ageinst any offyicer of armes, but onely to the Compayny of the kyngis and offyicers of armes furst, The wich offyicers shall redresse the said complaynt amongst them selfis or otherwise in their Chapyter, Indifferently and equally, withowt any favour or parcyaltie, or els to complayne to therle Marshall.
- Item, that every offyicer of armes use and haunte honest placis and good compaigny ; And that they eschew all placis and parsons wich manifestly and openly be sklawnderde ; And if he be of good behaviour and maners, that he kepe hym self from shame and vicious language, and above all thingis from speykyng openly any villany in presens of the People. And in tyme conveyent that he applye hym self to reede Bokis of good maners and Eloquens, Cronyces, Actis, and gestis of honour, feattis of armes, and the proprieties of Colours, and herbis and stonys, to thynntent that they may be the more acceptable and commendable and wurthy to have preferrement to come to honour, with payn—
- Item, we wull that in every Chapter Certen dowbtis be movyd for thawgmentacion of thoffice in Seyens, and the said dowbtis, so assoyled by

^s The waxhandlers appear to have taken a leading part in ancient obsequies. Besides torches and numerous lights around the hearse, they probably were engaged in supplying the cerecloth for

the embalming. It is recorded that Elizabeth, second daughter of Henry VII., was "cered by the wax-chandler." Dart's Westm., vol. ii. p. 28.

⁹ Possibly an error for "complayn."

good deliberacion and determyned trewly, for a perpetuall memory to be regesterd, upon payne—

Item, we wyll that no man presume to take upon hym to make visitacion or to have knowledge of Certen armys of ony Estate or gentilmān, what so ever he be, in maner aforsaid, withowt the Lycens of the furst kyng of armes, or of the kyng of armes of the marches that the gentilmān is of, upon Payne—

Wherfor your said Oratour most humbly besechithe your noble grace with good deliberacion to peruse thes articles by the said gartier thus made and drawn for the quyetnes of thoffice, and after your gracis most high discreccion to put your hand to the confirmacion of such of them as your grace doith suppose concerne the welth of thoffice. And to commaunde and cawse the offycers to doo likewise to them and such other as your grace shall devyce and ordeyn.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

FEBRUARY 1, 1856.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A COMMUNICATION was received from the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, announcing their intention to form during the ensuing summer an extensive collection of Scottish Historical Portraits, and to inaugurate by such an appropriate exhibition the new galleries recently erected by Government in the structure adjoining the National Gallery at Edinburgh. For some years past a project of this nature had been under consideration; the value and interest of such an Exhibition must obviously be very great in the illustration of the History of Art, the elucidation of National history, and tend to encourage the development of an historical school of Painting in Scotland. The Academy had taken up the undertaking with energy; the project, having been submitted to the Hon. Commissioners of the Board of Manufactures, in Edinburgh, and to the Lords of H.M. Treasury, had received the entire sanction of the government. Scotland is rich in works of Art of the kind, and such a series must greatly contribute to the gratification of those who may visit Edinburgh during the meeting of the Institute. The Royal Scottish Academy expressed every desire to give furtherance to the purposes of the Institute on that occasion, and invited the co-operation of the Society in giving aid to the proposed Exhibition of Scottish Worthies, by information regarding such valuable portraits as may be preserved in private collections in England. The project has subsequently received the sanction and patronage of her Majesty, who has graciously signified her pleasure that the portraits of James III., king of Scotland, of Margaret of Denmark, and of their son, afterwards James IV., now at Hampton Court, as also the remarkable "Darnley Picture," with other Scottish portraits in the Royal collections, should be sent to Edinburgh for exhibition. The curious portrait of Queen Margaret is familiar to many of our readers through the admirable plates in Mr. Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations."

The Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE gave the following account of his recent explorations at Great Chesterford, and of a cemetery discovered in December last, adjacent to the site of the Roman station.

"The burying-ground, of which the description is subjoined, is the third cemetery of the Romans which I have examined since I first commenced excavations at Great Chesterford. Like the two before noticed, in accordance with the general custom it is placed on the outside of the walls of the town; the former ones lay to the north-east and north at nearly the same distance from the wall, while the present one is on the south, and also about two hundred yards distant, and the river Cam, in this instance, intervenes

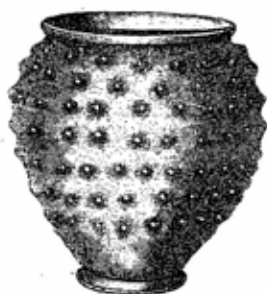
between them and it. The site is a field belonging to J. Parker Hamond, Esq., of Pampisford, to whose kindness I am indebted for permission to explore the spot. The field is skirted by the modern road from Chesterford to Ickleton, which pursues the track of the ancient way, and, deeming from this circumstance, as well as its situation on the outside of the station, that it was a likely spot to contain funeral remains, I commenced digging there on the 17th of last December. The result justified my expectations, for within twenty feet of the hedge on the side of the Ickleton road, the labourers met with vessels of Roman fictile ware, which were at once shown to be of a sepulchral character by the burnt human bones contained in the largest. Before the first day's work terminated, sixteen of them had been exhumed, and the number was increased to twenty-nine by the evening of Saturday, the 22nd. Many of these urns were entire, and most of the others have been restored from the fragments, which lay in heaps where the vessels had been originally interred. They stood apparently in groups, and as there were only seven *olla*e containing burnt bones out of twenty-four vessels, I should infer that there were no more than the same number of persons interred, which is confirmed by the nature of the accompanying urns, since they are clearly of domestic use, and buried as such with their owners; among them are four plain *patera*e of Samian ware, with potters' names—MARC. MA :—MINNA :—TITTIVS :—ANDERNI—five bottles with one handle, of white ware; one pitcher, elegant shape, of ditto; four black *pocula*; the remaining five of the twenty-nine were found in a group by the side of a small infant or very young child, and call for remark in consequence. The group consisted of one white ware bottle with one handle; one small plain Samian ware dish with ivy-leaf pattern, and, as usual, no potter's name; and three very small vessels of black ware, and similar in shape and size to those found formerly at Chesterford, with the remains of infants, which are engraved in Volume X. of this Journal, page 21. Here, then, in contradistinction to the general custom, instead of being buried in *suggrundaria* or under the eaves of the houses, we have an instance of an infant interred in the middle of adults, but still without cremation. Nor does this instance stand alone here, for on excavating the ground around, although no fresh interments by cremation were discovered, as many as twenty-five more small children were found lying separately in no regular order, and many separate from one another; one of these had another small vessel of the same type, and by another some fragments of a small glass vessel were lying; the remainder were accompanied by no deposit. The ground, it is true, contained many objects of interest, but none which I can connect immediately with those infantine remains, nor were there any traces of foundations or débris of buildings in the soil; otherwise it might have been supposed that the babies had been interred among them, as I have found them in every Roman building hitherto, or that a wall had been built as a fence to the graves of their parents, around which they had been laid, since twenty-five out of the twenty-six children were rather outside than among the mass of other burials. The soil was carefully trenched on every side, and produced several coins and two or three more fictile vessels, which are no doubt in some way connected with the interments described, or others perhaps disturbed by agricultural operations. In a small black vase, imperfect from old fracture, eight coins were found, seven of large brass, one Hadrian, two Antoninus, two Faustina sen., one Lucilla, one Commodus or Aurelius, and one illegible; the eighth, a small brass of

Tetricus nearly new, lay in the bottom of the vessel below all the others, and may be considered as near the date of the deposit; but close to this, and apparently dropped from the broken side of the pot, a base metal denarius of Gallienus, with a large brass Hadrian and Antoninus were also found, as well as a one-handed bottle of white pottery. About a score of coins were found in the course of the excavation, all third brass of the Constantine family, of Tetricus, and Valentinian, with the exception of one Carausius, a large brass of Antoninus, Trajan, and Faustina the younger: the usual amount of bone pins, iron styli, keys, one of the latter with a lute shaped top of bronze, two or three bronze spoons, and a fine bow-shaped bronze fibula, comprise the list of relics obtained. Nearly all the coins, keys, spoons, &c., have passed through the fire and suffered in consequence. I cannot conclude this account without mentioning the discovery of an entire human skeleton near the western end of the work. Near it, although not immediately close, an enormous urn of thick black ware was lying in fragments, which proved to be too much decayed to be restored. Some idea of the size will be afforded by the fact, that the diameter of the bottom was 18 inches, which would indicate the girth to have been over 4 feet, and there is no reason to doubt, from the number of fragments, that the height was proportionally great. The above particulars will enable you to form an opinion as to what connection, if any, there is between the last-mentioned human body and the Roman cemetery."

Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE communicated the following notices of Roman pottery found in Lincoln, and of a recent discovery of a small vase of peculiar ware, rarely if ever bearing the potter's mark, and in this instance stamped—CAMARO. P., a name hitherto, as we believe, not recorded.

"In excavating for the foundations of some houses in Monson Street, Lincoln, in November, 1855, a Roman cinerary urn was found, 6½ inches in height, 2½ inches at base, and 4 inches 8-10ths over top. This urn is somewhat peculiar, and differs from others in having seven rows of projecting knobs, which have been pushed out by some blunt instrument from the interior. It is of that porous light ware called Castor ware, but which is found continually at Lincoln, and was made to a great extent at the Boultham pottery, situated about a mile from Lincoln. Great quantities of fragments of the same ware was found at this pottery in 1847, from four to five feet deep, in cutting a railroad through it. The paste of which this urn is formed is light yellow approaching white, the exterior is brushed over, from the inside of the lip to the edge of the base, with a metalloid wash, composed chiefly of a small sparkling yellow mica; underneath the urn the maker's name is stamped, as fresh as if only just turned out of the potter's hand. This ware appears to have been used chiefly for drinking cups and urns of moderate size. Some are found ornamented with raised figures representing hunting scenes, animals of various kinds, and scroll patterns. All these are raised, having been first moulded and then affixed to the urn whilst the clay was wet. The figures are of the same clay as the urn, in some cases a white pattern is put on in pipe-clay slip. The glaze employed is not a true glaze, impervious to moisture, like what is seen on Samian ware, but merely a metalloid wash, sometimes brushed on, when it was intended to decorate the outside only, but generally the pieces were dipped into the liquid, covering them both inside and out. After this they were turned upside down to drain, which is the reason so many are seen with a very slight coating towards the bottom. This ware does not appear

to have undergone two firings ; the wash was put on as soon as the vessel was dry, after which they underwent a moderate firing. Some of the metalloïd colours seen on many pieces at Lincoln are very beautiful, beginning with yellow of many shades, then colours like polished steel, many shades of



Urn found in Lincoln. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.



Potter's stamp, orig. size.

brown with purple tints thereon, and lastly black. Although so many metallic tints are seen on these urns, the material from which it was made was probably obtained at Lincoln from the ochrey ferruginous stone bed, the next stratum under the lower oolite. In the ochrey bed is formed the sparkling kind of mica, ochre and iron.

"In packing the kiln the Romans were in the habit of putting the small drinking cups in the larger ones, then one on the top of the other, and so on until the kiln was filled. Thus many urns when fired appeared of the colour of polished steel, brown or black, on being taken out of the furnace ; according to the degree of heat, and the quantity of iron they received at the time of dipping, the closeness in which they were packed in another urn, or in the middle of a kiln. Those on the outside and top would assume a yellow hue, whilst the lower part, which had fitted within the rim of the one underneath, would be dark, and have more or less of the polished steel or other metalloïd tints. This is shown by a portion of an urn in my possession—a rim of clay adheres to the lower part, where it caught the edge of the urn in which it was placed. The upper part of this urn is of a brilliant yellow ; the lower part, underneath the rim of clay, is quite of a different colour, being dark with a metalloïd lustre ; the inside is the same colour as the lip of this urn, showing that another urn had been placed on it in the kiln. Near the urn, figured above, on the same level was found a *cutter*, or knife ; portions of wood are seen in the socket, it measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length from the point to end of the



socket, the blade is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; it is much corroded, a piece of the point is broken off, at which place the section of the blade is very plainly seen, showing that it had a back of considerable strength and thickness."

Mr. C. D. BEDFORD, by the permission of Henry Greaves, Esq., produced the Tutbury Horn. The Honor of Tutbury, Staffordshire, extends into the adjoining counties of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick. It

is a portion of the Duchy of Lancaster, and formed part of the Lancastrian possessions from the time of its acquisition by Edmund Crouchback, the first Earl of Lancaster, in 1266, till their conversion into a Duchy. It had previously belonged to the Earls of Derby of the family of De Ferrars. Many of our readers will recollect the mention of this Horn in Blount's Tenures, and Mr. Pegge's paper in the *Archæologia*, III., p. 1. It there appears, on the authority of a MS. formerly in the possession of Mr. St. Lo Kniveton, that, at some early period not stated, Walter Achard, or Agard, claimed to hold by inheritance the office of Escheator and Coroner through the whole of the Honor of Tutbury and the Bailiwick of Leyke; for which office he could produce no evidences, charter, or other writing, but only a white Hunter's Horn, decorated in the middle and at each end with silver gilt; to which also was affixed a girdle of black silk (*cingulum byssi nigri*), adorned with certain "*fibulæ*" of silver, in the midst of which were placed the arms of Edmund, the second son of King Henry III., according to the MS. quoted. The arms now on it are France (modern) and England quarterly with a label of three points ermine, impaling vair or vairy, for the tinctures are not given. The Horn, with the belt and appendages, is engraved in the *Archæologia*, but Mr. Pegge supposed the label to be charged with fleurs de lis. These charges are not clear, being very minute; but they more resemble ermine spots than fleurs de lis, and there was no coat, we believe, such as this would have been, if the charges were fleurs de lis. Henry Earl of Derby, son of John of Ghent, and afterwards King Henry IV., bore, in the life time of his father, France and England quarterly with a label of five points, of which two were charged with ermine spots, and three with fleurs de lis; and the same coat was borne by his son John Duke of Bedford; but these charges are all alike, and, as has been said, resemble the former more than the latter. Mr. Pegge remarks on the discrepancy between the arms mentioned in the MS. and those now on the Horn, and especially the omission of the coat vair or vairy; but if the claim were made, as is most probable, before John of Ghent became Duke of Lancaster, the shield of arms, if any, must have been different from the present, and it may have been only England with a label of France, the arms of Crouchback and the succeeding Earls of Lancaster, as they were Lords of Tutbury. Judging by its form and execution, and the three fleurs de lis for France, the present escutcheon may be referred to the beginning of the XVth century, soon after the time the Duchy and Crown were de facto vested in the same person, Henry IV. The belt is of black silk, with silver mountings, possibly as old as the escutcheon, though they appear rather later. These arms have long been a perplexing subject. They can hardly be an impalement on a marriage; for no prince of the lineage of John of Ghent, the first who bore the dexter coat, married a lady whose paternal coat was either vair or vairy.

A daughter of his by Katherine Swinford, viz., Joan Beaufort, married Robert Lord Ferrers of Wem; but, even supposing the coats to be reversed because of the lady's royal blood, this marriage will not explain these arms; for it is remarkable that, though legitimated, this lady did not use her father's coat, but Beaufort, which was France and England



quarterly within a bordure compony, as appears by her seal described in Sandford ; and Ferrers of Wem bore vairy with a lion pass. guard. in a dexter canton. Mr. Pegge suggested that a Ferrers of Tamworth may have held the above-mentioned offices by this Horn before the Agards, because a Nicholas Agard of Tutbury, who was living in 1569, married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Roger Ferrers, son of Sir Thomas Ferrers of Tamworth. But, beside that this does not account for the impalement of Lancaster according to any known heraldic usage, the claim by Walter Agard must, in all probability, have been considerably earlier than 1569. The sinister coat is most likely not Ferrers of Tamworth, but that of the Earls of Derby of the family of de Ferrars, the last of whom was disinherited in 1266, and his estates, including the Honor of Tutbury, were granted to Crouchback, and the earldom granted to his grandson, Henry Earl of Lancaster, in 1337. This vairy coat occurs also on one of the seals of Tutbury Priory, which is said to have been founded in 1080 by Henry de Ferrars, an ancestor of the Earls of Derby of that name. Seeing that the escheator and coroner, who held by this Horn, was an officer under the Lord of the Honor of Tutbury, and that the Honor had gone first with the earldom, and then with the duchy of Lancaster, from 1266 till the probable date of this escutcheon, and that from 1362, and indeed earlier, the Lord of Tutbury had been Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Derby ; and since the dexter coat is without doubt that of the Duke of Lancaster, though the quarters of France had earlier been borne *semée*, it has been suggested, that these two coats may have been intended for those of the Duchy and Earldom respectively, the arms of the ancient Earls of Derby having been taken as those of the earldom, just as the arms of the first Duke of Lancaster were shortly afterwards adopted as those of the Duchy. This would seem highly probable, but that it is rare in English heraldry to find any arms referred to dignities or property instead of persons. Some indications of attempts to introduce a practice of this kind are to be met with, yet it never gained such a footing as it did in Scotland and other countries. Still, until some better explanation of these arms be given, this suggestion seems not undeserving of attention, as the escutcheon so understood might be in the nature of a badge worn by the official owner of the Horn, or regarded as the arms of the Honor of Tutbury, for there are some Honors to which arms have been attributed.

As to the devolution of the ownership of this Horn, it may be mentioned that the heiress of Agard married, we understand, in 1629 a Stanhope of Elvaston Derbyshire ; a descendant of whom sold it, with the offices, in 1753, to Samuel Foxlowe, Esq., in whose possession Mr. Pegge saw it. His son, the Rev. F. Foxlowe, by his will gave it to his widow ; and she by her will gave it to his nephew Francis Greaves, Esq., of Banner Cross, Sheffield, and Ford Hall, Chapel le Frith, now a minor. The various possessors of this interesting relic have appointed coroners and other officers. The last appointment was made a few months ago by the father of Mr. F. Greaves, and is mentioned in Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, i. p. 115.

The Rev. W. H. GUNNER gave a detailed account of the ancient library of Winchester College, and especially of books given by the founder, as recorded in the original catalogues. Mr. Gunner exhibited tracings from several singular drawings in one of the manuscripts, chiefly of an allegorical character, or moral symbolisms ; amongst them was an early map of the

world, of pointed oval form, surrounded by the ocean, Jerusalem being placed in the centre.

Mr. G. SCHARF read a memoir on the Coventry Tapestries, of which he produced an elaborately-coloured representation, which he had executed with the greatest care. After a few preliminary observations on the importance and rarity of historical tapestries, Mr. Scharf remarked that the date of the tapestry at Coventry appears to be towards the close of the XVth or early in the XVIth century. It was evidently executed for the place it still occupies, and is most probably a Flemish design, wrought at Arras, a town which gave its name to the old English designation for hangings, and is still perpetuated in Italy by the word "*Arazzi*." The compartments in this tapestry correspond precisely with the mullions of the window over the spot where it was placed, and it exactly fills the wall against which it hangs. The design is divided into six compartments, first by a horizontal line the entire length of the tapestry, and this is again intersected by two upright divisions, leaving the two central portions narrower than the outer ones. The lower central division contains the Assumption of the Virgin, attended by the twelve apostles. Angels support the figure of the Virgin, who stands upon an angel holding the crescent. In the compartment to the left a monarch kneels at a desk, on which lie a book and arched crown, and behind him stand numerous courtiers and noblemen: a cardinal kneels in front of them behind the king. On the opposite side a queen, with a coronet on her head, kneels attended by her ladies. The upper division, on the right side of the picture, is filled with female saints; the foremost are St. Katharine, St. Barbara, and St. Margaret. The corresponding division on the left side is occupied by male saints, the most prominent being St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, St. Adrian, St. Peter, and St. George. In the central compartment it is generally supposed that a personification of the Trinity was placed, for which a representation of Justice was substituted in the Puritan times; but Mr. Scharf expressed his belief, from the remaining angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, that it had been an enthroned figure of the Saviour in glory, called by the older writers a "Majesty," and as such mentioned in records of the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. This would accord with the subject of the compartment below, namely, the Assumption of the Virgin. The style of costume, and many of the accessories, clearly indicate the close of the reign of Henry VII., but the monarch represented is most probably Henry VI. In the ornamental border which surrounds the whole, large red roses are introduced, drawn heraldically as the Lancastrian badge. If relating to Henry VII., the rose would have been parti-coloured, as familiar to antiquaries on monuments of the period. In the spandril of an arch over the king's head, a red rose had been carefully introduced. No legend to afford explanations of the persons represented appears on the tapestry. The writing on the books before the king and queen, although indicated in lines and groups of letters, is not sufficiently intelligible. At the four angles, Mr. Scharf discovered labels with letters and numerals on them, but unfortunately they have been too much injured by nails and careless treatment to afford conclusive evidence. The whole work, however, is in fair preservation, and many of the colours very brilliant, especially in the draperies. Two entries relating to the tapestry have been found by Mr. Alderman Eld, of Coventry, in the guild accounts; one, dated 1519, of payment for mending the arras; the other, in 1605, of 4s. 6d., for cloth to

line the cloth of arras in St. Mary's Hall. Mr. Eld has taken great interest in the preservation of this tapestry. Mr. Scharf had been induced to make his elaborate drawing with the desire of preserving a minutely accurate record of so valuable a monument.

From want of light the details of this curious tapestry can with difficulty be discovered, and the tissue is in a very perishable condition; the value therefore of so careful a memorial as the skilful pencil of Mr. Scharf has produced is considerable, and it well deserves a place where it might be accessible to the student of medieval art, in some public depository. An engraving on a small scale, representing the interesting group of the king and his court, has been given in the "Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages," p. 90, and this by the kindness of Mr. Murray we were enabled to place before our readers in a former volume of this Journal (vol. xii. p. 417). Coloured reproductions of the two principal subjects were also executed some years since by Mr. Bradley, and portions copied from his plates were given by Mr. Shaw, in his "Dresses and Decorations," representing the royal personages with their attendants.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Lord TALBOT de MALAHIDE.—A collection of casts in plaster, from Irish antiquities of stone and bronze, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and the collections of Mr. Cooke, Mr. Huband Smith, Mr. Haliday, &c. They comprised 150 examples, illustrative of the various types of stone hammers, axe-heads, celts and palstaves of bronze, swords, with good specimens of the type described as the "*Agave* leaf shaped blade," spear and arrow heads, daggers, bronze rings and other reliques. The series of celts and palstaves was most instructive, displaying the progressive forms in great variety, from the simple hatchet to the more elaborate and ornamented types. Also casts from bronze brooches, nearly all of which retain traces of enamel, and in some instances of ornamental glass insertions; copper brooches, originally tinned or silvered, and apparently intended to be riveted on leather; casts from the remarkable *forula* or case of thick stamped leather in which the "Book of Armagh," an Irish MS., supposed to be of the early part of the IXth century, has been preserved; the ornament partakes of the character of that occurring in early sculpture and metal-work in Ireland. These interesting exemplifications of the most characteristic types amongst the earlier antiquities of Ireland were consigned by Lord Talbot to the care of Mr. Kemble, for presentation to the Museum formed at Hanover. The Directors of that collection, to the formation of which Mr. Kemble's exertions have largely contributed, are desirous of bringing together by exchange or purchase, as extensive an assemblage as possible of casts and models of antiquities from all countries, an invaluable means of facilitating comparison, in many cases where it may be impracticable to obtain originals.

By PROFESSOR BUCKMAN.—A bronze *statera*, or steel-yard, found at Watermoor near Cirencester. It is of unusual size, the *scapus*, or yard, measuring rather more than 17 in. in length. To its short end is appended a weight, to which a pair of hooks are attached, to hold the object to be weighed; the *ansa*, or hook, for suspension, is perfect; the second hook, on the under side of the *scapus*, which usually is attached behind the *ansa*, or nearest to the short end, is in this example placed beyond it, or towards the graduated end. Compare the *statera* found at Cirencester, figured in

this Journal, vol. vii. p. 411, and see the explanation given in the "Illustrations of Roman Remains" at that place, by Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, pp. 100, 105. A smaller *statera*, having the same arrangement of the hooks as above described, was found at Kingsholm, Gloucestershire, in 1788, and is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. x. pl. 13. Several curious examples of the *statera* are given by Caylus, vol. iv. plates 94—96.

By the Rev. R. GORDON, of Elsfield.—A collection of spurs of various periods, chiefly found near Oxford. Amongst these was one of very curious character, formed of bronze, with the point or *aculeus* of iron, now much corroded by rust, so that its original form and dimensions cannot be ascertained. The bronze, however, is in the finest preservation, and well patinated. It has studs or buttons on the inner side of the shanks, and a hook under the point, as shown in the woodcut, which represents the *under*



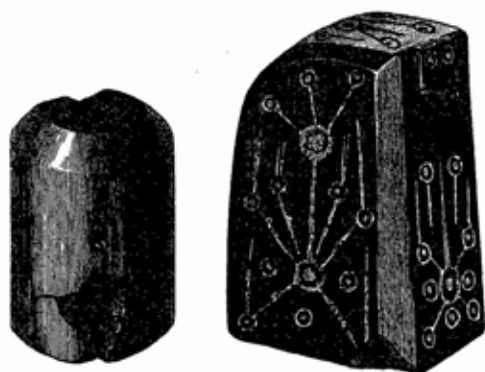
side, as supposed, of this curious spur. It has been considered with much probability, to be Roman; it was found in arable land where for many years Roman pottery, coins, fibulae, rings, &c. have been turned up by each successive ploughing. Coins of other periods are occasionally found there, but the prevailing character of the remains discovered is that of Roman workmanship, and the field occupies an elevated position commanding some miles of the Roman road from Alchester to Dorchester. Spurs of that period are of great rarity; there is one of bronze in a private collection at Metz, which resembles this example in the adjustment of the studs, on the inner side, and the hook at the heel. It was found with Roman remains at Ell, (*Elseburn*) in Alsace, and is figured in the "Memoirs of the Academy of Metz," 1838-9. A Roman spur of bronze, of very diminutive proportions, was in the museum of the late Comte de Pourtalès, at Paris, and there is another in the Museum of Antiquities at the Bibliothèque Imperiale. Some iron spurs, found with Roman remains at Hod Hill, near Blandford, are figured in the Journal of the Archaeological

Association, vol. iii. p. 98, and they closely resemble one of bronze, figured by Caylus as an object of the greatest rarity, *Recueil*, vol. iii. p. 69. Other examples of spurs of Roman or very early date may be seen in Wagener, *Handbuch*, figs. 1267, 1289, and Dorow, *Roman Antiquities* found at Neuwied on the Rhine, pl. xxv.; the latter supplies another specimen of the studs on the inner side of the shanks. Mr. Gordon exhibited also several Norman or pryck spurs, and some specimens of later periods, one of them elaborately inlaid with silver.

By the Rev. S. BANKS.—A richly enamelled ornament of bronze, found with a skeleton, accompanied by an iron sword and some other enamelled reliques, in Staffordshire. It is an object of the same description and period as that found in Warwickshire, and figured in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 161.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A circular fibula of bronze enamelled, purchased at Amiens, and described as having been found in a tomb, near that place; it is of late Roman workmanship.—A sculpture in ivory, XIVth century, representing the Virgin with the infant Saviour.—A pilgrim's sign, found in the river Somme, at Amiens; it is of lead and represents a crowned personage, possibly St. Olaus, king of Denmark, armed in mail and raising an enormous battle-axe, as if about to strike a deadly blow. A small shield on his left shoulder displays a cross charged with five roundels or annulets. This curious little figure is broken, in its perfect state it may have measured about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Date, about 1400.

By JAMES KENDRICK, Esq. M.D., of Warrington.—Two chess-men of jet, found in the Mote-Hill, at Warrington, in the course of excavations, of which a detailed account is given in the Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1852-3, p. 59.¹ These pieces are probably a pawn and a knight, of the black game, the adverse set may have been of Walrus' tusk or some other material, of colour contrasted to that of the jet. They have been assigned to the Anglo-Saxon period, and regarded by some



antiquaries as Scandinavian. As types of very early forms of chess-men they must be regarded as objects of singular interest. The piece which has been described as a knight is curiously ornamented with incised lines and small concentric circles. There is a small projection on one side at its

¹ These objects were also noticed in this Journal, vol ix., p. 304.

upper edge, which may probably be a distinctive mark of the piece intended. The Institute is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Kendrick for the accompanying woodcuts of these unique and remarkable reliques.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Two iron arrow-heads, found in an Anglo-Saxon grave on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight. It has been supposed, from certain appearances at the time of the discovery, that a sheaf of arrows had been deposited in this instance with the corpse. It has been questioned whether the bow was in common use amongst the Anglo-Saxons as a weapon of war. The spear was the weapon of the common soldier, and the sword, of the warrior of the higher class. See some remarks on this subject by Mr. Akerman, *Gent. Mag.*, April, 1856, p. 401.

By the Rev. W. H. GUNNER.—Four Anglo-Saxon charters, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Hyde, near Winchester, and now amongst the muniments of Winchester College. They consist of a grant of land to Hyde Abbey by Edward the Elder, dated, A.D. 900; a charter of king Edmund, dated, A.D. 940; a charter of Athelstan, and a charter of Canute.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Two early Italian paintings on panel, obtained in Florence, in the original gilt frames. They represent St. Barbara and St. Agatha. Date XIVth century.

By Mr. J. B. WARING.—A series of drawings of painted glass, representing some of the finest existing examples in Italy, of the XVth and XVIth centuries. From the cathedrals of Florence and Lucca.

By Mr. WHITE.—Four paintings on panel, which appear to have formed the folding shutters of an altar piece. They are of French art, late XVth century, or of the commencement of the XVIth century, and represent subjects from the legend of some bishop or abbot, probably a local saint who has not been identified. Under these subjects appear the four Evangelists, and on the reverse of each panel is a figure of much larger proportions. The saints portrayed are—St. John the Evangelist, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Martin.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A remarkable production of the skill of the Italian armourers, about A.D. 1550. It is the back of a war-saddle, of steel chased, and richly damascened with gold. The subjects are battle-scenes of very spirited design.

By Mr. AUGUSTUS FRANKS.—A "Palimpsest" sepulchral brass from Berkhamstead, Herts. On one side of the plate appears an inscription to the memory of Thomas Humfre, goldsmith of London, about 1470; on the other side is an inscription of later date (about 1530). They are given in the "Lectures on Berkhamstead," by the Rev. J. W. Cobb, p. 54.

By Mr. JOHNSON, of Gaines.—Rubblings from a "Palimpsest" sepulchral brass lately found in Upminster Church, Essex, in removing the pews in the Gaines chapel. The discovery had been noticed by the Rev. E. Wilton, at the previous meeting. (See p. 105, *ante*). On the reverse of the effigy, which is in the costume of the XVIth century, is part of a figure vested in pontificals of rather earlier date. The former had been regarded as the memorial of Ralph Latham, Common Serjeant of London about 1641, but the design is of a much earlier period. Weever, in his "Funerall Monuments," p. 651, states that Ralph Latham,² of the ancient family of that name in Lancashire, purchased the manor of Gaines, and was buried in Upminster Church, with an epitaph placed in brass, recording his death,

² In Jones' *Originalia*, the name of Robert Latham occurs as grantee of the manor of Upminster, 35 Hen. VIII.

July 19, 1557. Elizabeth, his wife, was daughter, according to Weever, of Sir William Roche. At some distance on the left of the "Palimpsest" figure, beneath it, is an escutcheon of the arms of Latham, impaling this coat a chevron charged with a mullet; no colour indicated. At the side of the effigy Mr. Johnson found another escutcheon—1st and 4th, a leopard's face, jessant? 2nd and 3rd, a covered cup, in chief two buckles. If this effigy is not the memorial of the earlier possessor of Gaines, of the Latham family, it may have represented Nicholas Wayte of London, interred at Upminster in 1544.

Mr. Johnson sent also rubbings from two other sepulchral brasses, and a small "Palimpsest" fragment found in the Gaines chancel, one side of the plate bearing part of the spandril of a piece of canopied work, and on the other is found a portion of an achievement, with lambrequins, &c. The effigies are the memorials of Elizabeth, wife of Roger Deincourt, date about 1460, and that of Grace, daughter of William Latham; she died unmarried in 1626. This pretty little brass measures nearly 16 inches in length. The figure of Elizabeth Deincourt bears a general resemblance to that of Joyce, Lady Tiptoft, at Enfield, who died in 1446; it measures $35\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and is in perfect preservation, with the exception of the mantle, originally filled in with colour, possibly to indicate some heraldic bearing, but this has disappeared. The figure of Roger Deincourt, who died, according to the epitaph given by Weever, in 1455, was sold some time ago to an itinerant tinker. The sepulchral brass of Gerardt D'Ewes, an effigy in armour, surrounded by heraldic bearings, as figured in Weever, p. 653, still exists in Upminster Church. He died in 1591.³

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Two photographic representations of the ancient palace of the Dukes of Brabant and Burgundy at Brussels. Also a large family Medal of silver, by John Rotier, representing Colonel Giles Strangways of Melbury, Dorset, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London by the Parliamentarians, having, with his father, Sir John Strangways, distinguished himself as a partisan of King Charles I. This medal has been engraved in Hutchins's "History of Dorset;" it measures in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Obv., the bust of Sir Giles Strangways, with long flowing hair—ÆGIDIUS · STRANGWAYS · DE · MELBURY · IN · COM · DORCESTER · ARMIGER. Under the shoulder are the artist's initials—IAN · R · F. Rev., the Tower of London, the Royal Standard flying, the sun amidst clouds over it.—DECVSQVE · ADVERSA · DEDERVNT. In the exergue—INCARCERATVS · SEPT. 1645. LIBERATVS · APR. 1648. In a letter to Pepys from Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, in 1687, offering a choice set of "Monsieur Roettier's medals," this is valued at 1*l.* 17*s.*—Correspondence of Pepys, Appendix to his Diary, edited by Lord Braybrooke, vol. V.

Mr. T. LAING presented photographic views of Stokesay Castle, and Wenlock Priory, Shropshire.

By Mr. T. WILLSON.—A multangular die for playing some game of chance; it has a number engraved on each facet; a similar object in the British Museum has letters instead of numerals.

MATRICES and IMPRESSIONS from Seals. By Mr. READY.—Impression from the seal of Richard Fitz-alan, Earl of Arundel, recently obtained at Shrewsbury. The original is appended to an acquittance to the Bailiffs of

³ Mr. T. L. Wilson has recently published the history of Upminster, in which a more full account of these memorials, of the church and ancient houses in the parish, will be found. London, Bell and Daldy, 12mo. 1856.

Shrewsbury for money repaid to the Earl. Dated at Arundel Castle, Dec. 13, 18 Edw. III., 1344. In the centre is an escutcheon charged with a lion rampant; the escutcheon enclosed within a triangle, and around it are three roundels *checky*, (Warren) Edmund, father of Richard Fitzalan, having married Alice, sister and heir of John, the last Earl Warren.

By Mr. WAY.—Impression from a beautiful silver matrix, in the possession of Mr. John Ellen, of Devizes. It bears an escutcheon of the arms of Giffard, three lions passant, with a label of three points. The escutcheon is appended to a tree, and is in bold relief: *Sigillum :: thome :: giffard*: It is supposed to have been the seal of Thomas Giffard, of Boyton, co. Wilts, in the reign of Henry VI. (Figured in the Wilts Archaeological Magazine, vol. ii. p. 391.)

By Mr. FRANKS.—A brass matrix of pointed oval form, the seal of some person named Adam; date, XIIIth century. The device is the Temptation of Adam and Eve in Paradise, with the legend—*EST · ADE · SIGNV · VIR · FEMINA · VIPERA · LIGNV*.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—An Italian personal seal of the XIVth century: so fashioned as to combine the seal and the *secretum*, or privy-seal, which form the extremities of a short straight handle, an arrangement of frequent occurrence amongst Italian seals. The larger seal, of pointed oval shape, bears an escutcheon charged with these arms, a bent between two stars of six points.—*✠ · s · FRATRIS · PETRI · DE P'ARIXIO*. The *secretum*, of small size and circular shape, bears the initial P., surrounded by five cinquefoils.

March 7, 1856.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Professor BUCKMAN gave an account of the method employed in the removal of the fine tessellated pavements discovered at Cirencester, in 1851, and now deposited in the building erected for the purpose of a local museum, through the liberality of the Earl Bathurst.

Mr. BARCLAY PHILLIPS, of Brighton, related the following interesting particulars regarding a tumulus and sepulchral deposit at Hove, to the west of that town, about 100 yards N.N.E. of the newly-erected church of St. John the Baptist. Until recent times this hillock, about 15 feet or 20 feet in height, situate in level pasture land near the path leading from Brighton to Hove Church, had been the resort, every Good Friday, of hundreds of young persons, to join in the rural game of "Kiss in the Ring." A few years since a road to the Hove Station was cut through the hillock, and Mr. Phillips then made careful enquiry whether any reliques were found, being impressed with the notion that it was an artificial mound. Nothing, however, had been brought to light at that time. Very recently, in the course of extensive works on the estate of Baron Goldsmidt, the contractor caused the mound to be removed, in order to level the gardens in the newly-erected "Palmyra Square," not far distant. In January last, on reaching the centre of the tumulus, about 6 feet east of the road to Hove Station, and about 9 feet below the surface, in stiff clay, the labourers struck upon a rude wooden coffin, 6 or 7 feet in length, deposited east and

west, and formed with boards apparently shaped rudely with the axe. The wood soon crumbled to dust; a knot, however, or gnarled knob, was preserved, and ascertained to be of oak. In the earth with which the coffin was filled many fragments of bone were found, seemingly charred. About the centre, the following objects were discovered,—a cup or bowl, supposed to be of amber, with one small handle near the rim, sufficiently large to pass a finger through it. A band of five lines runs round the rim, interrupted by the handle. The height of the cup is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, average thickness, one fifth of an inch. The interior surface is smooth, and the appearance would indicate that the cup had been formed in a lathe, which, however, seems scarcely possible, when the position of the handle is considered. The cup would hold rather more than half-a-pint. A stone axe, perforated for the haft; it is of an unusual form, wrought with much skill, the length is 5 inches. This relique bears some resemblance in fashion to that found in a barrow at Upton Lovel, Wilts. See Hoare, vol. I. pl. v., compare also an example in the Copenhagen Museum, figured by Worsaae, “Afbildninger,” p. 11, fig. 25, and the more highly-finished specimens of the Bronze Period, pp. 22, 23, to which the axe found near Brighton bears resemblance in its proportions, although much less elaborate in its fashion. A small hone (?) of stone, measuring 2 inches and seven-tenths in length, perforated at one end; the surface was covered with a red crust. This little relique closely resembles that found in a barrow on Bow Hill, near Chichester, during the excavations made in 1853, and figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 356. A bronze blade, of a type which has frequently occurred in Wiltshire and in other parts of England; these blades are supposed to have been daggers, they were attached to the handles by strong rivets. Compare Hoare, vol. I. pl. xiv., xv., xxiii., xxviii. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, greatest width $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The labourers stated that the coffin rested on the natural soil, stiff yellow clay, whilst the barrow seemed to have been formed of the surface-mould of the locality and rubbish heaped together, with considerable quantities of charred wood. It could not, however, be ascertained whether the corpse had been actually burned. The interesting reliques above described have subsequently been presented by Baron Goldsmidt to the Museum of the Literary Institution at Brighton.

Mr. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on “Self-immolation,” in continuation of his striking and instructive development of the mortuary usages and superstitions of the ancient Scandinavians. The suttee in India has continued until recent times, notwithstanding the energetic efforts of our government; the practice is of high antiquity in the East, and it is mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus, and other ancient writers, as existing many centuries before the Christian era. It is not so well known, Mr. Kemble observed, that the custom extended to others besides the wife, and that traces of it occur amongst races more immediately connected with ourselves; the consideration therefore of this curious subject may throw light upon questions which occasionally arise in investigating sepulchral deposits. Mr. Kemble traced the custom among the Greeks from very remote times; and he showed that among the Romans, even till a late period, we find the friend joining his friend in death, the client his patron, the slave or freedman refusing to survive his master. Servius states, that at the funerals of great men it was usual for their slaves to be put to death, and here it is obvious that these were often, as in some other cases, involuntary victims. Of the Keltic Gauls in Cæsar’s time, we learn that they had been accustomed to

burn with the dead, not only the ornaments or weapons most valued by them in life, but also animals, and their favourite serfs and dependants. Cæsar does not indeed assert that these were voluntary victims, but Pomponius Mela records that there were some who cast themselves of their own free will upon the funeral pile of their friend. Among some of the Germanic tribes we find unquestionable evidence of the usage of self-immolation; thus Procopius tells us, that as late as the Vth or VIth century it was the custom among the Heruli for the wife to strangle herself at her husband's death. The legendary records of Scandinavia, where heathendom maintained itself much longer than among the Germans, supply numerous examples of the usage; and Mr. Kemble cited various passages in the Sagas, in which the prevalence of self-immolation is shown. Nor was the wife alone, as in the majority of instances, the voluntary victim on the funeral pile; the friend would not survive the friend; the *comes* refused to live when his chief had fallen; the serf would not desert in death the lord whose bread he had eaten; the maidens strangled themselves around the corpse of their mistress. Mr. Kemble cited a remarkable passage in the Islandic Landnamabok, relating to the obsequies of a chief in his ship placed in a mound, and his thrall with him, who would not survive his lord, and slew himself, his corpse being placed in the stern of the ship. According to a notion, of which other instances occur, it was afterwards believed that the thrall, who possibly had cherished a hope of entering Valhalla with his master by dying with him, had become a troublesome companion in the burial-ship, and he was accordingly dug up. In the Saga of king Gautrek a most striking tale is preserved; we there find the account of a whole family, whose chiefs for several generations put themselves to death by precipitation from a rock, whenever any unusual occurrence, by them regarded as a portent, alarmed them. Amongst races in more remote parts of Europe, and less cognate with ourselves, vestiges may be noticed, Mr. Kemble observed, of similar funeral sacrifices on the part of the survivors. Boniface, in the VIIIth century, describes the high regard for marriage among the Wends, who considered it honourable that the widow should kill herself, so that she might be burnt with him. Nearly three centuries later it is stated of the Poles, that, at the death of the husband, the wife's head was cut off, and their ashes were united in one common resting-place.

Mr. WILLEMENT communicated an account of an unique "privy cap of fence," formed of pierced iron plates, curiously quilted between stout linen. In form it resembles a small hat, with very narrow brim: its date may be the XVIIth century, or possibly as early as the close of the XVth century. It was found in a very singular position, at Davington Priory, near Faversham, placed on the top of the wall, about twenty feet from the ground, between two wall-plates of oak. The roof which they carried appears not older than the time of Henry VIII. The cap is in most perfect preservation, and no similar head-piece is known to exist, although some examples of body armour, formed of small plates, quilted between folds of linen, are preserved, but defences of this kind are of the greatest rarity. A representation of this curious object will be given hereafter.

The Rev. EDWARD HARSTON, Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset, communicated the following singular circumstance, relating, probably, to one of the great pestilences in England, in the XVth century. During recent repairs of the Parsonage house at Sherborne, a curious old structure of Early Perpendicular date, there was found in the wall concealed between two stones,

a little slip of parchment, folded up, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The writing was much defaced, but by careful cleaning it has been thus decyphered.

"Be hyt knowen to alle crystyn men and wymmen, that oure holy fadir the pope hath very knowlyche by revelacioun whate medycyne is for the sekyns that raynyth⁴ nowe a monge the peple. Yn any wyse, when that ye hyryth of thus bull, furste sey in the worschup of God, of oure lady and seynte Martyne iij. pater noster. iij. Ave, and a crede; and the morow aftir, mediatly hyre ye yowre masse of seynt Martyne, and the masse whyle sey ye the sawter of oure lady, and yeve one offrynge to seynte Martyne, whate that evyr ye wille, and promyse ye to faste onys a yere yn brede and watyr whiles that ye lyve, othir sum othir person for yow. And he that belevyth nott on this stondythe in the sentence of holy Church, for hit hath be prechyd at Pawles⁶ Crosse."

There can be no doubt that this singular little scroll was one of certain notifications circulated through the country to allay popular apprehension, and offer, on the authority of some papal bull, a remedy for one of those deadly visitations by which England was afflicted during the XIVth and XVth centuries. From the writing and the language of the little document, it seems probable that it related to the great pestilence in the first year of Henry VII., 1485, which was regarded with great apprehension as a token of troublous times. Its ravages extended to every town and village, and from England it passed to Flanders and Germany. (Holinshed, vol II., p. 763; Grafton, p. 858.) We have sought in vain for any other allusion to the special veneration shown towards St. Martin in England, or the virtues attributed to his intercession, on the occasion of any of the dreadful pestilences by which the country had been depopulated.⁷ We read, in ancient inventories, of rings described as "St. Martin's rings,"⁸ which very possibly were worn with some notion of talismanic virtue, like the rings with *Ave Maria*, the names of the three Kings of Cologne, and other inscriptions. Such rings appear to be described as "*Annuli vertuosi*," the virtue consisting sometimes in the inscription which they bore, and sometimes in the stone or intaglio with which they were set. The rings of St. Martin may have been distributed or sold on his Feast, as the rings of St. Hubert still are in Belgium, in large numbers.

The intercession of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had at all times been regarded as of singular efficacy against disease, and it is not surprising that it should have been brought forward as of especial virtue at a time when there must have existed the greatest apprehension and agitation of the public mind, in a time of fearful pestilence. In 1378, Boniface VIII. sought to allay this perilous apprehension by issuing a Bull of plenary indulgence to the sufferers by the deadly disease then prevalent; and although there is no trace of the Bull to which this little parchment alludes, as

⁴ True, undoubtedly; Fr. *vrai*. So used in the liturgy, "Very God of Very God."

⁵ So also of the great pestilence of 1347-1348, Fabyan speaks thus:—"in Englande and specially in London moost fervently raynynge."

⁶ Or "Powols?"

⁷ There was a dreadful mortality in

2 Hen. IV. Great pestilences also occurred 17 and 19 Edw. IV., and in 22 Hen. VII., 10 and 20 Hen. VIII.

⁸ Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, vol. ii. p. 60. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 5. They were probably sold or distributed on the Feast of St. Martin. See Nares' Glossary v. Martlemas.

"prechyd" or proclaimed at Paul's Cross, there was doubtless some special privilege declared in the following century by the authority of the Pope, of which no other record has hitherto been found.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—A bronze buckler, found with a spear-head of bronze in a rath or tumulus at Athenry, co. Galway. No example of this form of the *cetra*, it is believed, had hitherto been found in Ireland. The specimen exhibited closely resembles that found in the bed of the Isis, in 1836, and now preserved in the British Museum. A representation of it may be seen in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., pl. 22.⁹ Another, measuring only 9½ inches in diameter, with a single row of bosses and two raised ribs, is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. This likewise, it is believed, was found in the Isis. (Catalogue of the Museum, Soc. of Antiqu., p. 17.) The buckler recently obtained by Lord Londesborough measures 13½ inches in diameter; the entire disc has a considerable degree of convexity, with a central *umbo* of slightly conical form, surrounded by two concentric rings of bosses resembling large nail-heads, fourteen in the inner and thirty in the outer circle. Of those in the inner circle, two are the heads of rivets serving to attach the bronze handle, affixed within the *umbo*; and two, of the rivets, by which the metal fastenings of a strap or guige were attached. All the other bosses were hammered up, the metal being of no great thickness. The round target, or *cetra*, originally covered with hide, was chiefly used by the natives of Africa, Spain, and by some other barbarous nations, but it does not appear to have been used by the Romans. Tacitus describes the Britons as armed "*ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris*." (Agric. 36.) Of the target of bronze several remarkable varieties have occurred in various parts of England, but of larger dimensions and usually less convex than that exhibited. A specimen in the Goodrich Court Armory measures 27 inches in diameter.¹ Another, found in the Thames, diameter 21½ inches, has recently been added to the collections in the British Museum, with the numerous interesting antiquities which formed the Museum of Mr. Roach Smith. It is figured in the Catalogue of his collection, p. 80. A shield



of this type, found near Harlech, is in the possession of Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P., and is figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 77. Two round specimens, and one of oval form, in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, are figured in Worsaae's "*Afbildninger*," p. 34—37. The silver coinage of Illiberis, in Hispania Bætica, supplies an interesting illustration of the

⁹ It is figured also in Worsaae's "*Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*," translated by Mr. Thoms, p. 32.

¹ Skelton's *Illustrations*, vol. i., pl. 47. See notices of other examples, Catalogue of the Museum of the Soc. of Antiqu. p. 16.

Two bucklers now in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, are figured in their Publications, No. xiv. Notices of several found in Scotland may be found in Dr. Wilson's "*Prehistoric Annals*," p. 267.

use of the *cetra*, by mounted warriors. (See woodcuts.) These coins are probably not of later date than B.C. 140, according to De Sauley.²

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A large bronze fibula, found, December, 1855, in a Roman cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—A bronze statuette, apparently representing Hercules, described as found in 1854, in excavations for the new buildings in Cannon Street, City.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—The triangular front of an antefix of terra-cotta, stated to have been found near Monmouth, and as supposed near the so-called Oratory of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It measured, in perfect state, about 9 inches in width by 8 inches in height; in the centre there is a grotesque face with inflated cheeks, like an impersonation of the winds; in the upper angle is introduced a Greek cross; and below, on either side of the face, is a globular object, the whole being surrounded by a border raguly. A similar Roman antefix found at Caerleon, but with a wheel of six spokes on its apex, in place of the Christian symbol, is figured in Mr. Lee's "Delineations of Roman Antiquities," found at Caerleon, pl. 8; as also a fragment of another, on which three trees appear rudely represented in the lower angle at the side of the grotesque visage. *Antefixæ*, intended to conceal the ends of the ridge-tiles, *imbrices*, as shown in Mr. Rich's useful "Companion to the Latin Dictionary," p. 39, are of rare occurrence in England. Two specimens, found at Chester, were exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury meeting; and some found at York, one of which may be seen in the Minster library, are figured in Mr. Wellbeloved's "Eburacum," pl. xv.

By Professor BUCKMAN.—Several *tesserae* (?) or discs of bone, glass, terra cotta, &c., found with Roman remains at Cirencester. Three were formed of fragments of Samian ware. One, of bone, not perforated, is marked with small impressed circles, arranged in the form of a cross. It resembles a piece for the game of draughts, and may have served for the *ludus latrunculorum*.

By Mr. J. BELDAM.—A collection of fragments of antique bronzes, ornaments, portions of vases, and other reliques.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A remarkable iron sword, found in the Anglo-Saxon graves on Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, discovered in excavations by Mr. Hillier, and figured in his "History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight," Part I., p. 35, fig. 2. A small plate of punctured gold remains attached to the handle, as also the silver mountings and the elaborately chased silver mount of the scabbard, upon which niello is introduced, forming a zigzag pattern of very delicate workmanship. This "costliest of irons," to use the expression in *Beowulf*, measures $36\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length: the width of the blade at the hilt is rather more than 2 inches.

By Mr. NESBITT.—A penannular fibula of bronze, of very curious workmanship, ornamented with enamel; it was found in cutting turf near Farnham, co. Cavan; and a bronze pin, with bicornute head, resembling that of the patriarchal staff, used in the Greek Church.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—An iron single-edged knife, length about 9 inches; length of the blade, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, resembling those usually

² Monnaies d'Espagne, Metz, 1840, pp. 12, 202. These coins have been figured also in the 4th Publications of the Cam-

bridge Camden Society, No. xiv., p. 10. We are indebted to the Society for the illustrations given above.

found with interments of the Saxon period. It was found with the skeletons of a young adult and a youth, about 30 inches below the surface, at Elston Winterbourne, Wilts, in one of the vales running S.E. on Salisbury Plain, and within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Charlton locality, where numerous vestiges of early occupation have been discovered.

By Mr. H. W. KING.—A rubbing from the sepulchral brass of Sir John Giffard, who died in 1348. This remarkable example of military costume, of life-size, is mentioned by Dr. Salmon, the topographer, as existing in the church of Bowers Gifford, Essex, in 1740. Through Mr. King's enquiries it has been recovered, having been found in the possession of a gentleman at Billericay, to whom it was given, many years ago, when the church was rebuilt. He readily consented to restore it to the present rector, the Rev. W. Tireman, by whom it has been replaced in the church. The head of the effigy, and part of the right leg, are unfortunately lost. A small shield on the left arm is charged with the bearing of Giffard, *sable*, six fleurs-de-lys or, 3, 2, 1. Mr. King has given a full account of this memorial, preserved through his praiseworthy exertions, with some notices of the Giffards, and a good representation of the effigy, in the "Proceedings of the Essex Archaeological Society," vol. i. p. 93, recently published.

By the Lord LONDESBOROUGH.—Three silver hexagonal étuis, enclosing mathematical instruments, and most delicately engraved with scales and graduated lines serving for the calculation of horoscopes, taking altitudes, for astronomical and horological calculations. They are of German workmanship, date early XVIIth century. On one are introduced small figures of the Planets, the Months, &c., curiously represented in the costume of the period. In one of them is a silver die and a silver teetotum, thus engraved on its six faces, respectively—F. An.—L. Ston.—S. Zue.—N. halb.—N. dein.—N. Gar.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—Two fragments of painted glass, from an excavation made, in February last, in St. James's Square, Clerkenwell. One of them bears part of a quatrefoiled flower, and the other is a portion of a pinnaced canopy.

By Mr. S. DODD.—Two small portraits, representing Cromwell and Milton.

Matrices and impressions of seals.—By Mr. J. HENDERSON.—A small oval seal, set with an antique intaglio, representing Mercury, on cornelian. The setting is of silver, inscribed—✠ SIGILLVM : SECRETI :

By the Rev. F. HOPKINSON.—A brass matrix, of pointed oval form, recently obtained at the sale of Mr. Moore's collections, brought to this country from Paris. It is probably a modern casting from an original impression, and not easily to be decyphered. The device is the figure of a Saint, possibly St. Denis, and the inscription may be read thus—*S' Johannis Dyonisi bicar' S' Bened' floriacen'.*

By Mr. H. W. KING.—An impression from the brass matrix of the seal of Henry, Prince of Wales, for the lordship of Caermarthen. It was formerly in Greene's Museum, at Litchfield, as described in his Catalogue, p. 12, and was figured in Gent. Mag., 1769, with a notice by Pegge. See pp. 277, 377, 438, 568; also November, 1813, p. 432. It measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the matrix was formed with four perforated projections, to receive the pins affixed to the obverse, by means of which the two parts of the matrix were adjusted in taking impressions. This curious seal has been assigned to Prince Henry, son of Henry IV. It represents

the prince mounted on his war-horse, and in complete armour. On his shield, jupon, and horse trappings appear the arms of France and England, quarterly, with a label of three points. The bearing of France, with three fleurs-de-lys only, appears to have been first so used by Prince Henry: compare his seal as Prince of Wales, engraved by Sandford, p. 245, and described, p. 277, possibly used as the obverse of the seal in Greene's possession. It is not known where the latter now exists. It is inscribed—*S' henr' principis Wall' duc' acquit' lancast' et cornub' comes cestr' de d'nio de kermerdyn.* On the great seal of Henry IV. the coat of France is semy of fleurs-de-lys, but on his tomb at Canterbury it appears with three fleurs-de-lys only, as on this seal of Prince Henry, and on his Great Seal as Henry V. The princes of Wales had their Chancery and Exchequer for South Wales at Caermarthen.

By Mr. JOSEPH BELDAM.—Two brass matrices of Customers' seals for wools and hides, being the obverses of the seals for Lincoln and Caermarthen, *z.* Edward I. The reverses are actually in the British Museum, having been presented by the Lords of the Treasury with the concurrence of Lord Monteagle, comptroller of the Exchequer. They had formed part of the ancient treasures of the Exchequer, found in the Pix Chamber in June, 1842. See Mr. Black's description of these seals in the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. i. p. 130. The following description of the seals for Caermarthen may serve to indicate the type of all these seals.—Obv. an escutcheon in bold relief, charged with three lions. ✠ *SIGILL' EDWARDI REGIS ANGL' APVD KERMERDYN.* Rev.—*PRO LANIS ET COREIS LIBERANDIS.*

Annual London Meeting.

The Annual Meeting took place on May 15, OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair. The accompanying Balance-sheet, with the Auditors' Report, was then submitted and approved:

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1855.

WE, the undersigned, having examined the Accounts (with the Vouchers) of the ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, for the year 1855, do hereby certify that the same do present a true statement of the Receipts and Payments for that year; and from them has been prepared the following abstract, dated this 15th day of May, 1856.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1855.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1854	37	12	11			
" In Secretary's hands	2	17	2			
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears	40	10	1			
Entrance Fees	601	13	0			
Life Compositions	31	10	0			
Receipts for Sale of Works published by the Institute	42	0	0			
Donations in aid of Illustrations to Journal	92	8	6			
Net Balance, Shrewsbury Meeting, with Donations in aid of Local Expenses	10	0	0			
	125	4	2			

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Expenses:						
House Rent	100	0	0			
Secretary's Salary (three quarters)	112	10	0			
Stationery	7	5	9			
Coals	6	14	0			
				286	9	9
Publication Account:						
Printing Archaeological Journal	400	0	0			
Drawing and Engraving	116	2	3			
Lithography	13	4	0			
				529	6	3
Petty Cash Disbursements:						
Housekeeper's wages and disbursements	24	4	6			
Attendant	19	10	0			
Expenses of issue of Journals	26	18	3			
Insurance of Rooms, Library, &c.	8	0	0			
Sundries, including Purchase of Books, Postage, Carriage of Objects Exhibited at Meetings, Lighting, &c.	17	12	0			
				91	4	9
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1855	57	9	9			
Deduct, advanced per Secretary for Petty Cash Disbursements	21	4	9			
				36	5	0
				£243	5	9

Audited, and found correct, May 15, 1856:

(Signed)
 SYDNEY G. R. STRONG.
 AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS
 (For W. P. HAMOND).

Submitted and approved,
 May 15, 1856.

O. MORGAN,
 Vice-President.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, relating to the History and Antiquities of the County, published by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. viii. London : John Russell Smith. 1856. 8vo.

It has often been said, in discouragement of local societies of this kind, that they must soon exhaust their materials, and then their publications will dwindle into insignificance. Whatever truth there may be in this remark, the present volume affords no evidence of it. Here we have the eighth volume of the Sussex Society, whose existence dates only from the latter part of 1846, as full of appropriate and interesting subjects as any of the former ; nor can it be said that there is any falling off in the ability with which the papers are written. A friendly spirit pervades the Society, which is very commendable, and worthy of imitation. We find acknowledgments of suggestions and assistance from various quarters and in divers ways ; especially deserving of mention is the contribution of illustrative drawings from the pencils of several ladies. It is gratifying to see their artistic skill so usefully employed ; and it must be agreeable, we doubt not, to them to find so praiseworthy an application of their talents of this kind, and to have such permanence given to the results. For the want of a little more care on the part of the printers, some of the wood cuts are over-printed, and full justice has not been done to the artists or the engraver. This might have been easily avoided, and we trust it will be in future. Before proceeding to the contents we must acknowledge our obligations to the Committee for permission to use the blocks with which this notice of the volume is illustrated.

Mr. M. A. Lower has contributed a paper on the Scrase family, now represented by Mr. Scrase Dickens ; in which is introduced a brief notice of the dilapidated Church of Blachington, near Brighton, where some of the family resided, with two views of its present state. These ruins deserve the attention of any ecclesiologist, who may happen to visit that neighbourhood. They are easy of access from Brighton.

The Rev. C. Gaunt has furnished an account of a recently discovered brass at Ticehurst, which now commemorates John Wybarn, Esq., who died 5 Henry VII. (1490), and his two wives, one on each side. The peculiarity of it is, that the husband is in the bascinet, camail, jupon, &c. of about 1400, while the two wives, who are only half his height, are in the costume of the reign of Henry VII. The rational inference from this would seem to be, that the principal figure had originally commemorated some knight who died about 1400, and was appropriated nearly a century afterwards to its present purpose ; and that the two wives were then added, but of smaller size because of the limited space that was available for them on the slab. In this view of the subject, which seems to have been suggested to Mr. Gaunt, he does not acquiesce ; but opposes it by suppositions and conjectures that we think improbable. However, it is not easy to collect his

serious meaning, and we could have wished the subject, as it deserved, had been differently treated. We regret that our space does not allow us to reproduce the woodcut of this brass. The interest of the paper is increased by some particulars of John Wybarn's family, and extracts from his will and that of his widow, who directed her executors to buy a convenient stone to lay upon the grave of her husband and herself.

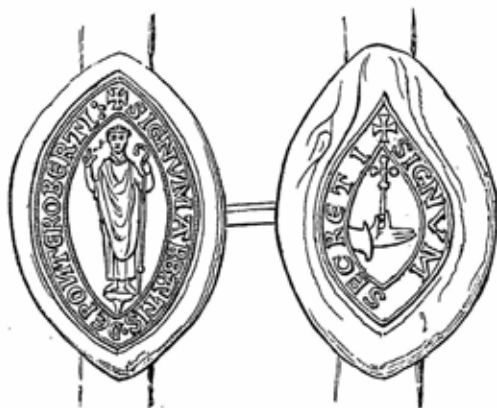
The next article is by the Rev. Edward Turner on Sedgwick Castle, a ruin near Horsham. Small castles seem to have been unusually numerous in Sussex, and some of them may have been intended as occasional residences in the forest districts for their owners, while engaged in the pleasures of the chase at a distance from their principal castles; but it is not easy to explain, why any of such smaller ones should have been so well defended as Sedgwick appears to have been; for it had an inner and an outer moat. Probably wooden houses existed outside the outer moat, which were protected by a palisade. This would account for the situation of the well. These small castles would be a fit subject for a future paper. Mr. Turner has also supplied a short paper on the College of Saxon foundation at Bosham.

From Mr. Blaauw we have three contributions, the most remarkable of which is that on "Dureford Abbey, its fortunes and misfortunes, with some particulars of the Premonstratensian Order." The chartulary, which is among the MS. treasures in the British Museum, has been turned to good account: the gradual increase of the possessions has been traced, and the means by which many of them were acquired. One noticeable mode, as illustrative of the age, was by lending money to small proprietors to free them from the Jews, and then, with little less mercy than they practised, taking possession when the mortgages were forfeited. For some years this Abbey seems to have been very thrifty, but at length its turn to borrow came, and it was glad to raise money by granting corrodies, *i.e.* certain daily allowances of meat and drink, with sometimes lodging, firing, and lights, during the lives of those by whom adequate sums were advanced. The mention of candles has led to the introduction of a woodcut, which we give in the margin, as exemplifying the candle and candlestick formerly in common use in Sussex, and still occasionally found in cottages, and the dairies and kitchens of farm-houses. The candle is, in fact, the inner part of a rush dipped in melted grease, and when burning it is held in a kind of spring nippers, so that it can be easily raised as occasion requires. This example was $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; but the "rushstick" or holder varies in form, and is sometimes made to hang by a hook. Little now remains of this Abbey beside a few detached pieces of architectural decoration, and numerous fragments of ornamental tiles. Some of the former are engraved; and from the latter several of the most rare, including the heraldic, have been ingeniously completed and arranged by Mr. A. W. Franks, so as to form an illustrative page. Beside important materials for a genealogist of the



Husseys, this paper contains some curious information on various subjects ; especially the ceremony of electing, inducting, and installing an Abbot of the Order of Premonstre. Such of our readers as are intent on campanology will be interested in learning that there were eight bells in 1417, when they were destroyed by lightning, and that in the next year five had been restored, the respective weights of which are recorded. Mr. Blaauw's second contribution is on some Anglo-Saxon charters of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, showing the condition of Sussex at that time, divided as it was into several small states. The mention of Biochandonne and Cealtborgsteal led to an endeavour to identify these localities ; as to the former, it appears to have been successful. The third is "Extracts from Iter Sussexiense of Dr. John Burton," an amusing narrative written in Greek of a journey into Sussex about the middle of the last century.

Another Abbey, that of Robertsbridge, has furnished the Rev. George Miles Cooper with the subject of a paper. Some recently discovered deeds, which had long lain hid among the archives of the Sidneys at Penshurst, have supplied some new material for his purpose. If we rightly understand him, he has had the use of transcripts only, which is to be regretted. A few things, which would be a little unaccountable otherwise, may, perhaps, be due to his not having had the opportunity of consulting the originals. This paper is liberally illustrated. We avail ourselves of the permission accorded to us, to present to our readers the Seal of the Abbey, and that of one of the Abbots, with their respective reverses. The former, (see next page), though attached to the Surrender of the Abbey to King Henry VIII., appears to be from a matrix of the XIIIth century. The latter is remarkable as not



Privy Seal of the Abbot of Robertsbridge.

giving the Christian name of the Abbot : it may therefore have been used by more than one. It has been engraved from a drawing by Howlett, taken in 1835 from a seal attached to a deed without date, supposed to be of the XIVth century. The absence of date, as well as the character of the seal, would have led us to expect to find the deed to be of the preceding century. Mention is made at p. 150 of a Seal of Ralph de Issodun, Earl of Eu, in right of his wife the Countess Alice, whose seal is engraved in the eleventh volume of this Journal, p. 369, and on the reverse of his seal there is said to be a shield of arms barry of five, which is not



ROBERTSBRIDGE ABBEY, SUSSEX.

Seal and Countersal, from the Surrender, dated April 16, 1538.

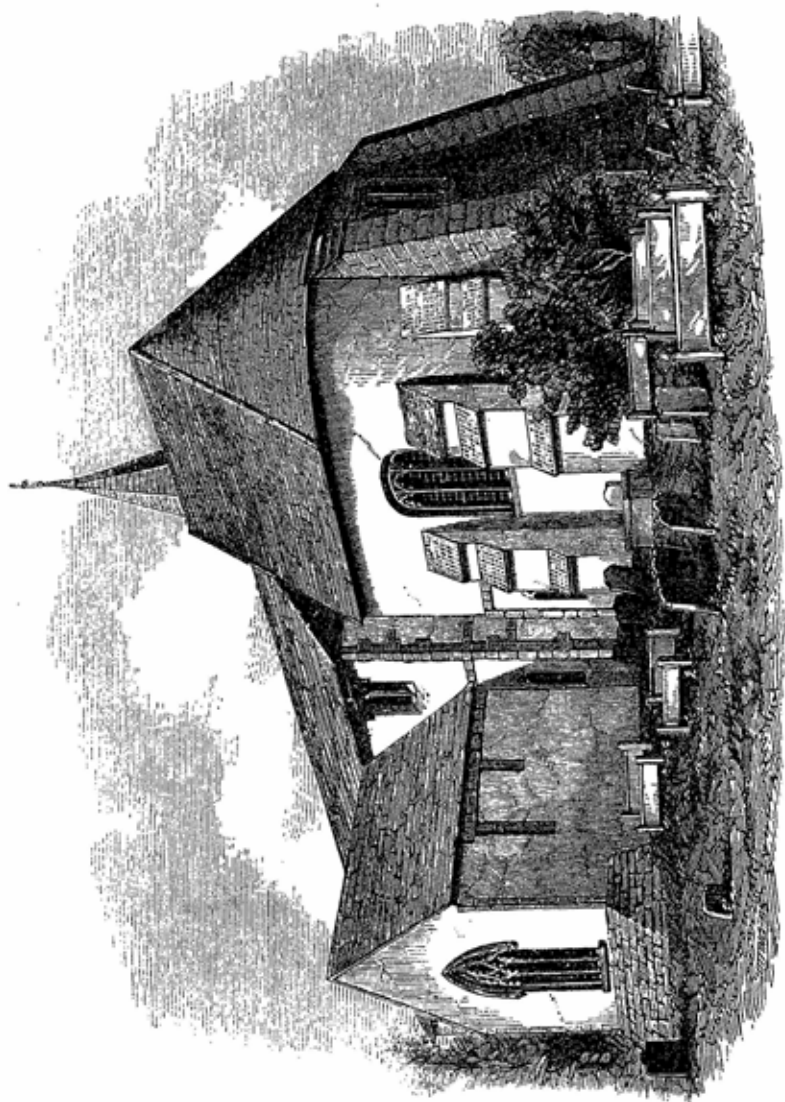
quite intelligible, because barry must be of an even number ; and there is no label mentioned, an omission that is singular, since the arms on the widow's seal have one. The head of his family, that of Lusignan, as stated in the notice of her accompanying her seal, bore barry arg. and azure. We attach no importance to the number of bars or pieces barwise, but as he was a cadet, he is not likely to have borne that coat without any difference. It would be desirable to know something more of this seal. There is also a cut of the seal of Alfred de St. Martin, one of the founders. The other illustrations are chiefly architectural ; most of their originals have perished, as the scattered ground-plan shows. Mr. G. M. Cooper has gleaned some forgotten particulars of the Abbey and its benefactors, and restored the names of a few abbots that had been lost. Some transaction having taken place in the presence of Eleanor, the Queen of Henry III., the story, started we believe by Miss Strickland, and adopted by Lord Campbell, of this Queen having been Lady Keeper of the Great Seal, has been revived in a note. Mr. G. M. Cooper probably was not aware of what had been said on that subject in the third vol. of this Journal. p. 275, *et seq.*

In a valuable genealogical paper, Mr. W. Durrant Cooper has given some account of the family of Braose of Chesworth, and of that of Hoo, with reference to two monuments in Horsham Church in memory of members of those families. He has shown the connection of these Braoses with the elder branch, whence the Lords of Bramber, and also with the junior, which was located at Wiston. He mentions in the pedigree Sir Giles, a half brother of the Sir William of Bramber, who died in 1326. Sir Giles died in 1305, and it is not generally known that a sepulchral effigy of him, now much mutilated, lies in the belfry of Horton Church, Dorset, in which parish he had property. The arms on the shield are crusily a lion rampant charged on the shoulder with a fleur de lis ; which agree with those ascribed to him in the Roll. t. Edw. II. Though he died before Sir William, and left a son, Thomas, this child was then an infant, and probably died young and issueless, as Mr. W. Durrant Cooper



seems to have assumed. Of the Hoo family, the most distinguished members appear to have been Sir William, who served three kings, and died in 1410, aged seventy-five, and his grandson, Thomas, who was created Lord Hoo. In the margin we give the seal of this Sir William, attached to a document dated in 1392, a good example of the period. The arms below the helmet are Hoo, the others are Andeville, St. Leger, St. Omer, and Malmaims. The crowned M over the last is remarkable, and also the place of the motto, *bien aqiert*. Thomas Lord Hoo distinguished

himself both as a civilian and a soldier. He died in 1455 without male issue. An amended copy of his will is given, that in the *Testamenta Vetusta* being in several places incorrect. In another paper Mr. W. Durrant Cooper has furnished some notices of Winchelsea in and after the XVth century, with an account and pedigree of the Oxenbridge family.

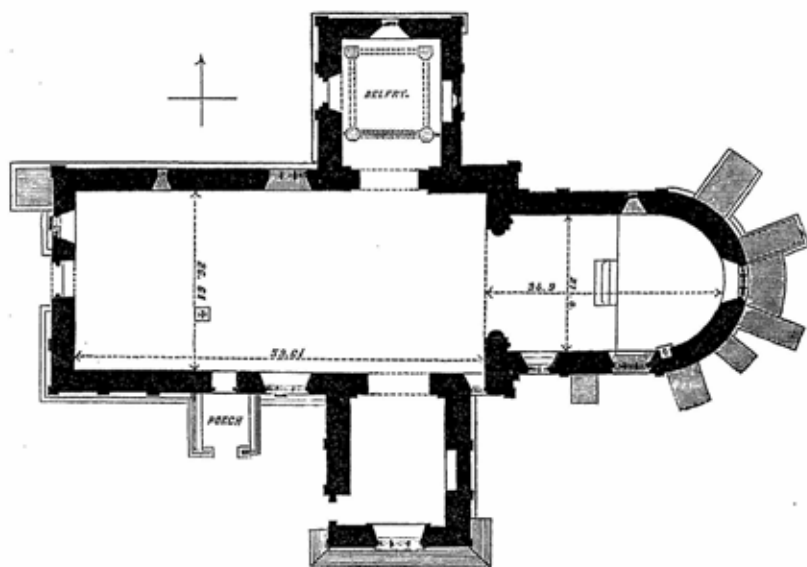


WORTH CHURCH, SUSSEX: View from the south-east.

These may be considered as supplemental to his History of Winchelsea.

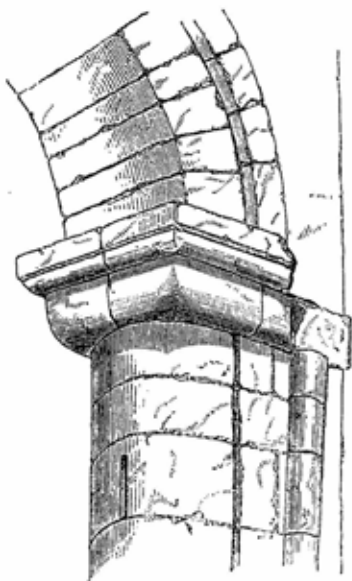
The Rev. Thomas Medland has furnished extracts from an old Book kept in the church chest at Steyning, and still used for entering the churchwardens' accounts and other important matters connected with the parish. The occurrence of the word "Bryde-paist" has afforded an opportunity for offering an explanation of this portion of ornamental attire for the head. The word had been much misapprehended by recent writers.

There is a paper by Mr. W. S. Walford on Worth Church; one well known by name, at least, to many of our readers, as it occurs in most of the lists of churches which are supposed to have some portions of them Anglo-Saxon. We are glad to be able to give a print of the exterior from the south-east after a photograph by Dr. Diamond; and a ground plan, with



dimensions, the additions of buttresses and masonry, undoubtedly of later date, being distinguished by linear shading; and also a woodcut of the east side of the north capital of the chancel arch, from a drawing by Mr. A. Nesbitt. On examining the ground-plan, which has been reduced from one made by Mr. F. T. Dollman for the Society, certain small exterior projections at the corners, and on all sides, except the north side of the nave, will be observed. These are the coins and the pilasters, or remains of pilasters, which were placed on a graduated base or plinth near the ground, and supported a stringcourse about half the height of the wall. They are of what may be called long and short work, but the alternations of long and short are not so marked as is usual in work so designated. Two only of these pilasters remain entire: they are near the south-west corner of the nave. There is no tower: what in the print looks like a small spire, is a modern belfry

erected over the north transept. The doorways are decorated, except those into the transepts which are modern. The windows are of various dates and styles, but none earlier than the XIIIth century, unless a small one on the east side of the north transept be an exception. The most striking feature in the interior is the chancel arch. It is 14 feet 1 inch in span, semicircular, and of a single order, measuring 22 feet 5½ inches at its highest point from the floor. It springs at the height of about 15 feet 6 inches from massive semicircular jambs with remarkable imposts or capitals, each consisting of a flat cushion and a square abacus, with an intervening quarter-round moulding. The piers and arch are about 3 feet thick, exclusive of the mouldings; and the stones, of which they are constructed, extend through the whole thickness. The work is deficient in the neatness and regularity characteristic of Norman masonry; and there is a want of parallelism and similarity in parts which should have been respectively parallel and alike. Something of this is apparent in the accompanying cut.



The transepts communicate with the nave by semicircular arches springing from square jambs of irregular masonry, with imposts, now much mutilated, which seem to have consisted of two members each, the upper projecting beyond the lower; both were probably square and plain; and a plain square moulding descends from them to the floor on the inner side in a corresponding situation to the half round moulding on the east side of the chancel arch, which is shown in the woodcut of the capital. These arches are about 8 feet 8 inches in span, and rise to 14 feet 7 inches above the floor. The square imposts and mouldings suggest the idea of their having been left in block. There is no documentary evidence of the church earlier than the XIIIth century, but Mr. W. S. Walford concurs with Mr. Bloxam, Mr. Sharpe, and others, who have come to the conclusion that it is substantially an Anglo-Saxon building; and what is rare, that there has been no deviation from the original ground-plan; though without doubt there have been great repairs at various times, and windows and doorways inserted, and the roof throughout replaced by a modern one. Still he sees no good reason for believing it to be of earlier date than the first half of the XIth century. The font, of which there is a woodcut, is singular; for it consists of two of nearly the same date, neither later than the XIIIth century, placed one on the other, the lower serving as a base to the upper, and yet there is no incongruity that suggests the fact of there being two fonts.

To this volume, after some "Notes and Queries" relating to local subjects, there is added the Catalogue of the Antiquities exhibited at the Museum formed during the meeting of the Archaeological Institute, held

at Chichester in July, 1853. In the previous volume produced by the Sussex Society a General Report of the Proceedings on that occasion had been given, as a record of the friendly participation of the two Societies in their prosecution of a common purpose, and comprising notices of various matters of local interest. This Report, accompanied by the Catalogue of the Museum, which contains numerous interesting illustrations of local antiquities, has been published in a separate form by Mr. J. Russell Smith. Such a memorial of the Chichester Meeting cannot fail to be acceptable to many, as well members of the Institute, as others, who may not have joined the ranks of the Archaeologists of Sussex.¹

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. I. Edinburgh, 1852-54. Printed for the Society. Small 4to, 312 pp. Plates and numerous woodcuts.

AMONGST the earliest of those combined endeavours for the promotion of archaeological investigations, which have taken in recent years so extended a development, in almost every part of the United Kingdom, the Antiquaries of Scotland may justly claim an honourable precedence. The infancy of such antiquarian confederations in our country was fostered by the patient research and the genial patriotism of that great leader in untrodden paths, whom we still delight familiarly to hail as the "Nourrice of Antiquity." It were no uninteresting task to trace, from the days of Camden and his learned associates, the small beginnings of that extensive movement, which in our own times has taken so wide a range of energetic operation and influence on popular opinion. Through the length and breadth of the land there is now scarce any locality, or any special department of historical and antiquarian inquiry, unprovided with its associated band of kindred spirits, united for the special purpose of prosecuting their purpose by friendly co-operation, more efficiently than can ever be done by any individual efforts.

It is with no ordinary interest, however, that we address our attention to the position and the prospects of archaeology in North Britain. As we observed on a former occasion, the impulse to which we may undoubtedly trace the growing taste for archaeological investigation, not only in our own country, but throughout Europe, is to be sought in the wizard's spell which emanated from Abbotsford. It has been truly remarked by one of the most acute of modern writers on the subject under consideration, that though not exactly the source which we might expect to give birth to the transition from profitless dilettantism to the intelligent spirit of scientific investigation, yet it is unquestionable that Sir Walter Scott was the first of modern writers "to teach all men this truth, which looks like a truism, and yet was as good as unknown to writers of history and others, till so taught—that the bygone ages of the world were actually filled by living men."²

¹ Report of the Transactions at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Chichester, 1853, with a general notice of Memoirs, and a detailed catalogue of the temporary Museum. Published for the Archaeological Institute. London: J. Russell Smith, 8vo. This volume, ranging

with the series of Annual Transactions of the Institute, may be obtained through any bookseller.

² Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. v., p. 301, second edit., cited by Dr. Wilson "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," p. xi.

It was not until 1780 that any institution of a permanent character was organised in Scotland for the special purpose of antiquarian and historical research. It is not our present purpose to pass in review in any detail the earlier efforts of the Society, the foundation of which, at that period, originated with the Earl of Buchan, who appears to have taken the most lively interest in its establishment, and through whose liberality a suitable place was speedily provided for the formation of a museum. Thus fortunately a depository was established for the preservation of numerous reliques, the nucleus of those important and highly instructive collections actually in the possession of the Society. The scheme of operations, sketched out with considerable ability by the noble founder, the progress of the institution, and its beneficial results in stimulating a taste for inquiries connected with National History and Ancient Vestiges, may be found fully recorded in the earlier publications.³ Nor can we here omit to advert to the brief but interesting sketch of the growth of the Society and of its museum, prefixed to the Synopsis of that Collection, which we owe to the exertions of one of the most energetic and enlightened of our fellow-labourers in the cause of National Antiquities, Daniel Wilson. The loss which archaeological and ethnological science has sustained in the untimely removal of so able and intelligent a votary to a distant country, is deeply to be regretted.

The earlier publications of the Antiquaries of Scotland form four quarto volumes, comprising a large amount of valuable information relating to the ancient vestiges from time to time discovered in North Britain, illustrations of historical incidents, popular customs and superstitions, with the record of numerous observations and curious facts brought under the notice of the Society from its formation in 1780, through a period of rather more than half a century. The Memoirs are, with very few exceptions, exclusively illustrative of the Antiquities, Secular and Ecclesiastical, of Scotland; but they comprise many matters of essential value to the archaeologist, more especially in connection with the obscure period of our earlier remains.

The seventy-second session of the society was a memorable period in its history; a crisis from which may be traced the renewal of energetic and well organised co-operation. Those who, like Mr. Turnbull and other devoted historical enquirers and archaeologists, for some years had exerted their best efforts to sustain the vitality of the institution in adverse times, are to be remembered with cordial commendation. It was not, however, until 1852 that the Society found themselves in a position to resume the regular publication of their Transactions, and wisely resolved to commit to Mr. David Laing and Dr. Wilson the preparation of abstracts of the proceedings of each session, in a smaller and less costly form than had previously been adopted, accompanied with illustrations of objects of special interest. They reserved the power of printing in full hereafter such memoirs as might appear desirable to form a continuation of the "*Archaeologia Scotica*," as often as the funds of the society should render such publication advisable. It is to these "*Proceedings of the Society*," of which the first volume has recently been completed, that we would take occasion to invite the attention of our members, on the eve of their visit to the interest-

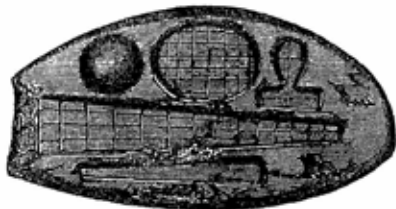
³ See Mr. Smellie's "*Account of the Institution and progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*," and the de-

tailed narrative drawn up, in 1831, by Dr. Hibbert and Mr. D. Laing, appended to vol. iii. of the Transactions.

ing scenes of so many heart-stirring memories, of so many memorable deeds of bold daring and devoted patriotism.

The volume before us commences with the anniversary meeting in November, 1851, and the address of Dr. Wilson, on the future prospects of the Society, and the result of long-pending negotiations for the establishment of the collections on the footing of a National Museum, thus securing permanent accommodation for those collections and for the meetings of the Society in some suitable public Institution. It must be a subject of great regret, that the pledge then given of the tardy assent of government to establish in the Scottish capital a museum of historical antiquities, still remains unfulfilled. We cannot doubt that, remarkable as are the collections amassed within the insufficient space of the rooms now occupied by the Society, their value, as an instructive exemplification of the vestiges of every period in North Britain, would be speedily augmented to an important extent, if a depository were provided, worthy of the national character of such a museum. We might then, possibly, see united in such a national depository, many of those precious relics of ancient art, not less remarkable through the historical or personal associations connected with them; such, for instance, as the Dunvegan Mether, of which we find a notice by Dr. Wilson, in the "Proceedings" before us. It has been described with more critical accuracy by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 79, on the occasion of its exhibition, through the kindness of the present possessor, Norman Mac Leod, Esq., at one of the meetings of the Institute. Of another highly interesting example of early workmanship in metal, the Guthrie Bell, an heir-loom of the Guthrie family, an engraving is given in the volume under consideration (p. 55).

"Amid the increasing zeal for the advancement of knowledge (as Dr. Wilson has well observed) the time appears to have at length come for the thorough elucidation of Primeval Archaeology as an element in the history of man."⁴ Numerous are the examples of vestiges of the earlier races, their implements or weapons, of which notices may be found in these "Proceedings," as also of the daring enterprise of the Roman invader. A detailed description will be found of the remarkable hoard of *denarii*, including the entire imperial series from Nero to Severus, discovered in Fifeshire, in 1851; as also notices of altars and inscriptions found at Newstead and Castle Cary, camps, remains of buildings, with many other traces of Roman occupation in North Britain. Amongst the vestiges of the earlier period, it is believed, the curious mould, of serpentine, found in Ayrshire, may be classed (See woodcut). It measures 16½ inches by 9½, the greatest thickness being about 2½ inches. It is difficult to comprehend the purpose of the objects which this rudely fashioned mould was destined to produce; amongst them are certain implements, bearing some analogy to the simpler types of the celt. It is worthy of remark that a stone mould presenting features of similarity to this, in regard to the forms of implements

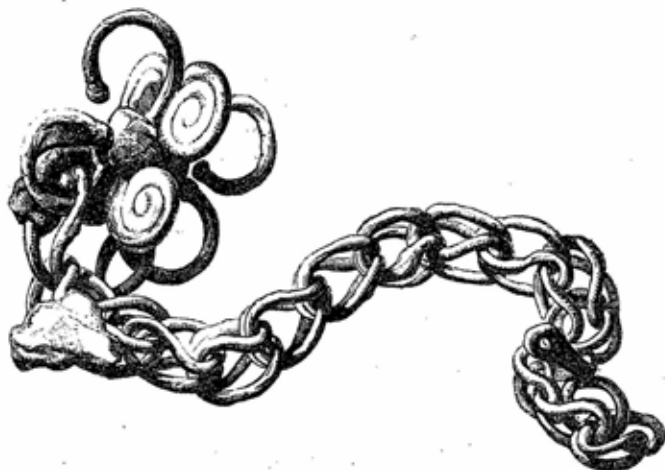


⁴ "Prehistoric Annals," p. xii.

which it was intended to supply, has been found in Ireland, and is now in the collection of our noble President, Lord Talbot, by whose kindness it was exhibited in the museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury Meeting. These reliques of early metallurgical industry in the British Islands are of great curiosity; another stone mould, but obviously of a much later period, is figured in the "Proceedings," p. 125; it is suited for casting buckles of various sizes. Amongst the stone reliques rarely found south of the Tweed, we may here notice the curious "Druidical Pateræ," of which, by



the friendly permission of the Society, we are enabled to present the accompanying representation to our readers. They have been discovered in various positions, within stone circles, and in "Pictish Forts." They are formed of soft calcareous stone, or of steatite. Such vessels are still used in the Faroe Islands as lamps or chafing-dishes, and on the northern shores of Scotland such "Druidical" appliances may have served the like homely purpose even to a comparatively late period. A good Scottish example was placed in our museum at the Chichester Meeting by the kind-



ness of His Grace the Duke of Richmond; and at Shrewsbury another, found in the Isle of Man, was brought under the notice of the Institute by the Rev. J. G. Cumming. (See p. 104, *ante*, in this volume of the Journal.)

Amongst reliques of bronze, notices occur of celts, spears and swords, found in various parts of Scotland ; of *patellæ*, of *lares*, and productions partaking of an artistic character. The curious fragment of a large iron chain, 27 inches in length (see woodcut), was discovered in Berwickshire, with large culinary vessels of bronze, a Roman *patella* and ornaments, iron hammers or pick-axes, and mechanical tools, an iron lamp-stand, and other reliques of the Roman age. The remarkable resemblance of the object above represented to the massive iron chain discovered by Mr. Neville at Chesterford, as described by him in this Journal, (p. 4, *ante*, pl. 3.) claims our notice ; whilst the cause of the concealment, in this instance on clay below peat, to which the preservation of the metal is probably due, may have occurred under similar circumstances to that of the deposit brought to light through Mr. Neville's researches. An object of interesting character is the bronze sheath here figured, (length 5½ in.) found with four leaf-shaped swords and a large spear-head, all of bronze, on Lord Panmure's estates in Forfarshire.



The first-mentioned object has been regarded in Scotland as the end, or *bouterolle*, of the scabbard of a sword, and is described as unique amongst Scottish remains. A relique of the same class, found in the river Isis, has been figured in this Journal (vol. x. p. 259. fig. on the left side of the page, inadvertently there described as found in the Thames). It is now in the British Museum, with other examples from the Thames, one of them recently acquired with Mr. Roach Smith's museum, and figured in his catalogue, p. 81. In the bronze sheath, now in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, the peculiarity occurs, noticed by Mr. Franks in some of the specimens found in England (Archæol. Journ., vol. xii. p. 201). There are round holes at about mid-length, near the central ridge, not pierced one opposite the other, so as to form a perforation through the sheath, but alternately, that on one side being on the dexter side of the central ridge, that on the reverse on the sinister side. The cause of this singular adjustment has not been explained.

Amongst other ancient reliques of an interesting description noticed in this volume there are various objects of mediæval date, ecclesiastical, sepulchral, sculptured crosses and monuments, coins, seals, &c. We are enabled to give the representation of a singular fragment found near Newstead, Roxburghshire, part of an incised slab, on which the sword appears, with certain objects which we are surprised to find thus associated—apparently, a mason's square, and a pair of compasses. It may be conjectured that these were symbols of freemasonry ; and the initials a p have been regarded as possibly commemorative of a person of the Pringle family, a common name in that locality. The imperfect state of this curious sepulchral fragment, however, prevents our forming any certain conclusion regarding the intention of the symbols in question. The square may possibly be the termination of a kind of staff, such as occurs on a cross slab at Woodhorn, Northumberland, figured in Dr. Charlton's Memoir

in this Journal, vol. v., p. 257 ; as also at Lanchester, and with a sword, on a slab in the county of Durham. It may possibly be a symbol of pilgrimage.



The compasses on the fragment here represented may be the shears, a symbol which Dr. Charlton has shewn to designate the memorial of a female. Amongst the interesting examples noticed by him in the Northern counties, it may be observed that the hammer and pincers occur combined with the sword. Many examples of these sepulchral slabs may be found in Mr. Cutt's Manual illustrating that class of memorials, and the numerous forms of sepulchral crosses.

Several other reliques of this description are noticed in the first volume of the Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries. We may notice the

incised slab found by Mr. John Stuart in a grave near Dunrobin Castle, and bearing the mysterious symbols of the fish, the comb, and the mirror, so frequently found on sculptured crosses in North Britain. The attention of archaeologists was first called to that remarkable class of early Christian monuments through the series of examples in the county of Angus, a publication which we owe to the munificence of a lamented and highly gifted antiquary, the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers. A notice of that valuable work was given in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 86. Numerous sculptured slabs of most curious character exist in the more remote parts of Scotland, and may be classed amongst the most interesting vestiges in that country. We look forward with high satisfaction to the complete collection of these sculptures, now on the eve of publication, the result of the research and intelligent devotion to the elucidation of National antiquities in North Britain evinced by Mr. Stuart, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The collector of mediæval seals will find a rich supply of admirable examples in Scotland, which have been brought within his reach through the labours of Mr. Henry Laing, who has long enjoyed the encouragement and friendly cooperation of Mr. Cosmo Innes and other able enquirers into monastic antiquities, family history, and the documentary treasures preserved in many repositories in North Britain. The extent and varied character of the Sphragistic series collected by Mr. Laing, is fully set forth in his "Catalogue of Impressions from Scottish Seals."⁵ By the kindness of the Society we are enabled to place before our readers representations of one of the most artistic and delicately wrought examples. It is the Chapter-seal of Brechin, a brass matrix of the highest class of art in the XIIIth century, as shewn in these exquisitely elaborated productions. The reverse of the matrix is enriched with foliage in high relief, issuing from a

⁵ This interesting catalogue (published in Edinburgh in 1850, 4to.) is copiously illustrated, and comprises 1248 examples of royal, baronial, ecclesiastical and municipal seals. It may be acceptable to the

collector to be informed that sulphur casts or glass matrices of any of these seals may be purchased at moderate cost from Mr. H. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Edinburgh.

grotesque head of an animal, perforated to admit a small cord or chain for suspension. The matrix has been recently presented to the Museum of the



Antiquaries of Scotland. An account of it, accompanied by woodcuts from the delicate pencil of Mr. H. Shaw, was given in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries of London, vol. xxxv. p. 487. In the Museum at Edinburgh, many matrices of interest will be found, and amongst them there is one of very unusual description, found near Edinburgh on the eastern slope of Arthur's Seat. (See woodcut.) It displays a turbaned head, with an inscription in Hebrew characters, containing the name Solomon Bar Isaac, probably the ancient owner of the seal, with some words of which no satisfactory interpretation has been given. It is not easy to reconcile the device of the human head with the supposition that this relic belonged to an Israelite, since the Jews have always eschewed all such imagery. An engraving of another Hebrew seal, found at Gibraltar, may be seen in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxiii., p. 209. The device is a fleur-de-lis, with six stars, hammer and pincers. A singular matrix of quatrefoiled form, with a Hebrew inscription, and the device of a castle and fleur-de-lis, exists in the British Museum. These seals may have been talismanic or magical.



In a recent contribution to this Journal, the subject of mediæval tissues, hitherto insufficiently noticed in this country, has been brought before our Society by Mr. Burges. (See p. 139, *ante*.) Examples of early date are of the greatest rarity. The woodcuts here given represent portions of silken bands, woven with gold or silver thread, found in the tomb of one of

the bishops of Ross, in the Cathedral of Fortrose. The narrow band was bound round the body, from head to foot; the broader band was wound round the neck, having attached to it an object resembling a long seal, lying on the left breast. These curious bands, here figured half the actual size, preserve, probably, the tradition of the peculiar designs of the Oriental looms, in the characteristic ornament known amongst the Byzantine artificers as the *Gammadion*, and still prevalent on many of the decorative appliances of the Greek Church.



The foregoing notices may suffice to invite attention to the Proceedings of the kindred Society in the Northern metropolis. Through their friendly invitation the Institute will ere long cross the Border, on no hostile raid, as in times of olden jealousies and spoliation, now happily for ever passed away. On no former occasion, perhaps, since the establishment of the Institute, has a more advantageous opportunity been presented to us for the extension of friendly relations, and that mutual interchange of the fruits of toil in the field of Archaeological and Historical enquiry, to which we should ever look as the great benefit accruing from these periodical gatherings, in the systematic direction and impulse which they give to scientific enquiry.

Archaeological Intelligence.

Mr. AKERMAN announces an interesting sequel to his "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," recently completed. It will be entitled "Reliques of the Celtic, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon Periods," and is destined to comprise some of the choicest examples of ancient art of the three periods, selected from various public and private collections. The whole will be issued in 4to parts, at 2s. 6d. each, containing carefully coloured plates accompanied by letter-press descriptions. Subscribers are requested to send their names to Mr. J. Russell Smith, Soho-square.

The exquisite reproductions of carvings in ivory, frequently exhibited at meetings of the Institute by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, have aroused no slight interest in the examples of ancient art, of that class. We invited the attention of our readers on a former occasion to the advantageous arrangement through which these exquisite facsimiles in "Fictile Ivory" may be obtained from the Arundel Society. A catalogue has been recently published by the Society, comprising much important and critical information, and more especially in the valuable Dissertation on art, as exemplified by sculptures in ivory, contributed by Mr. Digby Wyatt.

The precious collection of ivories, heretofore known as the Fejérváry Collection, is known to many of our readers, especially as having been exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Shrewsbury Meeting. The spirited archaeologist, Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., of Liverpool, in whose museum these treasures of ancient art are now preserved, and to whose kind liberality we were indebted for their production at Shrewsbury, has prepared an interesting catalogue of the collection. It is accompanied by an essay on antique ivories, with detailed notices of consular diptychs, which range from the IIIrd to the VIth centuries, by M. Francis Pulszky.

Mr. RICHARD SIMS, compiler of the "Index to all the Pedigrees and arms in the Heraldic Visitations and other Genealogical MSS. in the British Museum," as also of the useful Handbook to the Library of that Institution, announces for immediate publication (by subscription) a Manual for the Genealogist, Topographer, and all who are engaged in antiquarian researches. It will comprise information regarding the depositories of public records, parochial and other registers, wills, heraldic collections in various public libraries, with lists of monastic cartularies, of county and family histories, and general notices of the chief sources of information, of the greatest utility in various researches to which the attention of many of our readers is devoted. Those persons who desire to encourage this useful undertaking, may address the author, 12 Grafton-street East, London University.

The Rev. J. JORDAN, Vicar of Enstone, Oxfordshire, proposes to publish (by subscription) a Parochial History of that Parish, with memorials of certain families of note anciently settled there, its connection with Winchcombe Abbey, with other particulars of interest to the general reader.

We hope on a future occasion to notice several recent publications by societies in various parts of England. The Surrey Archaeological Society has produced the first fasciculus of their Transactions, to which we invited attention in the last number of this Journal. The annual meeting has been lately held successfully at Croydon, and a very interesting assemblage of local antiquities was produced on that occasion. The Essex Archaeological Society has published the first instalment of their Proceedings, comprising an Inaugural Lecture by Professor Marsden; Memoirs on Roman remains discovered at Chelmsford, Colchester, and Coggeshall; on the Roman Sepulture of infants, and the singular usage of depositing their remains in the *suggrundaria*—under the eaves; this curious subject has been here brought before the society by their President, the Hon. Richard Neville, to whose indefatigable research we have frequently been indebted for valuable information regarding the sepulchral usages of the earlier periods. Mr. Ashurst Majendie has contributed notes on Hedingham Castle and the De Vere family, and amongst the illustrations will be found two elaborate woodcuts, representing very successfully the delicately sculptured details of the tomb of John, Earl of Oxford, in Castle Hedingham Church. The fine memorial of this earl, who died in 1539, was brought formerly under our notice through the kindness of Mr. Majendie, who exhibited at our meetings the beautiful drawings prepared by his direction. Amongst other subjects of interest, the Proceedings comprise remarks on the Round Church of Little Maplestead, by Mr. Buckler; on the recently discovered sepulchral brass at Bowers Gifford Church, by Mr. H. W. King (noticed in this Journal, p. 193, *ante*); on mural paintings at East Ham, &c. A representation of a remarkable urn of Castor ware, found at Colchester, is given by the Rev. B. Lodge. It bears inscriptions, with figures of gladiators engaged in combat, and subjects of the chase.

It may be interesting to many readers, who visited the church of Battlefield on the occasion of the generous hospitality with which the Society was welcomed by Mr. Corbett at Haughmond Abbey, during the meeting of the Institute at Shrewsbury, and saw with regret its ruinous condition, that an effort has been made for the conservation of that highly interesting memorial. The funds available for the purpose are inadequate, and any contributions in aid of the undertaking will be received with gratification.

We would invite the attention of members of our Society to the publication, by Mr. J. Russell Smith, of a Memorial of the Transactions at the Chichester Meeting, accompanied by a Catalogue of the temporary Museum, which has been prepared with considerable care and detail, in accordance with the frequent wish of our members, that a permanent record should be preserved of the instructive collections brought together at our annual meetings. The volume may be obtained through any bookseller.

The Annual Meeting of the CAMBRIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION will commence, at Welshpool, on August 18, and will continue throughout the week.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1856.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF PRIMEVAL RELICS.

THE study of that branch of archaeology which relates to the period of man's history, conventionally termed primeval, occupying, as it does, so prominent a place in the antiquarian literature of the age, engrossing, from its obvious importance, so large a share of the attention of many active investigators and societies throughout Europe, and having attained the rank of a substantive science, there is not only a sufficient warrant, but every satisfactory reason, why we should endeavour to trace the introduction of those principles which have advanced it to its present worthy position. For, as an eminent writer has observed, "It is a very great error to suppose that the truths of philosophy are alone important to be learnt by its students; that, provided these truths are taught, it signifies little when or by whom, or by what steps, they were discovered. The history of science, and of the stages by which its advances have been made, is of an importance far beyond its being subservient to the gratification even of an enlightened and learned curiosity."¹

It is true that this species of investigation seems more applicable, and calculated to educe more trenchant results in the case of sciences partaking of the nature of the exact, than when directed to discriminate the progress of any inductive system, which, from its nature as the growing offspring of constantly accumulating facts, is more likely to number among its most successful cultivators, not so much original discoverers in the more marked meaning of the name, as in the

¹ Brougham's *Lives of Men of Letters*, ii., p. 227.

sense of extracting the full significance of, and shaping into harmonious form by the exercise of a rare power of generalisation, the mass of materials which a hundred hands are daily adding to the structure. But although primeval archaeology partakes largely of this character, and, in later years at least, presents the constant and gradual enlarging of its base of operation, coupled with that diversity of theory incident to a speculative inquiry, rather than those distinctly defined stages of advancement which investigations involving the demonstration of absolute verity exhibit, still it so happens that, with respect to this science, it is customary to point to one grand stride, completely separating the old order of things from the new. Here, then, is a change which, as it is sometimes insisted on, is not less salient than the annals of any intellectual pursuit have recorded—a change implying a total revolution in an important inquiry—a change, therefore, of whose nature and origin it is due to ourselves, and to those who were instrumental in bringing it about, that we should possess a clear understanding.

It will be seen that I allude to the promulgation of the systematised classification of ancient relics, which began to be carried out vigorously about forty years ago, and has since given the tone to nearly all subsequent researches and deductions. I do not propose to discuss here the merits of this scheme, as it may be taken for granted that those who hold its doctrines to be stringently accurate, as most Scandinavian, besides some German, antiquaries, as Herr Lisch, continue to find their explorations to warrant, and those who perceive in it only the germs of truth too positively dogmatised, equally acknowledge its valuable influence,—the one recognising in it the advent of a trustworthy guide to the mystery of primeval ages—the other admitting that the method of inquiry which it enjoined, if not cramped by too servile an appeal to an assumed formula, was admirably adapted to bring them within reach of the truth.

Now if it is inquired whence came the dissemination of this system at the period named, it is usual to reply, with justice, from Denmark; and it is quite as frequently added, that it was then an independent creation, or rather a substantive and brilliant discovery of one of the most energetic archaeologists of the time, Privy-councillor C. J. Thomsen. Among others, my distinguished friend, Herr Worsaae, has

expressly attributed this achievement to him, in a communication to the Royal Irish Academy,² and again in his excellent work, "*Zur Alterthumskunde des Nordens*,"³ he explicitly mentions that the idea of classifying antiquities into three periods originated with Mr. Thomsen, and "was first pointed out by him."

I cannot help seeing, however, that in the tribute which is thus so commonly paid to that gentleman's acumen, there appears to be some confusion with regard to the nature of his great services, and that, as often happens, the line which distinguishes the originator of a system from him who first gives it practical effect, has been overlooked. In fact, I do not think there can be a doubt that it is in this latter capacity Mr. Thomsen is so well entitled to take rank, and that the notion of three archaeological periods had been distinctly enunciated long before he began to arrange the humble nucleus of the now magnificent collection at Copenhagen.

Although probably in some degree pertinent to the subject, it would be supererogatory to point to allusions, now so generally familiar, in the pages of some of the oldest extant literature of the world, where a successive development of the nature indicated is an hypothesis more or less minutely implied; but it would hardly be just to omit the compendious theory of progression propounded by Lucretius:—

*Arma antiqua, manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,
Et lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami—
Posterior ferri vis est, ærisque reperta;
Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.*—Lib. v., 1282.

It is true that to statements such as this it might be objected, that they are not always even the embodiment of traditions, much less inferences deduced from observed facts; and that, in the case of Lucretius, just as with other classical poets who sketched the early condition of the human race with more brilliant and fantastic embellishment, he too created an imaginary picture, drawn in harmony with more prosaic, but still purely speculative, views of man's history, and therefore, whether right or wrong, a mere baseless guess.

² *Antiquities of Ireland and Denmark*,
p. 8.

³ Es war der jetzige Etatsrath, C. J.

Thomsen der zuerst die Idee der Theilung
der Alterthümer in drei Perioden gab.
p. 6.

I do not stop to inquire whether this might not be treating with scant justice the intuitive common sense of a writer whose poem contains a considerable amount of wonderfully sound archaeology of the comprehensive kind, which Milton has so grandly introduced in the previsionary conversations between Adam and the angel Michael. But let us pass on to times when professed antiquarian disquisitions abounded, and when, from exhumed relics being brought into evidence, any ethnographical system advanced with reference to them is entitled to claim in its full significance what merit it may possess.

Looking along the prolific stream of antiquarian literature, it would exceed all reasonable bounds to record in detail the glimmerings of rational argument which occasionally break through the almost forgotten masses of conjecture and false induction ; but we must not omit to notice some of the more prominent earlier traces of a tripartite arrangement of primeval relics. A correspondent of Montfaucon's, Professor Iselin of Bâle, when discoursing of some stone celts in 1717, tends towards this division ; but his mode of expression is so vague, that it may be doubtful whether he contemplated any precise definition.⁴ In one of Eccard's volumes, however, "*De Origine et Moribus Germanorum*," published in 1750, the doctrine is stated in plain, succinct terms, while stone and bronze weapons are engraved to illustrate and support it. This writer ridicules the popular belief that the former were thunderbolts ; points out that similar objects were observed by Dampier in use among the wild tribes of America ; and classes them as the primordial means of defence, enjoining, elsewhere, that it must be held as common to all nations, while yet ignorant of metallurgy, that their first arms and implements were of stone. He then adds that these were succeeded by such weapons and ornaments of bronze as he delineates, and developes the same idea in a single sentence, to the effect, that implements of stone were, in ordinary cases, superseded by the manufacture of brass, which was in turn displaced by that of iron.⁵

I do not at present know whether Eccard may be regarded as the first specifically to demonstrate this system with direct reference to examples of primitive art, but he

⁴ *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, v., 198.

⁵ *Op. Cit.* p. 62, et pass.

certainly was not the only writer who, in the same century, adopted the same conclusion. A marked instance is the President Goguet, whose elaborate work, "De l'Origine des Lois," the first edition of which was printed in 1758, contains nearly a whole chapter to this effect. Then, again, two of the most diligent antiquaries of that period in England, Borlase⁶ and Pennant,⁷ indicate the same opinion, although their deductions were not always guided thereby; and a paper by Mr. W. Little, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1791, to a certain extent discusses this question with reference to flint weapons.⁸

It is thus apparent that at least a hundred years ago the weapons and implements of ancient Europe had been referred to three processional epochs, and although there were at the opening of the present century many dissentients, just as there are now on broader principles, and many who, without reference to the writings of predecessors, hazarded all sorts of conjectures, still the classification in question had not the less been distinctly asserted. No doubt Skule Thorlacius was discussing primeval relics, as *simulacra armorum*, typical of Thor's power over elves and evil spirits, while others still continued to view them as mere symbols of the warrior's profession, or the sacred instruments of sacrifice; and hence Mr. Worsaae may, with some reservation, be right in saying, that confused and chaotic opinions prevailed regarding those objects when Mr. Thomsen began his labours; but he is assuredly mistaken in supposing that Mr. Thomsen was the first to enunciate the idea of a subdivision into three periods.

It will, of course, be seen, that I do not advert to the subsequent graft upon this simple outline, the corresponding ascription of sepulchral usages, and still more comprehensive generalisations which, even if we admit their applicability to Scandinavia, in deference to native investigators, are quite untenable with us. It is not to these that I wish to allude, but only to the broad general classification, as being the germ whence so many results have sprung, and which is now never altogether lost sight of, even when strict adherence to axiomatic maxims is most resisted. In hesitating to recognise Mr. Thomsen as its originator, I would not

⁶ Antiquities of Cornwall, 289-90.

⁸ Archæologia Scotica, i. 389.

⁷ Tour in Scotland, passim.

wish for a moment to be regarded as desiring to detract from his just fame. Indeed, it is precisely because his reputation rests upon another foundation, that I have thought it well thus to point out what seems to be a misconception on the subject; for the truth of Lord Brougham's remark is sufficiently apparent, that "The mere panegyric of eminent men must remain wholly worthless at the best, and is capable of being mischievous, if it aims at praise without due discrimination, still more if it awards to one man the eulogy which belongs to another."⁹

If then we apportion to Mr. Thomsen the precise tribute which is so fairly his due, we shall find that modern archaeology has hardly benefited less by his labours than if he had possessed the clearest claims to priority in framing the doctrine whose precepts he so energetically carried out. For, whatever may be the fruit of future researches in confirming or modifying existing inductions, it will always be remembered, that to the Danish antiquary is mainly owing the impulsive movement which first gave just prominence to ancient relics themselves as the actual records of primeval ages, and awakened that more rational mode of investigation, which has since prevailed in nearly every civilised land where such vestiges occur.¹

A. HENRY RHIND.

⁹ Life of Lavoisier.

¹ Read at the Edinburgh Meeting, in July, 1856.

ON THE REMOVAL AND RELAYING OF ROMAN TESSELATED FLOORS.

BY PROFESSOR BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S.

THE remarkable mosaic pavements discovered at Cirencester, in 1849, were so striking in appearance as to lead all who saw them *in situ* to wish for their preservation. As they occurred, however, in the very midst of the most important thoroughfare of the town, it was evident this could not be effected without removal, a process attended with considerable expense, and requiring no little skill and address to take such a mass from its position, so that it might be removed to a more convenient spot, and be ultimately relaid in as perfect a state as at the time when the discovery had taken place. This too had to be achieved in a short time, as the road was inconveniently obstructed by delaying the sewerage works then in progress. In this emergency some gentlemen of the town, foremost among whom was the Rev. Canon Powell, applied to the Earl Bathurst for his counsel and assistance. The noble earl, with his usual generosity, directed that the pavements should be forthwith removed, with a view to their future preservation.

In the meantime, tracings of the floors, as they were gradually explored, were made by Mr. Cox, of Cirencester, assisted by the vicar and some of the professors of the Royal Agricultural College, and even a few of the students shared in the work. A busy scene it was, to see all these volunteers kneeling and patiently tracing, stone by stone, the complicated details, of which the colours in the fresh state were carefully matched by Mr. Cox.

This done, the two fine floors were removed piecemeal, and carefully conveyed to a temporary resting-place with the view of forming ultimately, as they do at this moment, the permanent pavements of a suitable building erected for them by the liberality of the Earl Bathurst, destined to form a Museum of the Roman Antiquities of *Corinium*.

The removal, and an equally important undertaking, the

relaying, of these pavements has been a matter of no small anxiety to those concerned, and as the result shows, has been satisfactorily accomplished, notwithstanding the little information that could be derived from precedents or written descriptions of the processes previously employed. It has been thought advisable that I should bring the subject under the attention of the Institute, detailing step by step the expedients to which we had recourse in accomplishing our object at Cirencester. In connection with these observations it may be advisable to direct attention to the following subjects :—

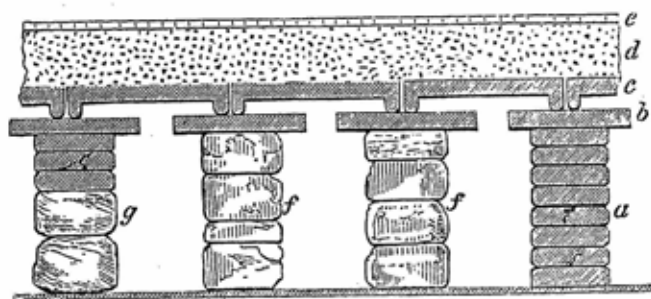
1st. The construction of different kinds of Roman tessellated pavements.

2nd. The operations connected with their removal dependant thereupon.

3rd. Relaying and reparations of removed floors.

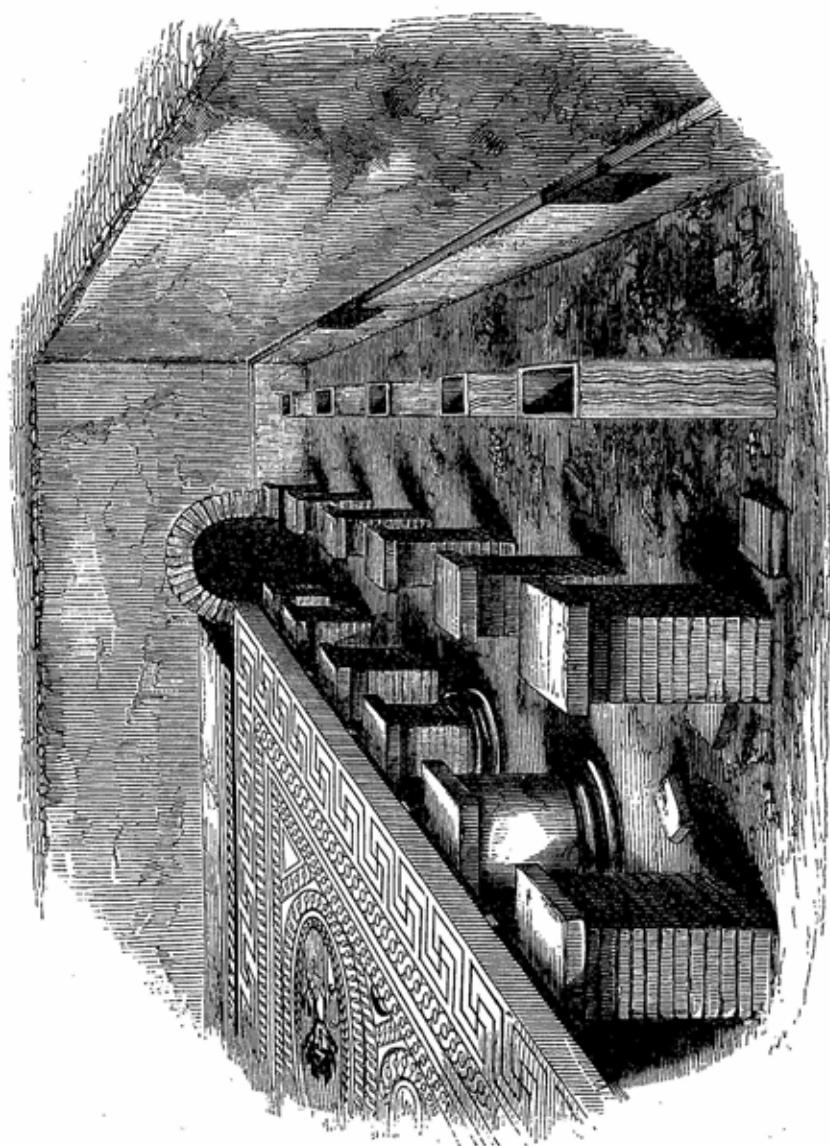
Roman pavements are usually of two descriptions. A finer kind, consisting of various borders and frets employed as a frame-work to pictorial subjects, and usually supported on *pilæ*. A coarser kind composed of frets without pictures, and resting on a solid base, without *pilæ*.

The first of these are designated as *suspensuræ*, being elevated on a number of small supports or pillars, called



Tessellated pavement, laid on flanged tiles. a. *Pilæ* of bricks; b. larger bricks; c. flanged tiles; d. concrete; e. tessellæ; f. *Pilæ* of squared blocks of stone; g. *Pilæ*, part stone and part bricks.

pilæ, composed of different materials, amongst which are hollow bricks, or flue-tiles; solid flat bricks or wall-tiles; blocks of stone, and bases of old columns. Upon these supports a continuous floor was formed, either of large flat tiles of considerable thickness, or of thinner flanged tiles, which are sometimes placed with the flanges upwards, sometimes in the other direction. Upon a floor so prepared was laid



Tessellated floor, laid on a *surgere*, supported on pile formed of different materials, as found at Circuensis.

a thick mass of a very hard concrete, composed of potsherds, gravel, and lime which was made into a smooth terras for the reception of the tessellæ.¹ The various kinds of *pila* found at Cirencester are shown in the accompanying woodcut.

The tessellæ themselves deserve careful attention in all processes connected with their removal, as it will be necessary to restore certain parts that must be displaced in dividing the floor into portions for convenience of transport. All the fragments so taken out, as indeed all loose tessellæ, should be carefully preserved for further use. But besides this, the examples of stone and other materials in our pavements were cautiously investigated by the geologist and the chemist, and their determinations of the kind and nature of the substances employed were found of great use in the restorations subsequently undertaken.

The list of these substances included, besides pottery and glass, stones from the following geological formations:—Chalk; Purbeck Marble; Oolitic stones of various shades of colour; Lias Limestone; New Red Sandstone, and Old Red Sandstone. Some of these, especially the oolites, had evidently been made suitable for different degrees of coloration by some curious processes. These and the preparation of the ruby glass have been more fully set forth in the "Illustrations of Ancient Corinium," by Mr. Newmarch and myself.

As respects the subjects usually pictured, they have reference mostly to mythology and objects connected with the chase. The story of Orpheus is one of those of frequent occurrence; no less than four times has this subject been repeated in different parts of Gloucestershire.

If I might venture a remark upon the construction of these pictures as an art, one would almost be led to think that designs were first made by tolerable artists, and that these in all probability were gradually worked by persons of inferior skill, or even members of the household. There is an unevenness in the working, apparently from having been done at different times, and by various hands. Some of the pavements at Cirencester, moreover, are found in an unfinished state, whilst others, and especially those which we have removed, are patched in several places in a way

¹ The method of constructing tessellated floors will be found more fully explained in the "Illustrations of the remains of

Roman Art, in Cirencester," by Prof. Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, 1850.

that marks reparation at various periods. It may therefore be possible, that these elaborate floors were the result of that kind of patience more recently expended on "Berlin work" and embroidery, a notion which seems in some measure confirmed by the delicate working of sprigs of flowers, endless knots, and intricate guilloches, which characterises the decorations of this class.

The common tessellated floors were formed by smoothing the earth, and upon this was then laid the concrete prepared as above described. Upon this, beautiful geometrical and other patterns were often laid, but seldom any designs comprising figures or subjects of the higher class of art.

Occasionally in excavations at Cirencester I have met with pavements constructed as just described, one over the other, in such a manner as to lead to the inference that the higher floor was formed to escape an inundation, which seems to have visited the valley once in about half a century. In 1833, there was a flood of this kind, when all the cellars in the town were filled with water, and I observed that while the upper of these double floors were beyond the limits of the flood, the lower floor would have been inundated.

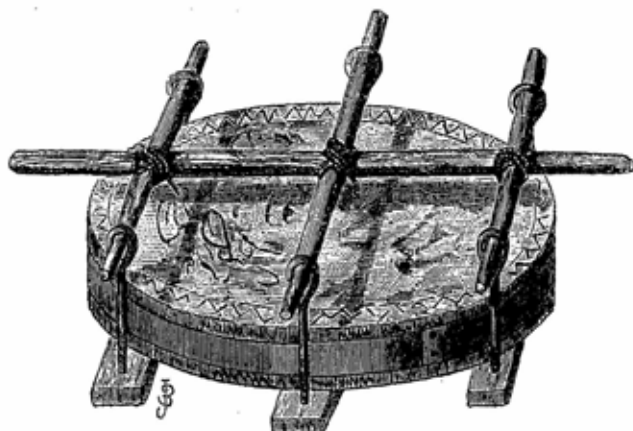
2nd. The two kinds of construction, to which I have briefly adverted, of course necessitated very different methods to be adopted in removal of the pavements. As regards pavements on *pila*, the following was the course pursued :—The first process was to cause the floor to be divided into smaller portions. This was done by removing the rows of white tessellæ from around the circles, semicircles, and quadrants of our two large pavements, and then with chisels and stone-saws cutting through the concrete to the very base of the terras. By these means the pavements were divided into portions of various weights and sizes, which had to be finally prepared for removal.

It is obvious that the edges of these large heavy blocks would be liable to break away, and some of the concrete would unavoidably crumble, in the jolting necessitated by the carriage from one place to another. To prevent the former, a thin coating of plaster of Paris was run over the outer surfaces of the designs, upon which were laid pieces of blue slate. This process, however, in several instances was omitted, but in its stead a hoop of iron was fastened around the edges, a plan which succeeded much better, as the

plaster, on its removal, tore away many of the looser tesserae of the design.

The next step was to pass under the block to be removed slabs of wood, consisting of two or more, according to the size of the portion of pavement. Into these were screwed long iron loop-screws, through the loops of which poles could be passed, and the whole might be lifted either by men or by pulleys, and placed on a truck to be conveyed away. The same mechanical means were resorted to to deposit the mass in the place of temporary rest, and then the screws were taken out to be employed in the same way for the other portions.

This apparatus of the boards and screws is very simple, as it was only necessary to readjust the screws in order to remove the blocks at any time to their final resting-



Portion of a tessellated floor, packed for removal. Weight, about 12 cwt.

place, and one set of screws sufficed for the whole. It should be borne in mind that some of the blocks were of great weight, and consequently much strength of apparatus had to be employed. The annexed diagram shows one of the blocks prepared as described.

Here then, in the case of a *suspensura*, it was tolerably easy to get to all sides so as to adjust the apparatus, as described; but where the pavement was laid on a solid ground the difficulties were increased, as not only had the soil to be gradually removed from below, so as to admit the packing for its support and removal, but pavements so constructed are usually not so well preserved as those placed

on *suspensuræ*; these mosaic floors have suffered more from damp, and consequently the tesserae are often much broken and displaced. If then such a pavement can be removed in divided blocks, like those before described, upon carefully working underneath them, that mode of proceeding is preferable, and we have then solid slabs for relaying; but if too broken or too fragile for this process, it is well to look only to the tesserae, and adopt a plan to remove it in pieces from the concrete substratum, which can be done in this as in all cases of loose tessellæ, by spreading a cement made of a mixture of resin and bees' wax on rough pieces of canvas, and applying it hot, carefully adjusting it to the floor to be removed. This enables the operator to remove all the tesserae in such a state as to be capable of being put away on any flat surface for future replacement. This plan is well adapted for all small portions of pavement, which it may be desired to preserve, as it can be readily adopted where every other expedient would be unsuccessful.

It may be well here to give the result of our experience as regards the temporary deposit of pieces of pavement so removed. Many of the slabs prepared as described were removed to one of the lateral chapels of the parish church, others to Earl Bathurst's coach-house, but the greater part were laid upon a lawn, and a temporary canvas building erected over them to protect them from the weather. Of these, the portions placed in the church were badly preserved; those in the coach-house proved to be in better condition, whilst the portions protected by the tent were in the best state; and, as they had to remain in these positions some time, while a building was in course of erection for their final reception, it is a matter of congratulation that the injury anticipated from atmospheric causes did not arise. The truth being that too dry a state of the air, whether from their sudden removal from the bed in which they have lain for so many centuries, or from whatever other cause, is injurious, as tending to crack and separate the tessellæ one from another, as also to split off masses of the concrete; and as the plaster of Paris had been applied to those in the church, in the manner previously described, its subsequent removal occasionally caused the breaking off of large portions of the design. That in the tent was never too dry, and consequently its liability to crack was not so great; and it may be mentioned with

respect to these pavements now they are relaid, that constant washing may be considered beneficial rather than prejudicial to their preservation.

3rd. On relaying and repairing Roman floors.—In the case before us, we have to congratulate ourselves upon the erection, through the Earl Bathurst's liberality, of a most suitable and substantial building for the reception of the two floors discovered in Dyer Street, in 1849.

In buildings for this purpose two circumstances ought to be provided for, a thorough ventilation, and a perfectly dry atmosphere. The first is secured by windows that can be readily opened. The second, we hope, has been accomplished, by making a deep drain around the outside of the building, to keep the walls dry at their foundations. The ground on which the pavement is laid was, at the recommendation of Mr. Digby Wyatt, prepared by a layer of concrete 2 feet thick, which has the effect, besides keeping the base dry, of forming a strong and immovable foundation for the reception of the pavement.

I would here express the thanks of all those interested in the preservation of these pavements, for the valuable suggestions kindly sent by Mr. Wyatt; at this time our pavements had been removed, but his instructions were of great use in facilitating the relaying of them, and were implicitly followed. To his valuable advice on this occasion, given in the most friendly manner at the request of Mr. Albert Way, we owe much of the success with which this difficult undertaking has been achieved.²

The building having been completed, the noble earl, on whose property it is placed, put the whole matter of relaying the pavements into the hands of the Rev. Canon Powell and myself, giving us in the most liberal manner every facility as to workmen, and all the requisite arrangements. At this stage of the proceeding, we deemed it advisable to apply to Mr. Minton, to recommend us a person expert in laying floors, and he sent us in Mr. Allen, a coadjutor in every way

² I must take this occasion to express my acknowledgment, and to offer the thanks of my Cirencester friends, to Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Albert Way, and other members of the Institute who have taken a cordial interest in the discoveries at Cirencester. Their sympathy and ready

aid on all occasions have had no slight influence in keeping alive amongst us a feeling which I hope may tend more and more to the preservation of the vestiges which illustrate the ancient condition and history of *Corinium*.

suiting to direct so difficult an operation. He entered upon the work in the spirit of one who was proud of being engaged on such an undertaking, and who had the taste and knowledge to appreciate the value of so remarkable a work of ancient art. Mr. Allen's first proceeding was to examine with great care the tracings of the floors, and when we had decided upon the positions they were to occupy in the room the work of relaying commenced in earnest.

The loop-screws previously described were screwed into the boards supporting the first portion to be removed. It was lifted on a spring-truck, so as to avoid injury from jolting, and from this it was moved to its future position, which having been accurately determined, the careful adjustment of the tessellated mass took place, by packing below with stones and bricks, and when perfectly levelled in its position a paste of Roman cement, made thin enough to run into every crevice, was carefully poured beneath the whole. By these means it was soon firmly established in its destined resting-place.

The other portions of the pavement followed one after another, and each upon being carefully adjusted to its fellow, was secured by the Roman cement, until the whole became joined together in a compact mass, which, from the manner of working, I conceive to be as smooth and secure as when the floor was originally formed. I would remark upon the adjustment of large pieces of work like that under consideration, ranging from half a cwt. to as much as a ton in weight, being all parts of a continuous pattern, that much patience and skill is required in fixing the first piece, and adapting the various portions one to the other afterwards. This was in our case rendered much easier by a careful study and admeasurement of our accurate tracings, which, to this end, were laid down in Earl Bathurst's hall, for constant study and reference during the progress of the work.

The various parts of the two pavements having been secured in position, in the manner described, then followed the gradual restoration of those portions which had been removed in dividing the floor into smaller masses. To this end, the variously-coloured tesserae were assorted and washed. These were then restored for the completion of the designs, and adjusted in their places by a strong cement sent for the purpose by Mr. Minton, the whole being pressed

evenly into their places by a flat block of wood. This, from the nature of the material, allowed considerable weight and pressure by blows or other means to be applied, without communicating a jar to the adjacent work. In some instances, great portions of a complicated guilloche or other border had to be replaced; in this case the pattern was arranged on a piece of board in the proper tessellæ, from which it was worked, bit by bit, into its appropriate place. In a few instances, owing to change from accident and other causes, the colours could not be matched, even by using the same geological materials as were originally employed, so that we had to seek the best substitutes for our purpose. In this case, a few of the coloured tessellæ manufactured by Minton were substituted for the fictile, and even some of the stone, tessellæ of the ancient designs. I cannot, however, recommend the use of these, as they proved objectionable from their being formed in a mould and of uniform size. This regularity in dimensions, though it might at first appear to advantage, nevertheless takes from that freedom of design and effect which the ancient pavements present, from the very fact that stones of all shapes and sizes were used to work out the intention of the operator.

In our restorations it should be understood that we have confined ourselves to the replacing what was unavoidably removed, in order to separate the floors into convenient pieces for carriage. An important question has been suggested upon which we are desirous of obtaining the opinion of archaeologists. Is it advisable in such operations to restore the broken designs? I confess, as the work progressed, I almost felt a wish to do this, but upon mature reflection, I was convinced that we could not carry out such a renovation without great disadvantage. It is true, we might have shown what the floor would have been if perfect, but it is a question whether the new work would not have essentially detracted from the archaic intent and authenticity of the pavement, and I cannot help thinking that such an example of the arts of antiquity, even in a fragmentary state, possesses a far higher interest and value as an instructive memorial of the past than the most skilful restoration.

As regards the relaying of floors of the second class, formed without *suspensura*, this of course must be done in the same manner, but the operation will require even more careful

packing with the cement. If the tesserae have been removed on the canvas by the adhesive process above mentioned, this must be pressed smoothly on a bed of prepared cement, and when set hard, the canvas and resin can be removed by gentle heat.

It now only remains to point out a difficulty which we experienced in keeping the surfaces of these floors sufficiently bright and clean. The tesserae seem to be affected by two causes, chemical change, and the growth of mosses and minute fungi upon the surface, by which the designs are very much dimmed. In order to prevent this, I have experimented in several ways; one method proposed is by scrubbing with silver sand; this polishes the surfaces, but it is a work of great time and labour; another is the use of a Bath brick; this certainly cleans the tessellated floor very well, but I fear the constant cleaning which any plan would entail, may tend to loosen the tessellæ, and we have not the ready means at hand to repair such casual injuries, as was the case with the original occupants of the buildings in which these elaborate decorations were displayed, and to which these very examples bear witness. Would it therefore be desirable, when once cleaned, to rub them well with oil, or by some other means to protect the surface from future decomposition, arising from any such cause as has been mentioned above?

Having now detailed the processes employed in the removal and replacing of the Cirencester pavements, I can only hope that these remarks may draw forth some further observations upon this subject, or produce the result greatly to be desired—the publication of plain directions for proceeding with the preservation of such examples of ancient art, when they may be brought to light. In our case, much time and trouble might have been saved, had we been in possession beforehand of the practical knowledge which we have gained by experience. Scarcely a year elapses without the announcement of some fresh discoveries of these interesting vestiges of Roman occupation in our country; from the peculiar nature of tessellated pavements, or the circumstances under which such discoveries mostly occur, it must frequently happen that valuable examples are destroyed or very imperfectly preserved, for the want of that very promptitude of action which the knowledge of the means most readily available would so essentially tend to ensure.

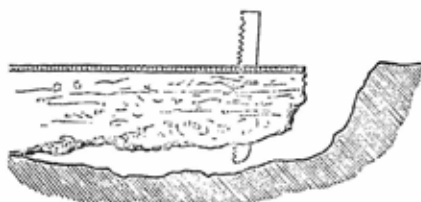
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE REMOVAL OF MOSAIC PAVEMENTS.

The following counsels, from one so accomplished in every subject connected with archaeology and art as Mr. Digby Wyatt, cannot fail to prove acceptable. Professor Buckman has already adverted to the kindness with which Mr. Wyatt aided the undertaking at *Corinium* by his valuable advice:—

"It is difficult (Mr. Wyatt observed) to advise about the removal of a mosaic pavement without seeing its condition, and more especially the condition of the cement upon which it has been bedded. Under average circumstances I should be inclined to adopt the following course. After removing all dust,—

"1. With strong bookbinders' paste cover the whole surface of the pavement with brown paper in large sheets, as a security against the displacement of the tesserae in the subsequent operations.

"2. Make a hole in the earth at the margin of the pavement at a point where a line of cutting may best be made without interfering with the best parts of the work, such as figures, &c., and then with a stonemason's hand-saw, or some such tool, cut through the pavement in one direction. Then,



starting from another hole in the ground, make a cutting in an opposite line, so as to free a slab of about four feet square,—as much as can be conveniently managed. Some consideration and care must be exercised in dividing the pavement, so as to preserve the more important portions of the

design uninjured; and it is obviously advisable to follow the leading divisions of the design, the borders, panels, &c. The joint lines of the tesserae may readily be found, after the pavement has been covered with paper, by rubbing down the paper, in the various directions in which the cuts have to be made.

"3. Each slab, as it is freed, should be carefully raised, and removed to a level floor, on which it should be laid face downwards. If the face of the tessellated slab is pretty true, and the old cement-backing in a good state, it will be enough for a mason to trim off the back to a rough face, so as to bring the slab to a uniform thickness of about four inches. If, on the contrary, the backing is friable and rotten, and has allowed the pavement to sink and lose its level, it will be necessary to remove it by flaking it away with a chisel, until the backs of the tesserae are reached. When they are laid bare, a fresh backing must be made with Portland cement, pure, next the tesserae (like a coat of whitewash) with sand, for about an inch in thickness, and then with gravel or fine concrete (lime and gravel) to the same thickness as the other slabs. I need not say that, when the tesserae have had their old cement taken away, they should be pressed down to a level face before the new backing is put on.

"4. When the slabs are all prepared, and are thoroughly set hard, they should be laid as ordinary paving slabs are laid in the best work, that is, on a good hard concrete bed.

"5. The brown paper may then be removed from the face of the pavement with hot water and a scrubbing brush.

"6. The action of the scrubbing brush should be continued after the brown paper and paste are wholly removed, so that the joints may be freed from dirt and loose fragments. A grouting of Portland cement should then be poured over the surface and rubbed into the joints, care being taken to wipe off with a dryish sponge all superfluous cement from the face of the pavement. Should any considerable inequalities remain, they may be rubbed down with a hard heavy stone and a little grit, till the whole is level and smooth. Then, when the floor is well washed and cleaned off, the operation, I doubt not, will prove to have been satisfactorily achieved.

"If the old backing is very good, I should endeavour to move the pavement in much larger pieces;—if it should be altogether rotten, and the tesserae loose, I should try strong glue and calico, instead of paste and brown paper, and endeavour to draw off all the tesserae adhering to the calico. I should then re-back them, as described above, much in the same manner as frescoes are removed from walls."

Very recently several valuable mosaic pavements discovered in Yorkshire have been successfully taken up by a skilful and ingenious manipulator, Mr. Baines, sub-curator of the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York. One of these pavements, found in 1853, near Micklegate Bar, York, has been laid down in the lower apartment of the Hospitium, the building in which the Museum of Antiquities is placed. In this instance a stratum of plaster of Paris was formed over the face of the pavement, which was by that means raised in portions of moderate dimensions. It was then backed with Roman cement and slates, and carefully laid down on a bed of sand. The application of the liquid cement to the reverse, it should be observed, caused the layer of plaster to detach itself so perfectly that a cast might be taken from it, and a coloured facsimile produced, if desired, showing all the interstices and arrangement of the tessellæ. The other pavements, which are of fine character, have not at present been laid down. They were obtained from a Roman villa discovered near Easingwold. In this instance, Mr. Baines states that he adopted a different process with great success. The face was first carefully cleansed from dust; the margins of the panels and chief divisions of the design were cut round, removing two rows of tesserae between each, and dividing the whole work into slabs of manageable dimensions. Strong canvas was then attached to the surface by bookbinders' glue, the glue being first applied to the tesserae, and the cloth then laid upon it. In parts where the damp state of the floor prevented the canvas becoming firmly attached, a hot iron was passed over it with advantage. The sub-stratum was then cut away, and the portion of the floor taken up. Mr. Baines then removed all the lime at the back, leaving the tesserae only adherent to the canvas. The mosaic work is then backed with slate, affixed by Roman cement. When firmly set, the various panels may then be laid in sand, the cloth removed by hot water, the interstices between the panels filled up by replacing the two rows of tesserae which had been removed, as before described, and any other defective portions made good. Mr. Baines proposes to make use of Roman cement for every purpose connected with relaying the pavement. By this mode of proceeding the face of the work may be rendered perfectly level, an advantage not to be attained where the plaster of Paris is used.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN SCOTLAND,
ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR, PREVIOUS TO THE UNION
WITH ENGLAND IN 1707.¹

BY JOSEPH ROBERTSON, F.S.A., Scot., Superintendent of Searches in the Literary and
Antiquarian Department of Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh.

IN compliance with a suggestion that such an outline, however rudely or feebly drawn, might not be wholly unacceptable to the Archaeological Institute, I venture on an attempt to sketch, as briefly as may be, the chief epochs in the annals of Scottish architecture, as well ecclesiastical as civil or secular, previous to our happy union with England, in the beginning of the XVIIIth century. If I am unable to produce pictorial illustrations—for which I must be content to refer to Mr. Billing's admirable volumes²—I shall not enter upon any consideration of details—which (so far as the first part of my subject is concerned) will be found copiously collected and classified in Mr. Thomas S. Muir's "Descriptive Notices of Scotch Collegiate and Parochial Churches,"³ and "Notes on Remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the South of Scotland."⁴

Taking no account of buildings of which no vestiges survive—such as the white-walled church, a marvel to the British tribes, which St. Ninian reared on the shores of Galloway by the hands of builders brought from Gaul, about the beginning of the Vth century; and "that church of stone after the Roman manner," for the construction of which as Bede tells us, architects were sent to the Pictish King from the venerable historian's own monastery in Northumberland in the first years of the VIIIth century;—passing over also such objects as those graven crosses and incised pillars of stone which belong rather to the department of sculpture than to the province of architecture; and those

¹ Communicated to the Architectural Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, July, 1856.

² Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiqui-

ties of Scotland. London, 1845-52. 4to, 4 vols.

³ London, 1848. 8vo.

⁴ Edinburgh, 1855. 8vo.

rocky caves for which nature had done so much that scarcely any art was needed to shape them into oratories or penance-cells for St. Ninian and St. Columba, St. Kentigern and St. Rule, St. Serf, St. Kieran, St. Maoliosa, St. Gernad, and many others of our early missionaries : dismissing these, I say, the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland may be distinguished into three great periods—one, the earliest, during which the influence of Ireland prevailed ; a second, by far the richest, during which we followed the footsteps of England ; a third, the last, during which we borrowed largely from France.

The First, or Scoto-Irish period, as it may be called, extends over more than five centuries, from about the middle of the VIth to near the end of the XIth ; from the landing of St. Columbkille on Iona, in the year 565, to the marriage of St. Margaret with King Malcolm at Dunfermline, in the year 1070. Of the few and scanty relics of this period, the best known are the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy. The Irish character of both is sufficiently obvious. Neither would seem to belong to the most ancient order of the class. The religious community which found shelter within the tower of Brechin, does not seem to have been founded until the end of the Xth century ; and there are features in the tower of Abernethy which appear to show that it is the younger of the two. It is amongst the distant Western Isles that we must seek for the oldest, if not the most instructive, edifices of this early age. On Eilean Naomh, an uninhabited rock midway between Scarba and Mull, are remains as well of those circular dome-roofed cells, which in Ireland are known as "bee-hive houses," as of a building, probably a chapel, of which the walls are without cement, and the doors and windows are square-headed. The skilled glance of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Reeves of Ballymena, author of the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," at once recognised in these ruins the characteristics of the Irish architecture of the VIIth or VIIIth century. The same very learned and accurate antiquary has kindly placed in my hands a proof-sheet of his forthcoming edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, in which he gives an account from his own observation of a "cyclopean cashel," and of a chapel built without mortar, in the Isle of Skye, which may be contemporary, he believes, if not with the great Apostle

of Scotland, at least with the first or second generation of his disciples. On the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, are still to be seen the ruins of an oratory of the same type, if not of the same remote age, as the oratories of St. Senan and Gallerus in Ireland—the *capellula* in which, in 1123, the shipwrecked king of the Scots found a hermit serving St. Columbkille. When I mention some almost obliterated traces at Iona, some doubtful relics near the ancient sanctuary of St. Blane in Bute, and what would seem to be a “bee-hive house” in the rarely-visited island of St. Kilda, I believe that I nearly exhaust the meagre catalogue of the ascertained monuments of the Celtic or Scoto-Irish age of our architecture.

The Second, or Anglo-Scottish era, embraces three centuries, reaching from about the end of the XIth to about the end of the XIVth, from the accession of St. Margaret in 1070 to the accession of the Stewarts in 1371. This was emphatically the great age of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland, the noontide at once of the spiritual glory and earthly grandeur of the Medieval Church in the north. As it was an English Princess, the saintly niece of the meek Confessor, who laid the foundations—who laid the foundations as well of our social and political civilisation—so it was by English hands that the fabric was built up. English monks peopled our monasteries, English priests served our parochial cures, English bishops ruled our episcopal sees. Our cathedrals framed their constitutions after the English models of Salisbury and Lincoln; our provincial councils copied their canons from the English synods of Oxford and Durham; the language and rites of our liturgy were the language and rites of the English use of Sarum. When such was the character of the Scottish Church, it need scarcely be added that her architecture was English too. Throughout the three centuries which I have named, the ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland, except in their humbler dimensions, their smaller number, and their less copious and less costly decoration, differ from those of England only as the churches of one English shire may differ from those of another, or as the constructive art of one French province varies from that of another French province. The Norman, or Romanesque, the First Pointed or Early English, and the Second Pointed or Decorated, are substantially the same on both banks of Tweed; the same

in their general features, nearly the same in their date and duration.

Of our Romanesque buildings, the earliest is the nave of the conventual church of Dunfermline, begun, it would seem, in the last years of the XIth century, and consecrated in the middle of the XIIth. Its foundations were laid by the same King of Scots who about the same time laid the foundations of Durham; and looking to the close resemblance between the two, it seems not improbable that they may have been planned by the same head, if not executed by the same hands. Of our other Romanesque structures—such as the noble cathedral of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall (if a work built when the Orkneys were part of Norway, may fairly be claimed as Scottish), the conventual minsters of Kelso and Jedburgh, the parish churches of Dalmeny, Leuchars, and Tynninghame—all are of a comparatively late order, some of them indeed bordering on the Transition to First Pointed. One Romanesque building—the old church of St. Rule, the elder of the two cathedrals at St. Andrews—shows a feature to which, so far as I know, there is no existing parallel in England—a square central tower, more than a hundred feet high, and, so, wholly disproportioned to the diminutive choir from which it springs. There is sufficient evidence that it was built between the years 1127 and 1144, by an Austin Canon from the English monastery of St. Oswald near Pontefract, who then filled the primatial see of the Scots. The object of the builder, as I think I could show from some inedited documents, may have been to surpass the neighbouring and rival church of the Culdees of the Heugh (that is the Rock); and could we be sure that the Culdee canons of St. Andrews had a round tower like their Culdee brethren of Abernethy and Brechin, it would be easy to conjecture why Bishop Robert carried his rectangular tower to such an unusual altitude.

The choir of the later and larger cathedral at St. Andrews, begun in 1162, shows how the Romanesque was at that date passing into First Pointed. In the conventual church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Arbroath, founded in 1178, we see the Transition almost or altogether consummated. In the matchless crypt of the cathedral of Glasgow, founded in 1181 and consecrated in 1197, we have the First Pointed completely developed. In the cathedral church of Iona, on

the other hand, Romanesque presents itself after the year 1200 ; but Irish hands were at work there, and the building is anomalous in other respects. One Romanesque feature, the semi-circular arch, lingered with us through every order to the last.

To the First Pointed or Early English style—including under that name as well the more advanced stages of Transition from the Romanesque as the earlier stages of Transition to Second Pointed—to the First Pointed style, extending over little more than one busy century from the accession of King William the Lion in 1165 to the death of Alexander III. in 1286—belong the chief portions of the cathedrals of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, Caithness, Elgin and Brechin, and of the conventual churches of Coldingham, Holyrood, Arbroath, Dryburgh, Paisley, Kilwinning, Inchcolm, Restennet, Dundrennan, New Ferne, Cambuskenneth, Inchmahome, Sweet Heart or New Abbey, and Pluscardine. They who are familiar with the architectural remains of Scotland, will at once perceive how many of our finest structures are included in this list.

If the Second Pointed style in England be held to extend from the accession of King Edward I. in 1272 to the accession of King Richard II. in 1377, we may affirm that up to its close—which nearly coincides with the accession of the house of Stewart to the Scottish throne—the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland continued upon the whole to maintain its conformity with the contemporary ecclesiastical architecture of England. But the long and sanguinary wars of the Scotch Succession had now at length fixed the two countries in a position of antagonism—antagonism political, social, and even ecclesiastical. For, when the Papal schism broke out in 1378, England adhered to Urban VI. and Boniface IX., while Scotland followed Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. The point of difference was of consequence enough to affect the laity, and so to add the gall and bitterness of sectarian strife to the many causes which, on one hand, led Scotsmen to speak, even in the solemn language of the statute-book, of their “auld enemies of England”—and, on the other hand, led English fathers, in the northern counties, to declare, in their last wills, that their daughters should be disinherited if they married Scotchmen. Thus effectually estranged from her nearest and natural neighbour, Scotland

was gradually drawn into close connection with France ; and one fruit of this fellowship was that, from about the middle of the XVth to the beginning of the XVIIIth century, French influence prevailed more or less in every department of Scottish art.

The Second Pointed style, which, in England, came to a close about the year 1377, may be regarded as extending itself, in Scotland, to the Reformation, with this distinction, that, soon after the appearance of the Third Pointed or Perpendicular style on the southern side of Tweed, Scottish churches began to show the flamboyant window-tracery, the double doorways with flattened heads under one pointed arch, the large, richly-crocketed pinnacles, the polygonal apses or many-sided eastern terminations, and other characteristics of the contemporary architecture of France, of which you will hear more from my learned friend Mr. Burton, in the paper on the " Analogy of French and Scottish Architecture " with which he is to favour this section of the Archaeological Institute. Our Scotch Second Pointed style thus falls to be divided into two nearly equal portions, both comparatively barren (for sixty years of war with England had spent the strength and exhausted the resources of the country), the earlier portion belonging to what I have termed the Anglo-Scottish period, the latter to what, I hope, we may be allowed to call simply the Scottish period. To the former are to be assigned the greater part of the beautiful cathedral church of Fortrose, and great part of the still more beautiful conventual church of Melrose—the latter dating from about the middle of the XIVth to about the middle of the XVth century, during most of which time Melrose stood on the English side of the Border, and its Cistercians gave their allegiance to the English Edwards, Richards, and Henrys. To this circumstance, perhaps, we may owe the tracery of Third Pointed character, which fills the great eastern window of Melrose. It is the only example of the Perpendicular style which is to be found in Scotland, with the exception of the four centred arches in the crypt of St. Triduan's chapel at Restalrig, built about 1486 by King James III., from a design, we may be allowed to conjecture, of some of his English favourites.

We can boast of no such temple as Melrose, in that later order of our Second Pointed style, which—extending from the accession of the first Stewart in 1371, to the accession

of the sixth of our Jameses in 1567—fills the whole of the Third and last period of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture. To this age of decline, we are indebted for one cathedral church, that of St. Machar at Aberdeen, and for portions of five or six others, such as the choir of Lismore, the eight-sided chapter-house of Elgin, the tower and western window of Brechin, the tower, nave, and chapter-house of Dunkeld, and the spire, nave, chapter-house, and transept-crypt of Glasgow. We are indebted to it also for the conventual churches of St. Monan's in Fife, the Black Friars at St. Andrews, the Greyfriars at Aberdeen and Stirling, for the gateway and refectory at Dunfermline, and the doorway and buttresses of the north isle of the nave of Holyrood. But its chief works were collegiate or parochial churches—such as those of Linlithgow, Corstorphine, Dalkeith, Seton, and Haddington, in this neighbourhood; St. Mary's at Dundee, St. Saviour's at St. Andrews, St. John's at Perth, and King's College at Aberdeen. It is in this class of edifices—built chiefly during the second half of the XVth, or the first half of the XVIth centuries—that French features are most conspicuous. Some of these Continental characteristics may still be discerned in St. Giles' Church in this city, in spite of the restoration to which it has been subjected. A still finer example of the style, was that Trinity College Church, which was so barbarously taken down a few years ago, and the rebuilding of which, to the deep disgrace of our Scottish capital, has not yet been begun. Nearly contemporary with Trinity College Church and St. Giles, is the collegiate chapel of Roslin, begun in 1446, and so wholly anomalous that it would be quite inexplicable were we not told that its founder brought the builders from abroad. It was these foreign masons, doubtless, who introduced into this little Scottish chapel the first features of Renaissance that are to be found perhaps within the British Islands.

If the Reformation was not so destructive of our ancient churches as has been commonly supposed, it was at least fatal for a time to the progress of ecclesiastical architecture. The sacred edifices which were built during the last hundred and fifty years of Scotland's existence as an independent realm, were as few in number as they were worthless in art. If we except one or two—such as Dairsie in Fife, Auchterhouse in Angus, and Ogston in Murray—which aspired to

imitate English models of an earlier age, I believe that I name the best, when I point to the Tron Church in Edinburgh, as an example of that incongruous mixture of Gothic and Italian, Middle Age and Renaissance, which obtained in Scotland in the XVIIth century.

In beginning to speak of the Civil or Secular buildings of Scotland, I pass over—as works of engineering rather than of architecture—our many hill-forts, whether ramparts of earth or stone, or walls more or less perfectly cemented by vitrification. I pass over, too, the numerous caves, cut like pigeon-holes in the face of precipitous cliffs, which served as places of refuge to our forefathers, so late even as the English invasions in the reign of King Henry VIII. Nor shall I do more than mention the low under-ground dens, called *weems*, Earth-houses, or Picts Houses, where one long stone successively overlapping another, served as a substitute for the arch, and so roofed in a hole in which the wild Scot, or barbarian Pict might find concealment and shelter for his family, with their few scraps of dried deer's flesh, their scanty heap of oats, and their little quern or hand-mill. In the Orkneys, and a few other northern counties, these subterranean or semi-subterranean chambers attain much larger dimensions, and show both greater resources, and more skill in construction. It is in the same district that we find the perplexing edifices called Burls or Duns—circular erections of no great height, built of unhewn stones without cement, enclosing an open space in the centre, and having in the gradually diminishing thickness of the wall a succession of gradually diminishing chambers. It is very difficult to determine either the use or the era of these singular structures. The subject has engaged the attention of an accomplished member of the Institute, Mr. A. H. Rhind, from whose pen, we may be assured, it will receive all the elucidation of which it is capable.

With abundance of Norman work still surviving in our churches, it is somewhat remarkable that we have now so little of Norman work to show in our castles. I cannot speak of any from my own observation, and do not remember to have read of any, except two Norman doorways at Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire, drawn and described by Cardonnel and Grose. Yet that many fortresses were built in Scotland during the

prevalence of the Romanesque style, is not to be questioned. The castles raised by St. David, who reigned from 1124 to 1153, are expressly commemorated by his friend, servant, and biographer, St. Ailred; and the intimations of the Abbot of Rievaulx are abundantly confirmed by chronicle, charter, and capitulary. But the son of St. Margaret planted his Norman keeps, for the most part, upon the Border; and not only their ruins, but every vestige of the prosperous towns that grew up around their walls, have been swept from that unstable soil, by the frequent ebb and flow of the desolating tide of war. A few green mounds and shapeless heaps of stones are almost all that now remain of the Roxburgh of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries; its castle, mint, churches, chapels, hospitals, mills, and streets of trading booths. The other strongholds reared by St. David and his successors stood, with scarcely an exception, within burghs; and these, overspreading their ancient limits, have long obliterated the last traces of the feudal towers to which they owed their birth. At a still earlier period, the Wars of the Succession proved more fatal to Scottish castles than ever the Reformation was to Scottish churches. In the first six years of his reign, King Robert Bruce destroyed no fewer than a hundred and thirty-seven towers, castles, and fortalices, "*Quia, sicut communiter adhuc dicitur,*" says the Cistercian annalist of Cupar, "*nisi castra et turres exterminasset, regnum nequamquam in libertate gubernasset.*" We must keep in mind, too, that of the secular as well as of the ecclesiastical edifices of the north in the Middle Ages, many were of timber. Thus, it is recorded, that when the Wild Scots poured down from the hills, or swarmed across the firths, in 1228, to ravage the rich corn-lands of Murray, it was by wooden castles that they found the country defended. We have still in the Peel-bog of Lumphanan, the Bass of Inverury, the Doune of Invernochty, and elsewhere, the remains of the formidable earthworks, partly natural, partly artificial, on which such wooden towers were erected.

Setting aside mere fragments of ruin without any architectural expression—such as Dunbar, the seat of the great March Earls, or Lochmaben and Turnberry, Buittle, Dalswinton and Kyneddar, Coull, Duffus and Boharm, ancient holds of the Bruces, Balliols, Cumyns, Durwards, and Murrays—I can recall at this moment only one castle in Scotland, which can be proved

from record to be of so old a date as the middle of the XIIIth century. "In the year 1267," says John of Fordun, "died Hugh Giffard of Yester, whose castle, at least its pit and donjon, were, according to old legends, built by demoniac art: for there is a wonderful cave beneath the ground, of admirable construction, stretching far into the earth, and commonly called Bohall." The Bohall, or Hall of Goblins, still remains in the Marquess of Tweeddale's park at Yester, to attest the accuracy of description of the Father of our Scottish Chroniclers. The Lord of Yester chose for the site of his stronghold a steep peninsular mound, washed by the Hopes burn on the one hand, and by a tributary of that streamlet on the other. The situation had every advantage except one, water within the precincts of the castle; and it was to obtain this that the subterranean passage was hewn, which excited the terrors of the East Lothian peasantry in the XIIIth century. From a vaulted hall, which is itself below the natural surface of the soil, a vaulted staircase of six-and-thirty steps winds downwards into the bowels of the earth, until at the level of the neighbouring brooks a never-failing supply of water is reached. The masonry of the work is not surpassed by any railway tunnel which I have had an opportunity of seeing. In other respects the edifice is too much ruined to be very instructive; but enough remains to show that the style was First Pointed, and that the decoration was of the same character as the ornamentation of the Scottish churches of the same time. For this conformity between our secular and ecclesiastical architecture we are prepared, both by the example of other countries, and by what is recorded of the only Medieval architect of Scotland whose name and works have descended to our day. The Scottish Breviary tells us how St. Gilbert of Murray—who built the cathedral of Dornoch in the XIIIth century, and filled its windows with glass made by himself on the coast of Sutherland—built also, and fortified many royal castles in the north.

The oldest fortresses now existing in Scotland, in anything like an entire shape, are what in England would be called Edwardian—a name which there are no reasons for rejecting in Scotland. It is in the Scotch wars of the first three Edwards, extending from 1296 to 1357, that these castles emerge into notice, if, indeed, as is much more probable, it

was not that terrible struggle which called them into existence. The chief of them are Caerlaveroc on the Solway, Dirlton in East Lothain, which you will have an opportunity of visiting an hour or two hence, Bothwell on the Clyde, Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire, and Lochindorb in Murray. They have all the same general character—long curtain walls, flanked at the angles with lofty circular towers which are vaulted throughout—the entrance being by a drawbridge and gateway defended by a portcullis, and guarded on either side by a round tower. With the exception of Lochindorb—which trusted not in vain for defence to the lake in which it stands—the walls are of great strength, and the area (generally of an irregular shape) which they enclose is of considerable size; that is, when measured by our Scotch standard, for I should think that one of the great Edwardian castles of the Welsh marches—Conway, Caernarvon, or Caerphilly—might hold two of our Scotch examples. In every instance which I know, the circular towers spring from their foundations in that bell-like shape with which we are all familiar, through representations of the Eddystone lighthouse. The absence of this peculiarity makes me hesitate to include Tantallon among the Edwardian castles, which it otherwise resembles, and to which it can be shown to approximate in point of date.

Of the next class of our northern castles—dating from the end of the XIVth to the middle of the XVIth centuries—the primitive form is the square or oblong tower. In its simplest or humblest shape this was of no more than two storeys, both vaulted, the lower containing the kitchen, a well, and store-rooms, the upper occupied by the hall; the sleeping apartments, if there were any, being closets within the thickness of the wall. But it was seldom that the square tower had fewer than three storeys—there are instances of four and even five—the hall being still, for obvious considerations of safety, next the roof, while the lower, or underground chamber, accessible by a trap-door, which was the only opening, for there was neither chimney, airhole, nor window, served as the prison, or “pit,” as it was called. The walls are for the most part very thick, measuring from ten to fifteen feet at the foundation, and containing within them newel staircases and one or two small chambers. The windows, except in the topmost storey, are

mere slits, only a few inches wide at the exterior, but deeply splayed within. The entrance, as in the Irish Round Towers and in some of the Anglo-Norman keeps, was by a doorway (closed by an iron grate) in the second storey, to which there was access either by a ladder, or by a stone stair, built at some little distance from the tower, with which it communicated by a drawbridge. or more often, it would seem, by a moveable plank or two. Little more than a century has passed since at least one of these towers might have been seen in Scotland, inhabited, in almost every respect, as when it was first built, three hundred years before. James Ferguson, the self-taught astronomer, who lived for some months with Simon Lord Lovat in 1740, found his Lordship occupying the hall of Castle Downie, for all the purposes of drawing-room, parlour, dining-room, and bed-chamber. "His own constant residence," we are told, "and the place where he received company, and even dined constantly with them, was just one room only, and that the very room in which he lodged. And his lady's sole apartment was also her own bed-chamber; and the only provision made for lodging either of the domestic servants or of the numerous herd of retainers was a quantity of straw which was spread over night on the floors of the four lower rooms of this sort of tower-like structure. Sometimes about 400 persons attending this petty court, were kennelled here."

Of these oblong towers—which were often allowed to remain in their original shape, as a refuge in emergency, long after their owners had begun to make their usual abode in lower and more commodious houses, "the laigh bigging," as our Scotch phrase ran—under the shadow of the old keep—of these rectangular towers, one of the earliest and best examples is that of Drum in Aberdeenshire. Merchiston in the suburb of this city, and Cawdor and Kilravock in Nairnshire, are excellent examples of the later style of the second half of the XVth century. Borthwick, about ten miles to the south of Edinburgh, is, without question, by far the noblest structure of this class which we possess. Built of ashlar within and without, it soars to the height of more than a hundred feet, and presents to the eye the appearance of two huge contiguous square towers. Differing in this regard from most others of the same style and age, its lofty, well-proportioned hall is in the second storey, an arrange-

ment which may have been considered safe in this instance, where the tower was defended by an outer wall. At Craigmillar, within sight of Edinburgh, the rectangular tower has, as it were, an oblong block notched out of the south-west corner, where the doorway was so placed, at the top of a flight of steps, as to be protected by portholes commanding the approach at once in flank and front. Craigmillar boasts, perhaps, the finest specimen which we now possess of the *antemurale*, or barmkin, a defence which gradually became of more and more importance, as the use of fire-arms increased, until, in the beginning of the XVIth century, we find its presence expressly stipulated for among other appointments of the fortresses which crown vassals were taken bound to build. "A tower, with a barmkin, of stone and lime, a hall, a chamber, a kitchen, a pantry, a bake-house, a brew-house, a barn, a byre, a cot, a pigeon-house, an orchard, and hedge-rows,"—so the enumeration runs in a charter of King James IV. in the year 1509. We are able to compare this catalogue of the requirements of a castle on the shores of Loch Ness with a contemporary list of the apartments of a mansion in the capital. The Edinburgh house of the Napiers of Merchiston, in 1495, contained "a hall, a chamber, a kitchen with a loft above, a pantry with a loft above, a chapel, three cellars, and a little house called the prison." At a somewhat later period, the barmkin seems to have fallen into disuse, its place being supplied by two circular towers, which being attached, one to each of the two opposite corners of the great rectangular tower, effectually flanked its walls on every side. Of this class of Scotch fortified houses, Drochil in Tweeddale, built by the Regent Morton in the minority of King James VI., is an instructive example.

In the middle of the XVth century, Scottish architecture, fostered by the love of art which the ill-starred King James III. transmitted to so many of his ill-starred descendants, began to recover from a long season of depression. But its progress was slow, and it is not until near the beginning of the XVIth century that we can be said to reach a new era. As one of its earliest fruits, I may mention the older portions of the Bog o' Gight, "our Palace of New Wark upon Spey," as it is proudly styled in the charters of its founder, George, second Earl of Huntly, who died in 1501. The building is

now buried in the modern mass of Gordon Castle, so that we know it only in an engraving of the XVIIth century, which by a mistake in the lettering, calls it Inverary. The chivalrous King James IV. was, in the latter years of his reign, an energetic builder; but it is not easy always to distinguish between what he built and what was built by his son, King James V. It is important to know from our records that both princes employed Continental masons. In the reign of the former, an Italian was at work upon Holyrood—in the reign of the latter, Frenchmen were busy at Stirling, at Falkland, at Holyrood, and at Linlithgow. Of this last edifice, the finest altogether of our Scotch Palaces, the larger and better part belongs to the first half of the XVIth century. What it possesses of foreign aspect is doubtless due, along with the foreign features of Stirling and Falkland, to their foreign builders. In Linlithgow, I may add, the ornamentation partook of the spirit of allegory which runs through the contemporary poetry of Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, and Sir David Lindsay. The now empty niches above the grand gateway in the eastern side of the quadrangle, were filled with statues of a pope, to represent the church, a knight, to indicate the gentry, and a labouring man, to symbolise the commons, each having a scroll above his head on which were inscribed a few words of legend, now irretrievably lost. All this I learn from records of the year 1535, which further show that this group, together with the group of the Salutation of the Virgin upon the other side of the quadrangle, and certain unicorns and a lion upon the outer gateway, were brilliantly painted. This external use of gaudy colour survived in Scotland to a comparatively late date. In the records of the year 1629, for instance, I find a sum of 266*l.* charged for “painting his Maiesties hail rowmes in the Pallace of Linlithgow, both in syrlingis, wallis, doris, windowis, bordaris above the hingingis; and for furnishing all sortis of cullouris and gold belonging thairto; and lykwayes for painting and laying ouer with oyle cullour and for getting with gold the hail fair face of the new wark—[that is the north side of the quadrangle, built by King James VI.]—with the timber windowis and window brodis, staine windowis and crownellis, with ane brod for the Kingis armes and houssing gilt and set of; and lykwyse for getting and laying ouer with oyle cullour the Four Orderis—[that is the

Garter, the Thistle, St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, all held by King James V.]—above the vtter yett, and furnishing all sortes of gold, oyle, and warkmanschip thairto, and for laying ouer the tuo vnicornes and getling of thame." Metal work—cresting the tops of our buildings sometimes with a ballustrade, more often with figures of the cross, the thistle, the lion, and the like—was in general use in Scotch buildings—here again following the fashion of France—during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries; and we have proof that it was liberally painted and gilded. I have trespassed too far in this digression on the external use of colour to say anything of its internal application, except that this must have been very general. The vestiges of brilliant colouring are yet perceptible in the crypt of Glasgow; and dim outlines of once resplendent forms are still to be discerned on the walls of the castle halls of Borthwick and Craigmillar.

If I give way to the temptation of saying something upon painted glass, it shall be but a sentence or two. In each of the five windows of the chapel in Linlithgow Palace was a figure or image of what the records of 1535 call "made work," that is, pieced work or mosaic. The price of this was 6s. 8d. a foot—the price of the white or common glass being 1s. 1d. a foot—both sums, of course, being Scotch money. The five images cost altogether less than 10*l.*, the plain glass in which they were set costing 15*l.* The painted glass of the five windows of the Lion Chamber of Linlithgow, executed in the same year, 1535, cost 7*l.*; the common glass costing less than 4*l.*

To the same age with most part of the quadrangle of Linlithgow, the finest of our Palatial courts, belongs most part of the quadrangle of Crichton, the finest of our Castle courts. Here, again, we meet the marks of foreign taste. The peculiar ornament of the structure is in the sharp four-sided facets into which the stones are cut.

" Above its cornice, row on row
Of fair hewn facets richly show
Their pointed diamond form."

And this kind of decorated masonry is found in France, according to M. de Caumont, at an early period. Thirty or forty years later, perhaps, than the best portions of

Crichton, the archiepiscopal castle of St. Andrews may be named as a favourable type of Scottish architecture in the middle of the XVIth century.

I now reach the last, the most prolific, and, as I think, the best age of Scotch secular architecture. King James V. was still busy with his buildings at Holyrood and Linlithgow, at Stirling and Falkland, when the fatal rout of Solway broke his heart in 1542. The tumults and wars of the Reformation—extending through the distracted minority, and still more calamitous reign of his hapless daughter—were fatal to all the arts; and when at length they began to revive under the peaceful rule of King James VI., about 1570, it was to show how vital a change had been wrought in architectural form and feeling during an interval of thirty years. Tendencies towards Renaissance may be found in all the buildings of King James V.; but when the unfinished works were resumed by his grandson, Renaissance, established in principle, was beginning to advance towards supremacy. Its progress, however, was so slow that it can scarcely be said, perhaps, to have completed its development until the reign of King Charles II. It is to the century preceding his death, from about 1570 to 1685, that we owe what we may emphatically call the Scotch Castellated Style—that style which (still obviously deriving much from France) produced Strathbogie and Edzell, Fyvie and Castle Fraser, Crathes and Craigievar, Midmar and Craigston, Pinkie and Glammis. In almost all these, I think, as in most other instances, the architect was set to work on the square tower of the XVth century as the nucleus of his composition; and it is impossible not to admire the skill with which the old rectangular blocks are grouped into harmony with the new buildings to which they give dignity, vastness, and variety.

It is not unworthy of remark that in one or two cases where the history of the building has been ascertained, the owner would seem to have been his own architect. Pinkie and Fyvie assumed their present shape under the eye of Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline, who died in 1622, at the age of sixty-seven. His education, begun at Rome, was completed in France, where, doubtless, he acquired that "great skill in architecture" for which he is praised by his contemporaries. Glammis, again, became what it is, under the eye of Patrick, third Earl of Kinghorn and first Earl of

Strathmore, who died in 1695, at the age of fifty-two, leaving a memoir of what he did for his castle, in which he takes blame to himself for not consulting "any who in this age were known and reputed to be the best judges and contrivers."

While one development of our Scottish architecture of the XVIIth century was into these princely chateaux, another development—congenial, at once, and contemporary—gave us such edifices as the Parliament House of Edinburgh, Moray House in the same city, Glasgow College, Winton House, Innes House, Argyll House at Stirling, one front of the courtyard at Falkland, and one of the courtyard at Caerlaverock—reaching its proudest triumph in Heriot's Hospital. Only a few years after the genius of Wallace, of Aytoun, and of Mylne had brought that noble pile to completion, Sir William Bruce of Kinross was commissioned to build a palace for our Scottish Kings. The result was Holyrood, almost the last edifice of mark built in Scotland before the Union. That event opened new fields for the display of the architectural taste and talents of our countrymen—but my task is done. It is beyond my province either to advert to what Gibbs, and Mylne, and the Adamsons achieved during the last century on the other side of the Tweed, or to trace the fortunes on this, of that modern school of Scottish architecture which has never been adorned by more names of eminence, or by more works of merit, than at this hour.

KING EDWARD'S SPOILIATIONS IN SCOTLAND IN A.D. 1296—THE
CORONATION STONE—ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED EVIDENCE.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH HUNTER, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries
of London, and an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

THE first northern campaign of King Edward, in which he reduced John Balliol, King of Scotland, to submission, is marked by two circumstances, both of which, though but of the underwood of history, are of singular interest to both nations. These are, first, the seizure of the royal treasures in the castle of Edinburgh; and secondly, the removal to Westminster, from the Abbey of Scone, near Perth, of the chair in which the Kings of Scotland had been accustomed to sit when crowned, and the "fatal" or sacred stone which was inclosed within it.

The historical evidence which we now possess on this campaign is not of that minute and particular kind which the antiquarian mind requires: and concerning the two incidents above named, little is authentically told. Not but that in the main the historians have reported the facts truly, as far as they go. What I propose is a little to extend the information they have given us: and I rely upon the Institute not forgetting that as antiquaries or archaeologists we are solicitous about mere facts and dates, content to leave the nobler province to the historian and philosopher.

When the King of England had formed the resolution to reduce by force of arms the realm of Scotland to the submission to which he had already brought the Welsh princes, his policy being that the whole population of the isle of Britain should be under one sovereignty, he moved rapidly in the winter through Yorkshire and Northumberland to the town of Berwick. It is unnecessary that I should trouble the Institute with the dates of these movements. About the 28th of March, he was before Berwick. This was in 1296, the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Berwick soon

surrendered, and the king remained there during the greater part of the month of April, towards the close of which was fought the battle of Dunbar, which broke for that time the power of Scotland. The king did not, as might have been expected, advance immediately upon Edinburgh, but spent the month of May in marches and countermarches in the country about Haddington, Jedworth, Roxborough, and Castleton "in valle Lydd." This is gathered from the testes of his writs, and is supported by the diary of this campaign printed in the *Archaeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxi. p. 498. It may be observed by the way, that this diary is evidently the work of a contemporary, and is worthy to be received as an authentic account of the king's movements, being so well supported by dates of the king's writs. At the beginning of June he arrived at Edinburgh. The Castle was bravely defended; but at length it yielded, and with the loss of this fortress, ensuing on the battle of Dunbar, the military operations may be said to have ceased, and the further progress of Edward was little less than a triumphal march of a conqueror.

He remained at Edinburgh till the 14th of June: and in those few days it appears to have been, that, being completely master of the place, he forced his way into the treasuries of the Kings of Scotland, and selected such things as he thought proper to be removed as *spolia opima*, partly to enrich his own treasury, and partly to break the spirit of a brave people struggling to maintain their ancient independence.

That he removed or destroyed the ancient records of the kingdom is asserted, and the document which I shall first adduce will show that some things of this nature were at this time taken by him, beside those which a few years before had been exhibited at Norham, and perhaps never returned. That he took away the ancient crown and sceptre, and other insignia of sovereignty, is also asserted; and of this act of rapine there seems to be sufficient proof, though it receives no support from the inventories, as far as they are known to me, of his choicer possessions in the later years of his reign. Things which he actually removed will appear from a schedule entitled "*Inventa in Castro de Edeneburgh*," one of a collection of such schedules, forming together an inventory of the cups, jewels, &c.,

belonging to the king : everything indeed which fell under the head *Jocalia*. This list was compiled very soon after his return from this expedition.

INVENTA IN CASTRO DE EDENEBURGH.

I. IN COFFRO CUM CRUCE SUNT INFRA SCRIPTA :

Primo. Unum forcerium¹ pulerum in quo sunt hæc :

unum pulvinarium² de armis, fractum.

unus morsus³ deauratus.

una crux stangnea

unum pulvinarium cum griffonibus

duo panni de arista⁴

una alba de armis Regis Angliæ.

una stola et unum fanum.⁵

Item unum pulvinarium de armis Regis Scotiæ coopertum sindone rubro.

una crocia⁶ deaurata quæ fuit Episcopi Rossensis.

una nux cum pede et cooperculo argento deaurato munito.

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede deaurata.

unus ciphus totum cristallo argento munitus.

tria cornua eburnea harnessiata cum serico et argento

unum cornu de bugle

duo parvi costelli⁷ de tammari⁸ muniti argento

unus parvus ciphus argenteus deauratus cum pede de mazero⁹

unus ciphus de tammari cum pede argentea

una nux cum pede argentea deaurata, fracta.

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede argentea deaurata, fractus.

II. IN COFFRO CUM L.

Primo. duo costelli de cristallo argento ligati.

unus mazerus¹ cum pede et cooperculo argento munito deaurato.

unus ciphus de ovo griffini² fracto in toto argento munitus³

unus ciphus de cristallo cum pede argenti deaurati.

unus ciphus cum cooperculo de mugetto⁴ et una pede argenti deaurati

unus piccherus de mugetto argento deaurato munitus.

unus mazerus sine pede parvi valoris.

[The three entries which follow are cancelled, and the reason is given in the margin :—*Intrantur in Libro.*]

una navis argenti ponderis ix^{li}.

unum par pelvium argenti, ponderis vii^{li}.

unum par pelvium argenti ponderis cxvii^{sol}. vi^d.

¹ A small chest.

² A small shrine or perhaps altar, adapted to fit a travelling chapel.

³ Clasp.

⁴ Hair—a hair cloth for penance.

⁵ Albe, stole, and maniple. ⁶ Crozier.

⁷ Costelli is written by mistake for costrelli, as in the corresponding entry in another inventory of the twenty-ninth year. The costrelli were drinking-cups. See Ducange.

⁸ Tamarisk-wood.

⁹ Maple. This entry is cancelled.

¹ A maple bowl.

² A griffin's egg, really an egg of the ostrich, if not rather a cocoa-nut.

³ Cancelled.

⁴ This word is not in the original Ducange, or in his Continuator, nor in other glossaries where it might be expected to appear.

III. IN COFFRO DE N.

[The whole of the following entries are cancelled, and for the reason given in the former case. But it is added—'Restituantur postea in garderoba.']

Ciphus magnus argenteus deauratus cum pede et cooperculo pond. vi marc ii^s. vi^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. lviii^s. ix^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. xlvii^s. viii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. l^s. minus iii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo pond. xxxviii^s. vi^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede et cooperculo pond. lii^s. xi^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et sine cooperculo pond. xxxv^s. iii^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede et cooperculo. li^s. v^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede et cooperculo pond. i. marc xvii^d.

Ciphus argenti cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xxxviii^s. iiiii^d.

Ciphus argenti albus cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xx^s. minus v^d.

Ciphus argenti deaurati cum pede sine cooperculo pond. xxiii^s.

Ciphus argenti platus pond. xxiii^s. vi^d.

Pieherus argenti cum cooperculo pond. xli^s. iiiii^d.

Pieherus ad aquam albus pond. xxvi^s.

Unum lavatorium ad aquam argenti album pond. xxii^s.

Pieherus argenti ad aquam albus pond. xx^s. viiii^d.

On the dorse of this part of the inventory is the following important notice.

Et memorandum quod xvii die Septembris, anno xxiii^{to} omnia Jocalia infra scripta mittebantur de Berewico usque London per Johannem Candelarium in tribus Cofris cum signis ut infra. Et unum magnum Cofrum et ii. parvos Cofros cum diversis scriptis et memorandis inventis in Castro de Edeneburgh: et unum Cofrum cum reliquiis inventis ibidem: et xix cornua de Buele, et unum cornu griffone; quæ liberata fuerunt in Garderoba per Dominum Robertum Giffard et Dominum Hugonem de Roburo quæ inventa fuerunt in quodam Prioratu juxta Forfare: et unum fardellum cum diversis rebus quæ fuerunt Episcopi Sancti Andrei liberatum in Garderoba per Dominum J. de Swineborn militem et custodem ejusdem Episcopatus mense Septembris in principio: et unum discum magnum argenteum pro elemosyna.

Et omnia ista liberavit dictus Johannes Domino Johanni de Drokensford: quæ idem dominus Johannes deposuit in Garderoba Westmonasterium.

It will not be out of place if we add that in another inventory of the king's "Jocalia," formed in the 31st year of his reign, we find:

una pix cum impressione sigilli regni Scociæ.

unus panerius coopertus corio nigro ferro ligatus, in quo continentur scripta magnatum et aliorum regni Scociæ facta Regi de fidelitatis suis et homagiis post guerram Scociæ anno xxiii^{to}.

duo pallia ad pendenda in ecclesia quæ venerunt de Scocia, cooperta de viridi baud.

unus costrellus ligneus involutus panno lineo sigillatus sigillis diversis.

unus Cofrus rubeus in quo continentur Litera et Argumenta tangencia regnum et dominium Scociæ et fidelitatem homagii Regis et Magnatum Scociæ.

We left the King of England at Edinburgh. He marched on to Stirling, where his writs are dated from the 16th to the 20th of June. On the 21st he was at Ughtrahurdur (Auchterarder), and on the 22nd he arrived at Perth. He halted there for a few days, as afterwards at Cluny and Forfar, and on the 7th or 8th he arrived at Montrose. There he remained till the 11th, and during the time received the submission of Balliol and many of the magnates. He then passed on to Aberdeen, Kyntore, and "Elgin in Moravia," so designated in the writs, confirming so far the statement in the old chroniclers, through whose orthography we should hardly, without assistance, recognise the name of this ancient town.

He advanced no farther north. On the 2nd of August he was at "Kyncardine in Neel," from whence he passed to Brechin, Dundee, and Perth. That he visited Perth on his return from Elgin, a fact which we find in the Itinerary, is a confirmation, worthy regard, of the statement of the English chroniclers Walsingham and Hemingford, that it was on his return southward that he visited the Abbey of Scone, for Scone is situated very near to Perth. The ancient kings of Scotland had been crowned at Scone, and in the Abbey there was kept the fatal stone inclosed in a chair in which the kings had been accustomed to sit when the crown was placed upon their heads. For this stone they claimed what appears to be a fabulous antiquity. It was no less than one of the stones in the stony region of Beth-El, nay, the very stone on which the head of the patriarch Jacob rested when he saw the vision of angels; and there was a story belonging to it of its having been brought by way of Egypt into Spain, of its resting in Galicia, of its being carried from thence to Ireland, of its removal to Argyleshire, where it was placed in the royal castle of Dunstaffnag, from whence it was removed to this Abbey of Scone. History finds it there, though it may know nothing of its previous wanderings, and may repudiate entirely the names and the dates, which are not wanting in the traditions respecting it.

Whatever amount of credit may be given to its earlier

conditions, there is no doubt that when at Scone it was regarded with superstitious reverence, and that a large amount of affection and patriotism was gathered around it. But it was looked upon with other feelings. It was regarded as assuring secure possession to the kings of Scotland of whatever land in which it was found, and it is alleged, perhaps on somewhat doubtful authority, that before it had left Scone these verses were inscribed upon it or near to it :—

Ni fallat Fatum, Scotia hunc quocunque locatum
Inveniunt lapidem, regnare, tenentur ibidem.

It was, therefore, strictly in accordance with the line of King Edward's policy to get possession of this ancient and venerable relique, and to remove it far from the sight of a people whose spirit of independence it so directly tended to foster. He spent only one day at Perth, and we can hardly doubt that he then personally visited the Abbey of Scone, and that under his immediate inspection the stone was removed, and the chair perhaps destroyed, as we hear no more of it in documents in which the stone itself is mentioned.

The king, on returning to Berwick, where he proposed to remain for some weeks, passed through Edinburgh, where he arrived on Friday, the 17th of August. There is some slight reason for thinking that he might deposit the stone for a time in the Castle; for in one of the royal inventories—that which was made in his thirty-fifth year, the year in which he died at Burgh on the Sands—it is said to have been found in the Castle of Edinburgh. But this is so contrary to much other evidence, that unless we regard it as referring to a temporary abode there after its removal from Scone, we must look upon it as an error.

Its removal to Westminster ensued very speedily on its being taken from Scone. It occurs in several inventories of the choice possessions of the king, where it is described simply thus : *Una petra magna super quam Reges Scociæ solebant coronari.* The king treated it with the highest respect. We have the testimony of his epitaph that he was a devout prince :

Filius ipse Dei, quem corde colebat, et ore ;

and indeed the whole course of his history shows it, especially his expedition to Palestine. We may call him a

superstitious prince, even with all his fine qualities and admirable abilities as a temporal ruler, carrying about with him, as he did, sacred reliques, and storing among his choicer possessions, two pieces of the rock of Calvary, which were presented to him by one Robert Ailward. It is, perhaps, not going beyond the limit of legitimate conjecture to suppose that he gave credit to the ancient traditions, and seriously regarded it, if not the very stone on which the head of the Patriarch had rested, yet, as at least, a stone from the plain of Beth-El, which had once formed part of the piece of Cyclopean architecture, which the Pentateuch informs us the Patriarch had there erected in memory of so remarkable a vision. In accordance with this, its religious character, he determined to give it a place in the chapel at Westminster, recently erected by his father, inclosing the shrine of King Edward the Confessor. There, also, the remains of his father and of his own Queen Eleanor were deposited, and there he himself intended to lie. No place more sacred than this could have been chosen. There was an altar opposite the shrine. It stood where are now the two Coronation Chairs. The stone was deposited near this altar, where it may be presumed daily services were performed. In contemplating it in its place, which we may now do, to feel the full effect of the scene, we should for the moment restore, in imagination, the altar and its appendages, and lay aside for the time the low esteem in which reliques, however sacred, are in these times held.

But the king had a further purpose respecting it. He prided himself on having brought his affairs in Scotland to a successful issue. He is described on his monument as "*Malleus Scotorum*," and here was the proof—the stone on which the fate of Scotland might be said to hang.

Further, he determined that it should be devoted to the same purpose to which it had been devoted while in the possession of the Scots. It had formed part of the Coronation Chair of Scotland: it was now to be the seat on which future sovereigns of England should be seated when they were anointed with the sacred oil, had the diadem placed upon their brow, and the sceptre in their hand. And with this intention he ordered a chair to be constructed, and the stone to be placed immediately beneath the seat. That this was done with a view to its future use as the throne on which

the sovereign was to sit on the day of the coronation, appears from the following entry by a contemporary hand in the Inventory of the last year of his reign:—"Mittebatur per preceptum Regis usque Abbathiam de Westmonasterio ad assedendum ibidem juxta feretrum Sancti Edwardi, in quadam cathedra lignea deaurata quam Rex fieri precepit [ut Reges Angliæ et Scociæ infra sederent die Coronationis eorundem] ad perpetuam rei memoriam." This may be set against what Walsingham states, "jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." I ought to add, however, that the words inclosed in brackets have a line drawn through them; but still they may be taken as good proof, with other circumstances, and the subsequent usage, that the chair was, as to its original purpose, the Coronation Chair.

The king's first intention was that the chair should be of bronze, and Adam, his goldsmith, had made considerable progress in the work, when the king changed his purpose, and directed that a chair of wood should be constructed, and he called in the assistance of Master Walter, his painter, to decorate it with his art. We learn these particulars from a piece of evidence of a character remarkably authentic, the bill of Adam the goldsmith of expenses for which he claimed payment. This bill is entitled—"Compotus Adæ aurifabri Regis de jocalibus emptis ad opus Regis; et de aurifabria diversa facta per eundem anno xxvii^o et anno xxviii^o usque xxvii diem Marci." An extract from this account of so much as relates to the chair, is the second piece of original evidence which I proposed to lay before the Institute.

Eidem [id est Adæ] pro diversis custibus per ipsum factis circa quandam cathedram de cupro quam Rex prius fieri preceperat anno xxv^o post reditum suum de Scocia, pro petra super quam Reges Scociæ solebant coronari inventa apud Scone anno xxiii^o superponenda juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbathiæ Westmonasterii: et nunc eadem petra in quadam cathedra de ligno facta per Magistrum Walterum pictorem Regis loco dictæ Cathedræ quæ prius ordinata fuit de cupro est assessa: videlicet pro una Cathedra de ligno facta ad exemplar alterius cathedræ fundenda de cupro—c sol.—Et pro mⁱ d lib. cupri emptis una cum stagno empto ad idem cuprum allaiandum xii lib. v sol.—Et pro vadiis et stipendiis unius operarii fundentis eandem cathedram et preparantis pecios ejusdem una cum formis ad hoc inveniendum et faciendum; per certam conventionem factam cum eodem, x lib.—Et pro stipendiis diversorum operancium in metallo predicto post formationem ejusdem cathedræ mensibus Junii et Julii ante primum diem Augusti anno xxv^o quo die dictæ operationes cessarunt ex toto per preceptum Regis ratione passagii sui versus Flandriam,

ix lib. vii sol. xi den.—Et pro ustilementis emptis pro operationibus predictis et emendacione aliorum per vices, xl sol.—Et pro duobus leopardis parvis de ligno faciendis depingendis et deaurandis, et liberatis Magistro Waltero pictori ad assidendis super cathedram de ligno factam per dictum Magistrum Walterum per utrasque costas, xiii sol. iiii den. per computum factum cum eodem apud Westmonasterium xxvii die Marcii anno xxviii^o.

Summa xxxix lib., vi sol. iiii den.

There is another notice of work performed on this chair, in the Wardrobe Account of the 29th of the reign, published from the original in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

Magistro Waltero pictori, pro custibus et expensis per ipsum factis circa unum gradum faciendum ad pedem novæ cathedræ in qua petra Scociæ reponitur juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbatie Westmonaster' juxta ordinationem Regis, mense Martii, et in stipendiis carpentariorum et pictorum eundem gradum depingendum, et pro auro et coloribus diversis emptis pro eadem depingenda; una cum factura unius cassi pro dicta cathedra cooperianda, sicut patet per particulas inde in garderoba liberatas, i lib. xix sol. vii den.

The position in the Chapel of Saint Edward the Confessor occasioned the chair to be called Saint Edward's chair, by which name it is usually spoken of, when people had become familiar with it. Now, when called into use, it is covered with cloth of gold; but when Queen Elizabeth sat in it, we find the following entry of decorations for what is called the Siege Royal: "Cloth of silver incarnate, for covering Saint Edward's Chair, 18½ yards. Fringe of red silk and silver, 7lbs. and 3½ oz. Bawdekyn crimson and green and other mean silk, for covering the steps going up into the Mount, 149 yards. Says of the largest size, 12 pieces. Says of the lesser size for the Siege Royal, 17 pieces. Cushions out of the wardrobe."

When the fortune of war turned against England, and a less vigorous successor lost all that King Edward had gained in Scotland, it is stated that there were negotiations for the return of this stone; and it is even alleged that the return of it was one of the articles of the Treaty at Northampton in the second year of King Edward the Third. No such clause is found in the copy of the treaty in the *Foedera*; but that such an act was contemplated seems to be implied in the terms of a Royal Writ, of the date of July 1, 1328, addressed to the Abbot and Monks of Westminster, setting forth that the Council had come to the resolution of giving up the

stone, and requiring them to deliver it to the Sheriff of London, to be carried to the Queen Mother. This writ, it will be observed, is for its delivery to the Queen Mother, meaning Isabella. Her influence was then beginning to be looked upon with jealousy by the English nobles, who may have in some way not now known, frustrated in this particular the Queen's policy.

However, it is manifest that it was not returned ; for the Scottish historians do not claim the recovery of it among the good deeds done to their nation by Robert Bruce, and the stone and the chair in which it was enclosed may still be seen in the chapel at Westminster.

One word more respecting the alleged antiquity of the stone, which Toland does not hesitate to call "the ancientest respected monument in the world." In considering this question we are to try its claims to be what the traditions of the middle ages claimed for it, by the same tests by which other reliques of high antiquity are tested. We are not to expect written evidence as we do for transactions of a time when the art of writing was extensively used, but *early traditionary belief supported by parallel usages or incidents, and free from gross improbabilities*. Few in this instance will contend for the dates, or for the existence even of the person who is said to have brought it from Egypt ; but there is nothing which violently shocks the sense of probability and the regard which all must cherish for maintaining the truth of history, in supposing that some Christian devotee, in perhaps the second, third, or fourth century, brought this stone from the stony territory of the plain of Luz, having persuaded himself that it was the very stone on which the head of the patriarch had rested when he saw the vision of Angels ; or had even become possessed of the very stone which is said to have been preserved in the Holy of Holies of the second Temple at Jerusalem, with the tradition that it had been Jacob's pillow. Where is the improbability that when the Temple was destroyed, this stone should pass into the hands of a devotee, to be preserved by him, as the altar of the church of Doncaster was preserved by Thridwulf in the wood of Elmete, when the church was burnt by the Pagans. Once in the possession of such a person, it would be cherished by him as King Edward cherished the portions of the rock of Calvary which were presented to him, or as his

uncle the King of the Romans cherished the Christian reliques of the most sacred character which he brought to England. Once preserved and venerated, nothing is more probable than that it should at length be found in Galicia, where Christianity took deep root in the very earliest ages of the Church. There is no natural impossibility in its passing from thence into Ireland, the land of Saints, and where races of people have claimed a Spanish origin, and from thence to Scotland. That it there became allied to Royalty is but in accordance with what appears to have been the usages of the island,—the stone at Kingston upon Thames being connected in popular tradition with the coronation of Saxon Kings known to have been performed there.

The stone is said to be a calcareous sandstone, and may one day be shown to be of the same formation with those of which Dr. Clarke speaks as found on the site of Beth-El.

NOTICES OF THE BRANK, OR SCOLDS' BRIDLE.

BY F. A. CARRINGTON, Esq.

THIS instrument, used for the punishment of scolds, of which a specimen, now in my possession, was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Institute, appears to have been in use in this country from the time of the Commonwealth to the reign of King William the Third.

As far as I am aware, it never was a legal punishment ; indeed, in the year 1655, Mr. Gardiner, in his work hereafter cited, complains of it as illegal and improper. The punishment for scolds was, and is still, by the laws of England, the Cucking-stool, of which, in its two forms, representations have been given in illustration of a memoir in the Wiltshire "Archæological Magazine." The fixed Cucking-stool was found in a perfect state, near Worthing, by my late friend Mr. Curwood, the barrister ; and the movable one was noticed in a state equally perfect at Wootton Bassett, by Mrs. Hains of that place, who is still living.

I know of the existence of branks in several places, and no doubt there are other examples ; the punishment must, therefore, have been quite a common one.

There was, in the year 1655, a brank at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and it possibly exists there still. Dr. Plot mentions branks at Newcastle-under-Lyme and at Walsall, in the reign of King James II. These, however, are a little different in form from that at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

There is a brank in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford ; and, about seven years ago, there was another in the magistrates' room in the Shire-hall at Shrewsbury, but the latter has since that time been taken away. The branks at Oxford and Shrewsbury were both similar to that figured by Dr. Plot ; except that each of them had only one staple, and not different staples to suit persons of different sizes.

A brank, from Lichfield, was formerly shown at a meeting

¹ On Certain Ancient Wiltshire Customs. 1. The Cucking-stool. "Wiltshire Magazine," vol. i., p. 68, where notices of

other examples may be found. See also Mr. Wright's "Archæological Album," p. 48.

of the Institute, and I am told that another exists at the church of Walton-on-Thames ; and Mr. Noake, in his " Worcester in the Olden Time," gives an entry in the corporation books of that city, relating to the repair of this species of instrument, under the date of 1658.

The brank in my possession is of the-reign of William III., if a stamp of the letter W, crowned, may be considered as denoting that date. Of this brank I can give no account. The person from whom I had it knew nothing of its history, not even for what purpose it was intended.



Brank, in the possession of Mr. F. A. Carrington.

The Venerable Archdeacon Hale, on seeing this example of the brank, when it was produced for the inspection of the Institute, remarked, that from so many cucking-stools and branks having existed from the reign of Charles II. to that of Queen Anne, and from so many entries and memoranda being found respecting them, they must have been then in frequent use ; and yet now there seemed no occasion for either. He suggested, that in those times, there being few lunatic asylums, and insanity being a disease little understood, it was probable that many insane women were violent, and punished as scolds, who would be now treated as lunatics.

It was also stated by the Archdeacon, that, in addition to cucking-stools and branks, the scolds of former days had the terrors of the ecclesiastical courts before their eyes, and that the ecclesiastical records of the diocese of London contained many entries respecting scolds ; and it is stated by Mr. Noake, in his " Notes and Queries for Worcestershire,"² that " in 1614, Margaret, wife of John Bache, of Chaddeley, was prosecuted at the sessions as a ' comon skould, and a sower of strife amongste her neyghboures, and hath bynn presented

² P. 106. This is an admirable little work. It contains much information, in a cheap and popular form, and is in effect

326 pages of addenda to " Brand's Popular Antiquities."

for a skoulde at the leete houlden for the manour of Chadsley, and for misbehaving her tonge towards her mother-in-law at a visytacon at Bromsgrove, and was excommunicated therefore.'

"In 1617, Elinor Nichols was presented as 'a great scold and mischief-maker,' who is said to have been excommunicated, and had never applied to make her peace with the Church."

I should observe, that this instrument is in some instances called "a brank;" in others, "the branks;" "a pair of branks;" and "the scolds'-bridle;" but it is worthy of remark, that the word "brank" does not occur in any dictionary that I have seen, although the instrument itself appears to be so frequently met with.

The brank is mentioned in the works of Mr. Brand, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Sykes, Dr. Plot, and Mr. Noake, in the following passages.

Mr. Brand, in his "History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," says,—"In the time of the Commonwealth, it appears that the magistrates of Newcastle-upon-Tyne punished scolds with the branks, and drunkards by making them carry a tub, called the Drunkard's Cloak, through the streets of that town. We shall presume that there is no longer any occasion for the former; but why has the latter been laid aside?"³

"A pair of branks are still preserved in the Town-court of Newcastle. See an account of them, with a plate, in Plot's 'Staffordshire.' Vide Gardiner's 'English Grievance of the Coal-trade.' The representation in this work is a fac-simile from his."⁴

Mr. Gardiner's work, here cited, is a small quarto volume, thus entitled:

"England's Grievance Discovered in relation to the Coal-trade, with a Map of the River Tine, and situation of the Town and Corporation of Newcastle; the tyrannical oppression of their Magistrates; their Charters and Grants; the several Tryals, Depositions, and Judgements obtained against them; with a Breviate of several Statutes proving repugnant to their actions, with proposals for reducing the excessive

³ For representations of both, see the plate of "Miscellaneous Antiquities," No. 2 and 3, "Brand's History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 47.

⁴ "History of Newcastle," vol. ii., p. 192. The representation is not very accurate as regards the dress.

Rates of Coals for the future, and the rise of their Grants appearing in this Book.

"By *Ralph Gardiner*, of *Chriton*, in the county of *Northumberland*, Gent. London, printed for *R. Ibbitson*, in *Smithfield*; and *P. Stent*, at the *White Horse* in *Giltspur Street* without *Newgate*. 1655."⁵

The work commences with an Epistle dedicatory to "His Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.," in which the writer states several public grievances, and makes ten suggestions for their remedy; the tenth suggestion being as follows:—

"X. And that a law be created for death to such as shall commit perjury, forgery, or accept of bribery."

Against this some one has written in the margin of the British Museum copy—"The author suffer'd death for forging of guineas."⁶ The handwriting of this piece of interesting information being apparently of the reign of Queen Anne or George I.

The work contains Forty-six Depositions of witnesses in support of the Allegations—at the commencement of six of these are engravings; and the work concludes with an Abstract of Statutes from *Magna Charta* to 17 Charles I., and Ordinances of Parliament relating to Municipal matters from 1640 to 1653.—Chap. LV. At p. 110 the following Depositions occur, to which is prefixed the well-known engraving, which has been frequently copied, representing a female wearing the branks.

"(A.) *John Willis*, of *Ipswich*, upon his oath said, that he, this Depo-
nent, was in *Newcastle* six months ago, and there he saw one *Ann Bidle-*
stone drove through the streets by an officer of the same corporation
holding a rope in his hand, the other end fastned to an engine called the
Branks, which is like a Crown, it being of Iron, which was musled over the
head and face, with a great gap or tongue of Iron forced into her mouth,
which forced the blood out. And that is the punishment which the Magis-
trates do inflict upon chiding and scoulding women, and that he hath
often seen the like done to others.

⁵ In Mr. Hargrave's copy of this work, now in the British Museum, is the following note, written by that learned gentleman:—"19th May, 1783. This book is extremely scarce. This copy of it, though without the map mentioned in the title, was sold at the sale of Mr. Gulston's books for one guinea, to Mr. King, book-

seller in Lower Moor Fields. I bought it of Mr. King, and paid him one guinea and a half for it.—F. Hargrave."

⁶ Counterfeiting gold or silver coin was a capital offence in the reign of Charles II., but no forgery of any document was so till the reign of George I.

"(B.) He, this Deponent, further affirms that he hath seen men drove up and down the streets with a great Tub or Barrel opened in the sides, with a hole in one end to put through their heads and so cover their shoulders and bodies down to the small of their legs, and then close the same, called the new-fashioned Cloak, and so make them wear it to the view of all beholders, and this is their punishment for drunkards and the like.

"(C.) This Deponent further testifies that the Merchants and Shoemakers of the said Corporation will not take any Apprentice under ten years' servitude, and knoweth many bound for the same terme, and cannot obtain freedome without." 5 *Eliz.* 4.

"(D.) Drunkards are to pay a fine of five shillings to the poor, to be paid within one week, or be set in the Stocks six hours; for the second offence to be bound to the Good Behaviour. I. K. *James*, 9, 21, 7.

"(E.) Scoulds are to be Duckt over head and ears into the water in a Ducking-stool.

"(F.) And Apprentices are to serve but seven years. 5 *Eliz.* 4."

Mr. John Sykes, in his "Local Records of Northumberland," under the date of Sept. 14, 1649, says—"Two ancient punishments of Newcastle, inflicted on disturbers of the peace, appear as being practised *about this time*," a Newcastle cloak for drunkards, and "the scold wore an iron engine called 'the branks,' in the form of a crown; it covered the head, but left the face exposed, and having a tongue of iron which went into the mouth constrained silence from the most violent brawler." Mr. Sykes gives a copy of Mr. Gardiner's engraving of Ann Bidlestone wearing the brank, and adds—"the branks are still preserved in the town's court."

Why Mr. Sykes should have inserted his notice of the brank under the date of 1649 I know not. He derived his information apparently from Mr. Gardiner's volume, printed in 1655, and the only dates which occur in that work are of the year 1653, viz.:—

Mr. Gardiner's Petition to Parliament, Sept. 29, 1653.

It is referred to the Committee of Trade and Corporations, Oct. 5, 1653.

And, on the 18th of Oct., 1653, that Committee directs that it shall be taken into consideration on the 15th of November then next.

After this Mr. Gardiner exhibits charges against the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, dated 1653 (no month or day), and at the end of them he says—"The Committee drew up and signed a Report against the Corporation, and

would have presented the same to his Highnesse the Lord Protector, but I conceived that a narration was better."

Then follow the depositions—one of which, relating to scolds, drunkards, and apprentices, has been given above.

Dr. Plot, in his "Natural History of Staffordshire," chap. ix., s. 97, says—"We come to the *Arts* that respect *Mankind*, amongst which, as elsewhere, the civility of precedence must be allowed to the *women*, and that as well in punishments as favours. For the former whereof, they have such a peculiar *artifice* at *New-Castle* [under Lyme] and *Walsall*, for correcting of *scolds*, which it does too so effectually, and so very safely, that I look upon it as much to be preferred to the *Cucking-stoole*, which not only endangers the *health* of the *party*, but also gives the *tongue* liberty 'twixt every dipp; to neither of which is this at all lyable; it being such a *bridle* for the *tongue*, as not only quite deprives them of *speech*, but brings shame for the transgression, and humility thereupon, before 'tis taken off. Which being an *instrument* scarce heard of, much less seen, I have here presented it to the reader's view, tab. 32, fig. 9, as it was taken from the original one, made of *iron*, at *New-Castle* under *Lyme*, wherein the letter *a* shows the joynted collar that comes round the neck; *b*, *c*, the *loops* and *staples* to let it out and in, according to the bigness and slenderness of the *neck*; *d*, the joynted semicircle that comes over the *head*, made forked at one end to let through the *nose*; and *e*, the *plate* of *iron* that is put into the *mouth*, and keeps down the *tongue*. Which, being put upon the *offender* by order of the *magistrate*, and fastened with a *padlock* behind, she is lead through the towne by an *officer* to her shame, nor is it taken off, till after the party begins to show all external signes imaginable of humiliation and amendment."

Dr. Plot was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and professor of chemistry in that university; this work was printed at Oxford in 1686, and dedicated to King James II.

Mr. Noake, in his "Worcester in the Olden Time,"^s gives the following entry from the corporation books of that city.

"1658. Paid for mending the bridle for bridleinge of scoulds, and two cords for the same. js. ijd."

It would seem that the brank or "bridle for bridleinge of scoulds" must have been a good deal used in the city of Worcester, from its requiring so considerable a repair in 1658; and it further appears that, within thirty-five years before, the cucking-stool had not fallen into desuetude in that city, as Mr. Noake gives the following entries from the corporation books there respecting its use:—

"1623. Allowed the money for whipping of one Rogeres, and for carrying several women upon the gum-stoole.

"1625. For mending the stocks at the Grass-crosse, for whipping of divers persons, and carting of other some, and for halling the goome-stoole to the houses of divers scouldinge people."

Mr. Noake adds—"A curious instrument of punishment, probably used for a similar purpose, may still be seen hung up with some armour in the Worcester Guildhall. The following is from a sketch taken by me a few months ago. The head was inserted in this helmet, and the visor, which is here represented as hanging down, being connected with the toothed uprights, was drawn up and down by means of a key winding up the end of the rod which passes immediately across the top of the helmet, and which rod is furnished with cogs at the end, to fit into the teeth of the



uprights. The visor was thus drawn up so as to completely darken the eyes and cover the nose. The little square box with a hole, to which a screw is affixed at the side, was probably intended to receive the end of a pole fixed in a wall, from which the patient was thus made to stand out, though certainly not 'in relief.'

"These instruments [branks], as well as cucking-stools, were in use in nearly all towns. The present specimen is probably *temp.* Henry VII."

In the museum at Ludlow, according to information for which I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, another example is preserved of an iron cap, probably for branding offenders, much resembling that at Worcester, but perhaps

more complicated. It is furnished with a similar rack and side wheels for compression. [See page 269, *infra*.]

Dr. Ormerod, in his "History of Cheshire,"⁹ after mentioning that a cucking-stool was in existence at Macclesfield in the last century, adds—"and *there* is also yet preserved an iron brank or bridle for scolds, which has been used within the memory of the author's informant, Mr. Browne, and which is mentioned as 'a brydle for a curste queane,' among the articles delivered by the serjeant to Sir Urian Legh, Knt., on his being elected mayor, Oct. 3, 21 Jac. I. An iron bridle was used at Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, a few years ago, as a punishment for prostitutes. The bridle was fixed in their mouths and tied at the back of the head with ribbons, and, so attired, they were paraded from the cross to the church steps and back again by the beadles."

F. A. CARRINGTON.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF THE BRANK, OR SCOLDS'-BRIDLE.

THE origin of the grotesque implement of punishment, forming the subject of the foregoing observations, as also the period of its earliest use in Great Britain, remain in considerable obscurity. No example of the Scolds'-Bridle has been noticed of greater antiquity than that preserved in the church of Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, which bears the date 1633, with the distich,—

CHESTER presents WALTON with a Bridle,
To Curb Women's Tongues that talk to Idle.

Tradition alleges that it was given for the use of that parish by a neighbouring gentleman who lost an estate, through the indiscreet babbling of a mischievous woman to the kinsman from whom he had considerable expectations.¹ Some have conjectured, from the occurrence of several examples of the Branks in the Palatinate, one more especially being still kept in the Jail at Chester, that this implement of discipline "for a curste queane," had been actually presented by the city of Chester; it may however seem probable that the name of an individual is implied, and not that of a city so remote from Walton. Another dated example is in the possession of Sir John Walsham, Bart., of Bury St. Edmunds; it was found in Old Chesterfield Poor-house, Derbyshire, where it is supposed to have been used, and it was given to Lady Walsham by Mr. Weale, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. This Brank has an iron chain attached to it with a ring at the end; it bears the date and the initials—

⁹ Vol. iii., p. 385 n. Published in 1819.

¹ Brayley's Hist. of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 331, where a representation of the "Gossip's Bridle" is given.

1688, T. C. It was produced at a meeting of the West Suffolk Archæological Institute, according to information for which I am indebted to the secretary of that Society, Mr. Tymms, the historian of Bury.

It is probable that at a more remote period the inconvenience attending the use of so cumbrous an apparatus as the cucking-stool,—the proper and legal engine of punishment for female offenders, whether for indecent brawling or for brewing bad beer,—may have led to the substitution of some more convenient and not less disgraceful penalty. In some parishes in the West country, cages were provided for scolds; and the ancient Customal of Sandwich ordained that any woman guilty of brawling should carry a large mortar round the town with a piper or minstrel preceding her, and pay the piper a penny for his pains. This practice was established prior to the year 1518, and a representation of the mortar may be seen in Boys' History of Sandwich. The suggestion of Mr. Fairholt, in his notice of a grotesque iron mask of punishment obtained in the Castle of Nuremberg, that the Branks originated in certain barbarous implements of torture of that description, seems well deserving of consideration. The example which he has described and figured in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii. p. 61, is now in Lord Londesborough's collection at Grimston Park; it is a frame of iron made to fit the head like the scolds'-bridle; it was attached by a collar under the chin, and has a pair of grotesque spectacles and ass's ears. There are

other examples in various collections; one of wood, in the Goodrich Court Armory, was assigned by the late Sir S. Meyrick to the times of Henry VIII.

The fashion and construction of the brank varies considerably, and a few specimens may deserve particular notice. The most simple form consisted of a single hoop which passed round the head, opening by means of hinges at the sides, and closed by a staple with a padlock at the back: a plate



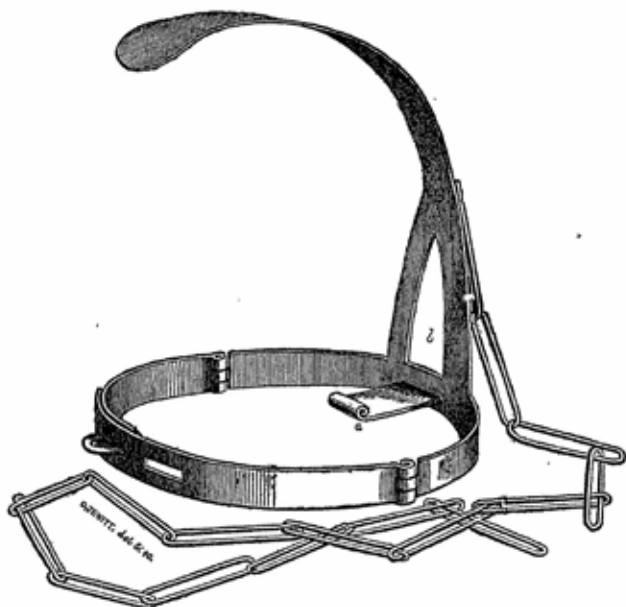
The Witch's Bridle, Forfar.

within the hoop projecting inwards pressed upon the tongue, and formed an effectual gag. I am indebted to the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington, Lincolnshire, for a sketch of this simple kind of bridle, and he informed me that an object of similar construction had been in use amongst the Spaniards in the West Indies for the punishment of refractory slaves. The "Witch's Branks, or Bridle," preserved some years since in the steeple at Forfar, North Britain, is of this form, but in place of a flat plate, a sharply-pointed gag, furnished with three spikes, entering the mouth, gives to this example a fearfully savage aspect. The date, 1661, is punched upon the hoop. In the old statistical account of the parish of Forfar, it is described as the bridle with which victims condemned for witchcraft were led to execution.² The facility, however, with which the single hoop might be slipped off the head, led to the addition of a curved band of iron passing

² This relique of cruelty has been carried away from Forfar, and it was in the collection of the late Mr. Deuchar of

Edinburgh. See Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 693, and Sir J. Dalrymple's Darker Superstitions of Scotland, p. 686.

over the forehead, with an aperture for the nose, and so formed as to clip the crown of the head, rendering escape from the bridle scarcely practicable. Of this variety the specimen preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford supplies an example. (See Woodcut). It is not stated in the catalogue of that collection, by whom it was presented, or where it was previously used; it is described as "a Gag, or Brank, formerly used with the ducking-stool, as a punishment for scolds."³ In this instance, it will be observed that the chain by which the offender was led is attached in front, immediately over the nose, instead of the back of the head, the more



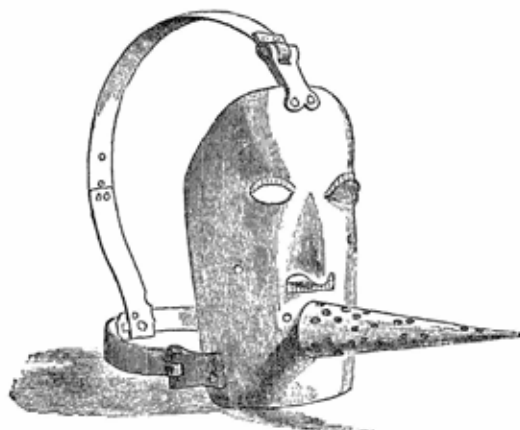
Brank in the Ashmolean Museum.

usual adjustment of the leading chain. For greater security, the transverse band was in other examples prolonged, and attached to the collar by a hinge or staple, as shown by the brank figured in Plot's *Staffordshire*, and those existing at Macclesfield, Newcastle under Line, and Walton on Thames. A very grotesque variety was exhibited by the late Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington Park, Lincolnshire, in the Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Lincoln. It has an iron mask entirely covering the face, with apertures for the eyes and nostrils, the plate being hammered out to fit the nose, and a long conical peak affixed before the mouth, bearing some resemblance to the peculiar long-snouted visor of the bascinets occasionally worn in the time of Richard II. (See Woodcut, next page). No account of the previous history of this singular object could be obtained.

A brank, actually in the possession of Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, is figured in the *Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, session ii. p. 25, plate 5. A cross is affixed to the band which

³ Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum, *Miscellaneous Curiosities*, No. 517, p. 148.

passed over the head, and a curved piece on either side clipped the crown of the head, and kept the brank more firmly in position. In other examples



Brank at Doddington Park, Lincolnshire.

we find in place of these recurved appendages, two bands of iron plate, crossing each other at right angles on the crown of the head, their extremities being riveted to the horizontal hoop or collar; in that preserved at the Guildhall, Lichfield, and exhibited by kind permission of the mayor at one of the meetings of the Institute, a more complete framework or skeleton head-piece is formed by five pieces of iron hoop, which meet on the crown of the head, where they are conjoined by a single rivet.⁴ (See Woodcut.) Lastly, a more complicated arrangement is shown in the brank preserved at Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, in the ancient manor-house in the possession of Lord Leigh, described in Shaw's History of that county. It bears resemblance to a lantern of conical form, presenting in front a grotesque mask pierced for eyes, nose, and mouth, and opening with a door behind. The construction of this singular engine of punishment is sufficiently shown by the accompanying Woodcuts, prepared from drawings for which we are indebted to Mr. Hewett.

There was a brank at Beaudesert, Staffordshire, as also at Walsall, and at Holme, Lancashire. There was one in the town-hall at Leicester, now in private hands in that town. That which is recorded in 1623 as existing at Macclesfield, and is still seen in the town-hall,⁵ had been actually used, as I was assured by a friendly correspondent, within the memory of an aged official of the municipal



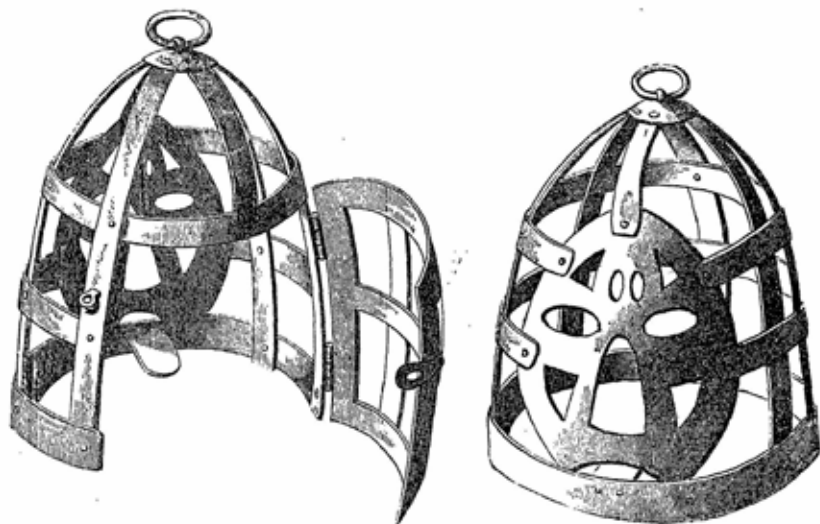
Brank belonging to the Town Council, Lichfield.

⁴ It is believed that this is the same which Shaw mentions as formerly in Greene's Museum at Lichfield.

⁵ Ormerod mentions this brank at Macclesfield, and within memory of his informant, Mr. Browne. It is described as a "brydle for a curste queane" in

the delivery of articles to Sir Urian Legh, Knight, on his election as mayor, in 1623. The ducking-pool also, with the tumbrel post, remained at Macclesfield in the last century. Hist. of Cheshire, vol. iii., p. 385.

authorities in that town. The hideous "brydle for a curste queane" remains suspended, with an iron straight-waistcoat, hand-cuffs and bilboes, and other obsolete appliances of discipline. To the same curious observer of olden usages I owe the fact, that within comparatively recent memory the brank was used for punishing disorderly females at Manchester. At Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, the iron bridle was still in use, not many years since, for the correction of immorality. It was fixed in the female's mouth, and tied at the back of the head with ribands, and, thus attired, the offender was paraded from the cross to the church steps and back again. Mr. Greene, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in 1849, accompanying the exhibition of the branks from Lichfield and Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, advanced the supposition that the punishment of the scolds'-bridle had been peculiar to that county ;⁶ its use was, however, even more frequent in the Palatinate, as also in the northern counties and



Brank at the Manor-House, Hamstall Ridware.

in Scotland. Pennant, in his Northern Tour in 1772, records its use at Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, where the local magistrates had it always in readiness ; it had been actually used a month previous to his visit, till the blood gushed from the mouth of the victim.⁷ Several other examples of the brank have been noticed in North Britain ; it is indeed mentioned, with the joughs, by Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," as a Scottish instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, for the coercion of scolds and slanderous gossips. The use of such bridles for unruly tongues occurs in the Burgh Records of Glasgow, as early as 1574, when two quarrelsome females were bound to keep the peace, or on further offending—"to be brankit." In the records of the Kirk Session, Stirling, for 1600, "the brankes" are mentioned as the punishment for a shrew. In St. Mary's church, at St. Andrews, a memorable specimen still exists, displayed for

⁶ Proceedings of Soc. Ant., vol. ii., p. 8.

⁷ Tour in Scotland, vol. ii., p. 91.

the edification of all zealous Presbyterians, on a table in the elders' pew. It is known as the "Bishop's Branks," but whether so styled from the alleged use of such torment by Cardinal Beaton, in the sufferings of Patrick Hamilton and other Scottish martyrs who perished at the stake in the times of James V., or rather, in much later times, by Archbishop Sharp, to silence the scandal which an unruly dame promulgated against him before



Brank found in Moray House, Edinburgh.

the congregation, popular tradition seems to be unable to determine.⁸ A representation of the "Bishop's Branks" is given in the Abbotsford edition of "The Monastery," where it is noticed. It precisely resembles the specimen found in 1848 behind the oak panelling, in the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, in the Canongate, Edinburgh. Of this, through the kindness of Mr. Constable, I am enabled to offer the accompanying representation.

In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland another specimen may be seen, thus described by Dr. Wilson in the

Synopsis of that Collection.—"The branks, an ancient Scottish instrument. Its most frequent and effectual application was as a corrector of incorrigible scolds.—Presented by J. M. Brown, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. 1848."

The term brank is found in old Scottish writers in a more general sense, denoting a kind of bridle. Jamieson gives the verb, to Brank, to bridle, to restrain; and he states that Branks, explained by Lord Hales as signifying the collars of work-horses, "properly denotes a sort of bridle, often used by the country people in riding. Instead of leather, it has on each side a piece of wood joined to a halter, to which a bit is sometimes added; but more frequently a kind of wooden noose resembling a muzzle. Anciently, this seems to have been the common word for a bridle" (in the North of Scotland).⁹ In regard to the etymology of the word, Jamieson observes, "Gael. *brancas* is mentioned by Shaw, as signifying a halter; *brans* is also said to denote a kind of bridle. But our word seems originally the same with Teut. *pranghe*, which is defined so as to exhibit an exact description of our branks; *b.* and *p.* being often interchanged, and in Germ. used indifferently in many instances. *Pranghe*, *myyl-pranghe*, *postomis*, *pastomis*, *confibula*: instrumentum quod naribus equorum imponitur. Kilian. Wachter gives *prang-er*—*premere*, *coactare*. Hence, he says, the pillory is vulgarly called *pranger*, Belg. *pranghe*, from the yoke or collar in which the neck of the culprit is held."¹

In a copy of Dr. Plot's "History of Staffordshire," in the British Museum Library, the following marginal note occurs on his description of

⁸ The incident is related in the Life of Archbishop Sharp. See also Howie's Judgment on Persecutors, p. 30, Biographia Scotiana, as cited by Jamieson v. Branks.

⁹ Compare Brockett's explanation of the word branks used on the Borders. North Country Words.

¹ Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, and Supp. *in voce*.

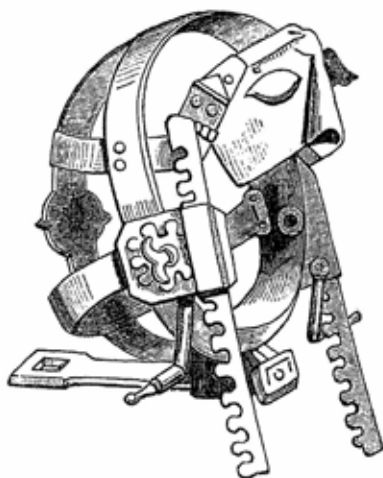
the Brank. It has been supposed to be in his own handwriting.—“This Bridle for the Tongue seems to be very ancient, being mentioned by an ancient English poet, I think Chaucer, *quem vide* :—

“But for my daughter Julian,
I would she were well bolted with a Bridle,
That leaves her work to play the clack,
And lets her wheel stand idle.
For it serves not for she-ministers,
Farriers nor Furriers,
Cobblers nor Button-makers
To descant on the Bille.”

Whilst these observations were in the printer's hands, I have received, through the kindness of Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, a drawing of the horrible engine preserved in the Museum at Ludlow, to which allusion had been made in the foregoing memoir by Mr. Carrington. It appears to be analogous to that described by Mr. Noake as existing at Worcester, and of which he has very kindly supplied the representation accompanying these notices. (See p. 262, *ante*.) Of the example at Ludlow, Mr. Bernhard Smith gives the following account :—

“I think you will find these iron head-pieces to belong to a class of engines of far more formidable character than the Branks. Their powerful screwing apparatus seems calculated to force the iron mask with torturing effect upon the brow of the victim ; there are no eye-holes, but concavities in their places, as though to allow for the starting of the eye-balls under violent pressure. There is a strong bar with a square hole, evidently intended to fasten the criminal against a wall, or perhaps to the pillory ; for I have heard it said that these instruments were used to keep the head steady during the infliction of branding. Another cruel engine in the Ludlow Museum appears to have been intended to dislocate the arm, and to cramp or crush the fingers at the same time. It is so much mutilated as to render its mode of application very difficult to make out.”

In conclusion, it may be said of these antique reliques of a cruel discipline, as well observed of the Brank by Mr. Fairholt,²—“as rare examples of ancient manners, they are worthy the attention of all who study what are frequently termed the good old times, and who may, by that study, have to be thankful that they did not live in them.”



Engine of torture in the Ludlow Museum.

ALBERT WAY.

² Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. vii., p. 64.

Original Documents.

LETTER FROM JAMES V., KING OF SCOTLAND, ADDRESSED TO HENRY VIII., DATED AUGUST 24, A.D. 1526.

FROM THE ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE PRESERVED IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE.

By the fate of the chivalrous James IV. upon the field of Flodden, Scotland had to pass through one of the severest trials to which—next perhaps to a civil war—a kingdom can be subjected, viz., a long minority of the sovereign. Joined to the many occasions for disputes which perhaps must always exist among a high spirited and brave people, and which had prevailed from a very early period among the nobility of Scotland, the accession of the infant nephew of the wealthy and powerful sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom introduced many fresh elements of difference. The violence of the “National” and “French” parties was only moderated to be directed with greater force against the rising power of the “English” party. The Duke of Albany, opposed by the influence of Henry VIII., had great difficulty in maintaining his position as Regent. His difficulties were increased by the fact of his being the heir presumptive to the kingdom. Schemes and plots of various kinds were entered into—professedly to give the juvenile sovereign greater liberty of action—but really only to transfer the direction of that action to other hands.

After the forced retirement of Albany, James V. was in the power of that influential party of nobles, of whom Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, the great opponent of the Regent and the husband of the queen-mother, was the chief. So matters continued for a short time. In the year 1524 the result of such a state of things appears by some correspondence given by David Scott, who tells us that Angus got the king to write publicly “That his mother and her friends need not be solicitous about him,” as he was well satisfied with the treatment he received from Angus—while in secret he wrote letters to the queen of quite an opposite purport.

An opportunity, afforded by the absence of Angus, enabled the queen to place her son upon the throne two years before the time appointed. Presuming perhaps too much upon this stroke of policy, the demands of Margaret upon her brother became immoderate, and her now divorced husband was again in secret confederacy with the English monarch. By his aid the Earl of Angus succeeded, in the year 1526, in once more overthrowing all opposition, and wielding all the power of the country to the advantage of the Douglasses and the dismay of their enemies.

To the critical period of Scotland's history, which I have thus slightly adverted to, belongs a collection of original correspondence, numbering between fifty and sixty letters, written (or signed) by the king himself, his mother Margaret, the Earl of Angus, and other nobles, to Henry VIII., Wolsey, and the Earl of Northumberland, which has been very lately transferred to the State Paper Office, from one of the branch Record

Offices, where they have long lain comparatively unknown. That these letters have been equally unused, is apparent from their having escaped the diligence of the late Mr. Tytler, who in his excellent history has turned to so good an account the contents of the State Paper Office itself. That some of those letters are full of interest to the historical student of Scotland, the following copy of one of them will show.

It has been already seen how the king had been obliged to practice the completest deception in the letters issuing from his hand. Henry VIII. doubtless always kept open means of communication with the leaders of all parties. The present letter was written to him while James V. was under such duress by the Douglasses that he was obliged to borrow his mother's signet ring to seal the letter—"because oure selis and signettis ar witholding,"—and it will be seen how the actions of the queen and the Bishop of St. Andrews are defended and excused, and that he complains loudly of the restraint he was kept under, and the deception he had been made to practice by the uncontrolled authority of the Earl of Angus.

A small fragment of the wax of the seal remains attached to this interesting letter, but no portion of the impression can be discerned. An impression from the signet of Queen Margaret has been found by Mr. Henry Laing, impressed on a paper document amongst the Philliphaugh Charters, bearing date the same year as the following letter. The seal displays, as described in Mr. Laing's useful "Catalogue of Scottish Seals," the arms of Scotland impaling England and France quarterly. Above the shield is an arched crown, and on a scroll under it—IN GOD IS MY TRAIST.¹

JOSEPH BURTT.

"Richte hie Right excelleng and Right michtie prince, oure derrest uncle and bruther, We commend we unto zou in oure maist hartlie and tendre manere, quhilk emplesit to remembre. We wrait lettres unto zou of before making mencione hou ane maist Reverend fader, oure traist counsaloure and cristin fader, James Archiebischop of Sanctiandres, witht certane oure liegis his assisteres and part takaris, maid conspiracioun and confederacioun till oure displesoure, and contrare ye commune wele of oure realme, quhilkis writtingis procedit no^t of oure awin mynde, bot thro^t sollistacioun of certane oure liegis, and in speciall Archibald erle of Angus, We no^t being at oure awin liberte and kinglie fredome, bot abandonnit in sure keping and nychtlie awaiting of ye said Archibald, his assisteris and part takaris, lyke as we ar zit presentlie : Declaring zou maist intrelly, oure belovit uncle and brudre, yat ye said maist Reverend fader, at ye instance of oure derrest moder zoure luffing sister, lauborit yat tyme allanerly for oure fredome and liberte, and to have ws out of parciale keping, yat We my^t resort amangis oure trew liegis universalie, to the wele of oure hale realme, as yai zit, with assistence of oure belovit counsaloure and cousing Johune erle of Levnax and utheris oure trew liegis, labouris and procuris ye samyne. Quharfore We exhort and prayis zou oure derrest uncle and bruder, yat ze fortife and manteine oure derrest moder and all utheris takand hir opinioun to ye uptenyng of oure fredome and liberte. Thankand yame specialy for yare cure and lauboris takin tharupoun, praying yame

¹ Facsimile casts in sulphur from this, may be obtained, at moderate cost, from as also from a large series of Royal, Mr. H. Laing, 55, East Cross Causeway, Baronial, and Ecclesiastical Scottish Seals, Edinburgh.

for continuance, and promitting yame zour fortificacioune : And yat it will plese zou to writ to ye papis halynes certifeing of ye premisses, and in favouris of oure derrest moder and oure counsaloure Archiebischop of Sanctiandres forsaid, thare causis and materis for the graciouse expedicioune of ye samyn : nocht withstanding ony writtingis send at oure Instance in yare contrare, quhilkis procedit be Inductione of ye said Archibald allanerlie. Richt hie, Richt excelleng and Richt michtie prince, oure derrest uncle and bruder, almy^{tie} gode conserve zou in maist prosperous stait. Subscrivit with oure hand, and closit with the Signet of oure derrest moder, becaus oure selis and Signettis ar withholding : At Edinburgh, ye xxiiij. day of August. The zere of god I^m v^c xxvj zeris.

Zoure loving nepheu and bruther

King of Scottis

(Signed)

James R.

(Addressed) To the Richt hie Richt excelleng and
Richt michtie prince, oure derrest uncle
and bruder, The king of Ingland."

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

APRIL 4, 1856.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A DISCOVERY of remarkable interest was brought under the notice of the Institute by Mr. M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM. In June, 1854, a bronze helmet, of unique form and in remarkable preservation, was found, according to the account given by Mr. Bloxam, in the bed of the river Tigris, near Tilley. It is at that part of the stream that the ten thousand Greeks in their memorable retreat from the province of Babylon, B.C. 401, are supposed to have effected the crossing of the Tigris. This very curious head-piece is wholly dissimilar in its contour and general character to any relique of the kind hitherto noticed. The form bears some analogy to the ancient *Petasis*, and a type of helmet, in certain respects to be compared with it, occurs on Macedonian coins.¹ It was presented to the present possessor, through whose kindness it was produced on the present occasion, by Mr. R. B. Oakley, of Oswaldkirk, Yorkshire, who fortunately was present at the time when this interesting relique was obtained from the channel of the Tigris.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE gave a dissertation on a singular feature of occasional occurrence in the interments of an early age,—the use of mortuary urns in the form of houses, or, as they have been termed by German antiquaries, “house-urns.” The idea, Mr. Kemble observed, of giving to the tomb some resemblance to the house, is natural, especially where there is some belief that the dead continue to inhabit the tomb. A striking illustration is presented by the magnificent Etruscan sepulchres, where scenes of festivity are depicted on the walls, and costly vases, furniture and appliances of daily life are found in profusion. Amongst the Greeks and other nations of antiquity, a similar practice seems to have prevailed. The “house-urns” found in Germany and the North of Europe probably originated in a similar feeling. They are of comparatively small size, being intended only to enclose the ashes of the dead; and they are of rare occurrence, five examples only having fallen under Mr. Kemble’s observation, in the museums of Germany and Denmark. A fine example in form of a tent exists in the British Museum; it was found at Vulci, and some others have been noticed in Italy. The peculiarity in the “house-urns,” which differ materially in their form, is that each has a door or window in the roof or the side, through which the contents were introduced. This aperture was closed by a separate piece of baked clay, which may be termed a shutter,

¹ Compare also forms of the *petasis*, in some degree analogous, Hope’s Costume of the Ancients, vol. I., pl. 74, 136.

fastened by a bolt or bar. The greater number of these urns are round in form, like the huts represented on the column of Antoninus; one preserved at Berlin is oblong, exactly representing the peasant's hut of the present time, the roof also being marked to represent the thatch. A remarkable example in a collection at Lüneburg presents the peculiarity of being provided with two apertures, one at the side, the other in the bottom of the urn, glazed with small pieces of green glass, supposed to be of Roman manufacture. In regard to the "house-urns" discovered in Mecklenburg, Thuringia, and other localities in the north of Europe, Mr. Kemble expressed the opinion that their age may be assigned to the later period, conventionally designated "the Age of Iron." He concluded his discourse with some important suggestions in regard to the question of Etruscan influence in Northern Europe, and the probability that the bronze weapons of the earlier period may be connected with an ancient traffic established by the Etruscans with Scandinavia and other parts of the North.

Mr. W. IMPEY communicated the following notice of ancient reliques recently brought to light in London.

"In excavating for the buildings now in course of erection by Messrs. Arthur Capel and Co., in Dunster Court, Mincing Lane, Mr. I. J. Cole, the architect, found an accumulation of rubbish from 12 to 15 feet deep, among which were the Dutch and encaustic tiles, of which specimens are exhibited, with a silver coin of Henry VII. From that depth to 25 feet were found chalk, ragstone, and brick earth, the last in four layers, supposed to be the remains of ancient dwellings, formed with "cob" walls. In connection with these, fragments of Roman pottery were discovered, together with human bones, and under these remains, at a depth of about 20 feet, Mr. Cole found a well, and leading to the well a curved foot pathway paved with pieces of tile, or tesserae put together with some care in lime. In the well a small earthen jar was found with green glaze on the upper part, and possibly of mediæval manufacture.

"The average depth to which it is necessary to excavate, to obtain a good foundation, shews an accumulation of about 20 feet of soil above the natural surface in this part of London. Mr. Cole informs me that in excavating in Throgmorton Street, near the Auction Mart, he found the accumulation considerably less, the gravel being reached at little more than 12 feet from the present surface. In Throgmorton Street several interesting discoveries were made. A deep ditch crossed the north-east angle, in which remains of cask-hoops had become petrified: the springs through the gravel of the site generally were strong, and had been made available by means of oaken wells, like large casks without top or bottom, and on removing the soil the water rose in them. There was discovered besides these a Roman well, built of squared chalk, very neatly constructed, and containing about 3 feet in depth of charred twigs, probably for filtering. In digging were found a large early English pitcher, a considerable quantity of human bones, Samian ware, with well-executed ornamentation, some of the designs being very obscene, Roman glass bottles, &c.; and in the well lay a small and perfect Roman fibula of bronze which had assumed almost the colour of gold."

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, jun., offered some observations on the remarkable painted glass existing in the church of Fairford, Gloucestershire, the finest existing example, possibly, of its age in this country. Such is the perfection, indeed, of the design, that some have regarded that fine series of

windows as produced under the immediate influence of Italian art.² Mr. Scharf produced, through the kindness of Miss Kymer, of Reading, a portfolio of drawings executed by that lady, in illustration of the painted glass, the sculptured misereres, and various architectural details in Fairford church.

Mr. CHARLES WINSTON made the following communication, being desirous to bring under the notice of the Institute the lamentable state of the East window of the Chantry, on the south side of the chancel of North Moreton church, Berks.

"The window consists of five lower openings and a head of tracery. The greater part of the glazing has been lost from the tracery, but by means of the fragments, and a drawing made some thirty years ago by Mr. Ward of Frith Street, when the window was more perfect, it is possible to make out the original design. It consisted of ornamentation and three shields of arms, part of one of which remains, displaying the sable lion of the Stapleton family, who were said to have founded the chantry.

"The lower lights represent incidents in the lives of St. Nicholas, St. Peter, Our Lord, St. Paul, and the Virgin Mary; each light being devoted to a series of three subjects, beginning from the bottom of the light.

"In the easternmost light are the following subjects:—

"The consecration of St. Nicholas, as a Bishop; St. Nicholas restoring the Children to Life; St. Nicholas relieving the poor Nobleman's Daughters by throwing his purse in at the window of the house at night.

"In the next light appear—the Call of Peter, Our Lord delivering the Keys to Peter, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter.

"In the centre light are to be seen—the Passion of Our Lord, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection.

"In the West light are—the Conversion of St. Paul, Paul before Felix (?), and the Martyrdom of St. Paul.

"And in the next light—the Death of the Virgin, the Burial of the Virgin, with the Jew who attempted to overthrow the Bier, and the Assumption of the Virgin.

"The glass has suffered much damage, especially within the last few years, by pieces dropping out of the decayed leads; and it is surprising that it stands at all. Nothing can save it from certain destruction except careful releading. This will cost, according to Mr. Ward's estimate, 50*l.*, and the only chance of raising that amount is by private subscription. The parish, a very poor one, is already sufficiently taxed with the necessary repairs of the church, which is in a very dilapidated state, and the lessors of the great tithes are likewise compelled to repair the chancel. The living, worth 83*l.* a year, a vicarage in the gift of the Archdeacon of Berks, will have to be charged with the building of a vicarage-house. There is no endowment whatever for the repair of the chantry or glass; and it is doubtful whether the parishioners are bound to repair it at all. Certainly they could not be compelled to do more than substitute plain glazing for the remains of the old glass. The old glass is tolerably perfect, enough remains of all the subjects to enable them to be distinctly made out, and the date of the glass is between 1300 and 1310, or thereabouts. It is a very fine specimen of the period. The colours are magnificent.

² An account of the windows in Fairford Church was published at Cirencester, in 1765, 12mo. The description, written on parchment, and formerly kept in the town chest, has been published by

Hearne, *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 273. The glass has been sometimes supposed to have been executed after the designs Francesco Francia.

"The Society of Antiquaries has offered to give 10*l.* towards the repair of the glass, and some other contributions in aid have been promised, inadequate, however, to secure the preservation of an example of considerable artistic and antiquarian interest."²

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A silver Roman Family coin, recently found at Red Hill, near Reigate, by a cottager in digging in his garden. It is of the *Gens Carisia*, and although a coin of no great rarity, it is of interest as occurring in a locality where few Roman vestiges have occurred. *Obv.*—A fine female head, with the hair bound up by a fillet: it has been regarded as the effigy of the Gergithian Sibyl. *Rev.*—T. CARISIVS. On the exergue—III.VI(R), a sitting winged sphynx. Titus Carisius was monetary triumvir to Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44, the period to which the coin may be assigned. A similar coin is figured in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Roman and Greek Biography, &c., under Carisius. This and the other coins of the *Gens Carisia* are described in Admiral Smyth's valuable "Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman family Coins, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland."

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—A tall one-handled jar of mediæval ware, found under the foundations of an old house in Fleet Street, opposite to St. Bride's church. This specimen, which resembles those found at Trinity College, Oxford, and figured in this Journal, Vol. III., p. 62, has subsequently been presented to the British Museum. Its date may be as early as the XIVth century.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Several ancient documents, relating chiefly to the counties of Dorset and Somerset. Some of the seals appended to them are of considerable interest, especially the seal of the mayoralty of the staple of Westminster, an impression in fine preservation.⁵

We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. S. WALFORD for the following description of these documents:—

1. Undated. Inspecimus and confirmation by Philip de Columbariis the 5th, son of Philip de Columbariis, of a deed (*carta*) of Egelina, his mother, whereby she (being described as Egelina de Columbariis, formerly the wife of Philip de Columbariis the 4th), granted to Reginald de Mere, and Alicia his wife, the tenement, land, and meadow, which she had of the gift of Philip de Columbariis, son of William de Columbariis of Stocklande; which land and tenement Julianna, the relict of the said William de Columbariis, formerly held in dower, in the vill of Lytlestone in the manor of Dundene; to hold, of her (Egelina) and her heirs, to the said Reginald and Alicia, or one of them, and the heirs of Alicia, or to the heirs and assigns of Reginald, if Alicia died without heirs of her (body); doing therefore to Philip de Columbariis of Nutherestawe, chief lord of the fee, and to his heirs, the services due and accustomed; viz., that due to the king (*regale*),

² Contributions are received by Mr. Winston, 2, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, or by Mr. J. H. Parker, Oxford.

⁴ Printed for private circulation, 1856, 4to. See pp. 32, 33.

⁵ Facsimiles in gutta-percha, from these beautiful seals, may be obtained from Mr. R. Ready, Princes Street, Shrewsbury.

so far as pertained to the 3rd part of the tenement, which the aforesaid Philip of Stocklande held of the Lords of Staweye, in the same vill of Lytlestone, for all services, &c. For which grant the said Reginald and Alicia gave to the said Egelina 100 marks of silver.—Witnesses to the grant, Michael le Goyz, Roger le Touk, Robert de Wottone, Robert de Bartone, Thomas de Iuethorne, William de Iuethorne, and Richard le Deneyz de Hybroke: Witnesses to the confirmation by Philip de Columbariis, Galfrid de Stawelle, John son of Galfrid, Alan de Waltone, knights; Walter de Shapewike, Thomas Whyteng, William de Bere, Robert Burty de Hamma, Nicholas de Sow, and Philip le Kniht de Somertone.

On a label a round seal of dark green wax, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; device a flower, resembling a fleur-de-lis, above which is a dove; legend—* s' PH'I DE COLVMBARIIS, in capitals.

NOTE.—This deed extends our knowledge of the family of De Columbariis, and adds another Philip in the direct line to the generally received account of them; for those above respectively designated as the fourth and fifth would, according to Dugdale and others, have been the third and fourth. Egelina is said by some to have been a daughter of Robert de Courtenay; but she does not appear in the Courtenay pedigree by Dr. Oliver and Mr. P. Jones. As her husband died in 1256, the confirmation was between that date and 1276, when her son Philip died.

2. Undated. Feoffment.—William, son of Robert de Canneswelle, granted to Sir William de Canneswelle (and) Joan his wife, for their lives, and the life of the survivor, and to Alianora their daughter, and the heirs of her body, the manor of *Luttiwode*,⁶ with the demesnes, &c., [then follow the names of several tenants, viz., Roger de Canneswelle, Galfrid de Wolastone, Elias de Wolastone, John de la Hoke, John de Morlond, and Adam son of Nicholas de Luttiwode], with a windmill and the suit of his tenants of Luttiwode; and he also gave to the said William, Lord of Canneswelle and Joan his wife, and Alianora their daughter, in like manner the homage, suits, and services of William de la Doune, and also a moiety of the mill of the "Dohne," called Glenwemulne, and a moiety of the pool or fish-pond (vivarium); and if Alianora should die without heirs of her body, the premises should revert to William son of Richard de Canneswelle and his heirs. Witnesses, Sir Reginald de Lega, Robert Corbet de Mortone (then sheriff of Salop and Stafford), William Bagot, William de Stafford, William Wythere, William de Mere, Robert de Knyeteleye, knights; Richard Spygurnel, Stephen de Wolaston, William Godefrey of Wylintone, and William de Fuleford, clerk.

On a label is a seal of green wax, escutcheon-shaped with rounded base, 1 inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ at the top; device a gloved hand holding a hawk, the jesses pendant; legend—* s' WILL'I FIL' ROBERTI, in capitals.

3. 39 Edw. III. Lease.—John Sonynghulle, of the county of Berks,—after reciting that he had granted to William le Venour, citizen of London, the manor of Styntesforde and Frome Bonuylestone,⁷ in the county of Dorset, for his life, at a rent of twenty marks a year, as appeared in a certain fine thereof levied,—granted the same to the said William, his heirs, assigns, and executors, for the term of the lives of him and Mabilla his wife, and ten years after the death of the survivor; rendering yearly a rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. One part of

⁶ This reading is somewhat uncertain.

⁷ Sic. possibly U for V—Bonuylestone!

the deed is stated to have the seal of the said John appended, the other that of the said William. No witness. Dated at London on Thursday next before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, 39 Edw. III. On a label is a round seal of dark brown wax within red, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diam.; device on a diapered ground a lion sitting, with a heaume on its head, ensigned with a crown, out of which issues a fan-shaped object resembling a plume of feathers, the body of the lion being covered with mantling charged with three castles; no legend. (Compare the seal of the next deed.)

By an indorsement the deed appears to have been enrolled in Chancery in February in the same year.

4. 40 Edw. III. Grant and Release.—John Sonynghulle granted and released to William le Venour, citizen and merchant of London, his heirs and assigns, all his right and claim in the manor of Styntesforde and Frome Bonuilestone; and because his seal was unknown to many persons, he had procured the seal of the mayoralty of the Staple at Westminster to be appended to the deed in testimony of the premises. Witnesses—John Not, John Aubrey, Nicholas Chaucer, John Warde, and Thomas Thorney, citizens of London. Dated at London on Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, 40 Edw. III.

On labels are two round seals of red wax; the first is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diam.; device, within a quatre-foiled panel, an escutcheon charged with five castles, triple towered 2 · 2 · 1, and a label of three points; legend—* s' DROGONIS. DE. WARCIES: in capitals; the other seal is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diam.; device between two keys in saltire four pellets and as many wool-packs, and between the pellets and wool-packs on each side of the keys a rose; legend—* s' OFFICII: MAIORATVS: STAPVLE: WESTM'.

An indorsement states that this deed was enrolled in the King's Bench (coram domino rege) in Michaelmas term, 40 Edw. III.

NOTE.—In all probability the first of these two seals belonged to the same person as that on the preceding deed, and that in fact neither of them was made for John Sonynghulle. They have a foreign appearance, and are probably Flemish. I have not met with the name of Warcies in Flanders or elsewhere, but the sitting lion with heaume and mantling resembles in design some seals of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, engraved by Vredius. They seem to have been appropriated by John Sonynghulle without any regard to their fitness or unfitness, and it is not surprising that there were some misgivings as to their being recognised as his seals. It is not improbable the witness, Nicholas Chaucer, was a relation of the poet. He seems to have been a merchant. See Rot. Parl. ii. p. 457a.

5. 22 Rich. II. Lease.—John Syward and Joan his wife granted to William Canyngtone, Robert Penne, clerks, Ralph Bryt, Thomas Hobbes, and John Jurdane, the manor of Wynterborn West, with Bokhampton and Swanwych, with the advowson of the church of the same manor, in the county of Dorset, and also all their lands, &c., in Crekkelade, Chelworthe, and Colcote, and their mill of Panchet, in the county of Wilts; to hold to the said William, Robert, Ralph, Thomas, and John, and their assigns, for the life of the said John Syward. In witness whereof the said John and Joan had attached their seals, and as their seals were unknown to many persons, they had procured the seal of Ivo Fytz Wareyn, Knight, to be also attached. Witnesses—Ivo Fytz Waryn, John Moigne, Knights; John

Gonytz, William Peuerelle, and John Duddille. Dated at Wynterborne, 20th May, 22 Rich. II.

On a label is the seal of Sir Ivo Fitz Waryn, which is of red wax, round, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; device a shield, with his arms, viz., quarterly, per fess indented ermine and [gules], hanging on a tree between two storks (?); legend, s':IUVONIS : FYWARYN : in black letter. On another label are the remains of two small seals of red wax; on one is an escutcheon charged with probably three mullets, and, as part of the legend, WOLASTON, in black letter; on the other is a small figure of a Palmer (?), but no legend.

6. 37 Edw. III. Feoffment.—Robert de Sanbourne, late parson of the church of Meryet, and John de Forde, granted and confirmed to Sir John de Meryet, Knight, and Matildis his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the said John de Meryet, the Manor of Lopne and Stratton, in the County of Somerset; to hold to them of the chief lords of the fees by the accustomed services. Witnesses, Sir John de Chydyok, Sir John Beuchamp, de Lillisdone, Sir John atte Hale, Knights; William Byngham, John Frysle, Robert Loughe, and John Benyn de Hentone. Dated at Lopne on Thursday next after the feast of St. Hilary, 37 Edw. III.

On labels are two round seals of red wax: one an inch in diameter; device two figures, a saint not identified and St. Katherine, under canopies, and below an ecclesiastic kneeling in devotion; legend, s'.ROB'TL. DE SAMBORN, in capitals. The other is seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; device, within an eight-cusped panel, an escutcheon charged with a fess engrailed between three crescents; no legend.

7. 47 Edw. III. Feoffment.—John de Meryet, Knight, granted and confirmed to Richard Palmere, John Hayward, and Nicholas Beke, Chaplains, the Manors of Comptone, Dundene, and Brodemersstone, in the County of Somerset, except the fees and services of the tenants that held by knight service; to hold to them and their heirs of the chief lords, and by the accustomed services. Witnesses, Giles Daubene, William Boneuyle, John Beauchampe, Walter Romeseye, Thomas Marchal, Knights, John Iuethorne, John Panes, Robert Wyke, Thomas Knoel, and Peter Voce. Dated 26th day of May, 47 Edw. III.

On a label a round seal of red wax, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; device, partly within an elongated panel, a shield of arms with helmet and crest, the helmet occupying the centre, the shield couché and passing out of the panel, so as to interrupt the legend; the arms are quarterly, 1 and 4, barry of six, 2 and 3 vair or vaire; the helmet is mantled and ensigned with a chapeau, on which is a talbot (?) statant for a crest. Legend, SIGIL' : IOHANNIS : MERYOT, in black letter.

8. 21 Rich. II. Release.—John de Chidioko "consanguineus" and heir of John de Chidioko the elder, Knight, released to Matill', who was the wife of Thomas de Boukland, Knight, Humphry de Stafford, Knight, and Elizabeth his wife, and William de Boneuille, Knight, and Margat' his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the said Elizabeth and Margat', all his right in the Manors of Great Lopene and Great Stratton, in the County of Somerset. Witnesses—Ivo Fitz-Wareyn, John Berkele, John Lorty, Knights; John Keynes, John Denebande, John Mannynghorde, John Fytlone, and John Benyn. Dated the 18th day of July, 21 Rich. II.

On a label a round seal of dark green wax, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; device, within a curvilinear triangle, an escutcheon charged with an inescutcheon

in a bordure of eight martlets ; legend, SIGILLV̄ IOHANNIS CHIDYOK, in black letter.

9. Same date. Duplicate of preceding deed, except that William de Boneville, and Margar' his wife, are named before Humphry de Stafford and Elizabeth his wife. The same seal is attached, but it has been mutilated.

Mr. STRANGWAYS brought also for inspection several drawings of architectural subjects in the West of England ;—the George Inn, a picturesque structure of the XVth century, at Norton St. Philip, Somerset ; a view of a building at Compton Dundon, in the same county ; and a representation of "the Abbey," at Chew Magna, supposed to have been connected with some monastic or ecclesiastical foundation.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A portable day and night dial, made by Humfrey Cole, 1575. It has the following motto—

"As Time and houres pasith awaye
So doeth the life of Man decay :
As Time can be redeemed with no coste,
Bestow it well and let no hour be lost."

Mr. Morgan exhibited also a portable sun-dial and pedometer, made by Johan Melchior Landeck, of Nuremburg, some time in the XVIIth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Two Saxon rapier-blades, one of them engraved with figures of the Apostles ; the other engraved and gilded, and bearing a coat of arms surmounted by a coronet. A cut-and-thrust two-edged blade, engraved with grotesque designs on each side, and a single fleur-de-lys, inlaid in copper. On one side near the tang, has been a coat of arms, of four quarterings, inlaid in silver ; two of them only are now distinguishable—a chevron and a cross (in sinister chief, and sinister base). On the other side of the blade appear traces of a figure of St. Michael, XVIth cent.—A rapier of the time of James II., with hilt of russet steel inlaid with silver. An early example of the bayonet-shaped blade, which is engraved throughout its length with figures of the twelve Apostles, and on each side the profile of an emperor.—A bayonet-shaped rapier-blade, of the time of George II., bearing the forge-mark of Solingen, and inscribed GOD BLES THE KING.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—Impression from a privy-seal of silver, set with an antique intaglio, found in January last at Ashwicken, Norfolk, and now in the possession of the Rev. J. Freeman, Rector of that place. The loop, which had been affixed to the back of the seal, has been broken off ; an elegantly formed ornament of foliage remains ; the intaglio (chalcedony ?) represents a warrior resting on a kind of pedestal. The surface of the gem has been much injured.

By Mr. ALBERT WAX.—Impressions from a small brass seal, of circular form, found at Great Barford, Bedfordshire, in 1854. It bears a singular device,—a tree, apparently a pear-tree charged with fruit, hanging over water, on the surface of which is a fish. The legend is, ✠ s' HENRICI DE SHORNE. XIVth cent.

By Mr. READY.—Impressions in gutta-percha from a matrix of jet, preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge, with several ancient matrices of seals, of considerable interest. This seal, of pointed-oval form, bears a device on both its sides. *Obv.* a large fleur-de-lys. ✠ SIGILL' WILL' DE WALD. *Rev.* a hand holding a stem or branch erect, with the legend—✠ SIGNVM . PAOIS . PORTO. XIIIth cent.

May 2, 1856.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. H. RHIND communicated a Memoir on the present condition of the Monuments of Egypt and Nubia. (Printed in this volume, p. 154.)

Professor BUCKMAN communicated the following note of certain vestiges of early occupation in Gloucestershire, near Lidney:—

“On the west side of the River Severn, not far from the village of Lidney, is a small estate known as the Warren, in the occupation of its present proprietor, R. Addison, Esq. It looks down upon the river at a distance of more than two miles, and occupies a semi-circular hollow on the east side of the Forest Hills. The whole estate is situate on the Conglomerate of the Old Red Sandstone, masses of which project through the heather and furze with which the broken ground is mostly occupied.

Much of the estate has been recently levelled and brought into cultivation, and it was while pursuing this work that Mr. Addison's attention was frequently arrested by some roughly hewn circular stones of the Conglomerate of the hill. Some of these flat disks, rudely fashioned, and in form very similar to a cheese, were shown to me by Mr. Addison, one of which measured 16 inches in diameter, and was 4 inches thick; another 14 inches by 4. Afterwards, in taking a walk on Mr. Bathurst's estate at Lidney, I saw by a hedge a stone disk similar to these both in form and size, and Mr. Addison informed me they are frequently found about the district. Now, as in my excavations in *Corinium*, amongst other millstones I have met with portions of *molars* of Old Red Conglomerate, it struck me as not improbable that the stones at Lidney may have been intended for *molars*, of which these were the rough outlines of the first process of manufacture. In that case, may we not suppose that the workman rudely fashioned these out of suitable stones upon the open common, perhaps taking them to a more convenient place for their final preparation: this indeed would be much like what I recently saw on the Cornish coast, between St. Just and St. Ives, where the granite which lies scattered over wide open commons, is rudely fashioned on the ground, in blocks for various purposes, before finding its way to the mason's workshop.

It should be remarked that an old British trackway runs through the estate down to the river, and this track was doubtless connected with the roads leading from the Cotteswold to the Forest of Dean, from whence, as the *Corinium* remains testify, were obtained molars of Old Red Conglomerate, and also of Millstone Grit; and it is more than probable that iron ore was brought from the forest to be smelted in the Cotteswold district, as close to Cirencester are found quantities of old slags, but there is no ore in the neighbourhood.”

The objects noticed by Professor Buckman may possibly be vestiges of the Roman period, numerous remains of that age having occurred in that locality.

Mr. FRANKS communicated the following account of a Roman relique of rare occurrence discovered in the same district:—

“A Roman oculist's stamp was discovered a few years since at Lidney in Gloucestershire, which has not I believe been hitherto engraved, although an account of the inscriptions have been given by Dr. Simpson in the Monthly Journal of Medical Science, (vol. xii. p. 338.)

This interesting object is in the possession of Mr. Bathurst, of Lidney Park, to whose kindness I am indebted for the impressions from which the accompanying woodcuts have been prepared.

"The stone is of the usual greenish grey colour, and is inscribed on three of its sides. The inscriptions mention three salves of the Roman oculist, Julius Jucundus, viz. his *Collyrium Melinum*, a salve that derives its name from its colour of honey, and which appears to have contained



Ceruse and Calamine; *Collyrium Stactum*, which was to be applied in drops, and *Collyrium Penicillum*, which was to be used with a soft sponge or *penicillum*. The names of these three drugs are well known; the first occurs on six stamps, the second on twelve, and the last on six stamps. I am indebted for these details to Dr. Simpson's valuable Memoir already quoted.

The chief peculiarity in the example found at Lidney is the introduction of the word *collyrium*, which appears to have been generally considered superfluous. It occurs on two stamps only of those hitherto recorded: one of them is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale* at Paris; the other is in the British Museum. In the latter example the word could not well be dispensed with, as the name of any particular salve is not mentioned.

Many interesting objects have been discovered at Lidney Park, some of which are engraved in Lysons' 'Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ.' From a curious inscription on silver discovered there it would appear that there was a temple on that spot dedicated to the healing god Nodeus, no doubt a local form of the Roman *Æsculapius*."

Notices of various stamps used by Roman oculists or empirics have been communicated on several occasions at the meetings of the Institute. In the course of the year 1855, a remarkable discovery has been made at Rheims, connected with these vestiges of the Roman empirics. Amongst some remains of buildings were found a bronze ewer with the basin belonging to it, a pair of scales and a stilyard, seventeen instruments used by oculists, pincers, scalpels, cauterising instruments, spatulæ, &c., the whole of bronze and of fine workmanship. With these were brought to light remains which appeared by careful examination and analysis to have been dry *collyria* in small cakes, and an iron vial which contained a similar compound to that of which the cakes or tablets were formed. An oculist's stamp was found with these reliques, and bronze bowls, in one of which were two first brass coins of Antoninus. These curious objects in connection with the history of medicine amongst the Romans are in the possession of M. Duquenelle, who has formed an extensive collection of local antiquities at Rheims.¹

¹ Revue Archéologique, Oct. 1855, tome xii. p. 435.

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER, Local Secretary in Yorkshire, sent the following account of a recent discovery at York.

"At the end of February last some workmen engaged in making a sewer in Walmgate, York, threw out a quantity of soil into the middle of the street during the night. Next morning this soil was found to be full of small silver coins, which were picked up by children and others, to the number, as nearly as I can learn, of about a hundred. All the coins thus discovered which I have seen, with five exceptions only, bear the name of St. Peter, and were struck at York, as it is probable, about the year 950. All the fifteen pennies in my own possession and all the others which I have seen, with one exception, resemble type No. 4, described in Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, but they exhibit numerous small differences. In fact, very few seem to be struck from the same die. The differences consist in variations in the shape of the cross on the reverse, and in the spelling of the names of the saint and the city. The exceptional penny alluded to above, seems to be of a new and unpublished type: it belongs to Mr. W. Procter, of York. The five other coins found with those of St. Peter are all in my own collection. They comprise two pennies of St. Edmund, a halfpenny of St. Edmund, and two halfpennies of St. Peter. This discovery of coins bearing the name of St. Edmund with those of St. Peter confirms the opinion expressed in Mr. Hawkins's work, that they should be consigned to the same period. The halfpence of St. Peter were previously to this find altogether unknown. One of them which is in excellent preservation reads, *Obv*:—SCIII TRIII, (Sancti Petri) a small cross above and below and two dots between the lines: *Rev*: ✠ EPORACECI round a cross resembling that on the pence. [See woodcut.] The other halfpenny is far more imperfect, but though struck from a different die, it also, I believe, may be assigned to St. Peter. Compare Ruding, pl. 12.



Halfpenny struck at York.

This interesting hoard of coins was probably in the first instance deposited in a wooden box, now decayed. I gather this from the statement of one of the labourers, who informed me that some of the coins were found stuck together one on the other—'like heaps of change on a counter.' The coins were found at the depth of between three and four feet from the surface, in a deposit of black earth: many of them were much corroded and fell to pieces on attempts being made to clean them, but others are in a fine state of preservation.

A large stone bead, or spindle-stone for the distaff, flat below and round above, with three annular grooves upon the upper surface, was thrown out of the same excavation."

Mr. SALVIN reported the satisfactory progress of the restorations at Lindisfarne, which have been carried out under his directions. At a former meeting the attention of the Society had been called by Mr. Way to the neglected condition of the Abbey Church, and the rapid progress of decay, urgently demanding some conservative precautions. The matter having been subsequently brought under the consideration of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Public Works, the sum of 500*l.* had been appropriated to that desirable object, and the work had been entrusted to the able direction of Mr. Salvin. The site of the abbey, with great part of Holy Island, form part of the possessions of the Crown.

"A liberal grant of money (Mr. Salvin observed) having been made by

the Crown for the preservation of the ruins of Lindisfarne Abbey, on Holy Island, the repairs were commenced in the latter part of 1855, and happily all those portions in the greatest danger were made secure before the winter. Visitors to Holy Island will remember the remarkable arcade over the west door; this with a considerable portion of that end fell for want of timely precaution, in the winter of 1851 or '52. The stones have all been collected and replaced, and the west end has now the same appearance it has had for at least the present century. In searching for stone the rubbish has been cleared from the walls, and the base discovered in a very perfect condition all round the building. The arches have been made secure. The loose stones on the top of the walls are fixed, and holes and broken portions of piers filled up to prevent the action of the winds, which crumble and hollow out cavities in a singular manner. It is also intended to cover the walls with asphalt to prevent the rain from penetrating and increasing the injurious effects frost has on ruins. Many curious fragments which had been carried away have been rescued from walls and fences in the island, and a check has, it is hoped, been at length effectually put to the wanton injuries and decay which have of late years been viewed with so much regret by visitors to Lindisfarne. This most interesting fabric will now be preserved for many years from further dilapidation."

Mr. W. S. WALFORD gave an account of a small silver casket preserved at Goodrich Court. (Printed in this volume, p. 134.)

Mr. J. POLLARD communicated the following statement relating to the discovery of early interments, at Lincoln, in which the corpses had been wrapped in hair-cloth garments.

"In the year 1840 a stone coffin was found on the outside of Lincoln cathedral, not many inches below the surface of the ground, near to the south-east angle of the south arm of the upper transept. It was covered with a lid of the same material in one piece. The bones of the corpse, which had been deposited in the coffin, were when first discovered in a perfect state, but shortly fell to dust after exposure to the air. What excited much curiosity was the circumstance of the body having been enveloped in a dress composed of the hair of some animal, which appeared to have been woven to the proper shape for the purpose.

In 1842, in lowering the ground near the same spot, four other stone coffins were discovered, some of them still nearer to the surface than that before referred to. In one of these, evidently containing the remains of an ecclesiastic, was found a small latten or pewter cup; the bones were perfect, and enveloped in a similar habit to that before described, wove to fit the body, thighs, legs, and feet. Three other similar coffins were soon after laid bare; the remains of two of these were covered with similar hair shirts or shrouds. A piece of the tissue is sent for examination.

The opinion entertained is, that these bodies were interred in the XIIIth century. The coffin discovered in 1840, and one of those in 1842, were taken up and removed into the cloisters, as they could not well be lowered so as to be below the surface of the ground so altered."

The use of the *cilicium*, or under garment of hair-cloth, appears to have been frequently adopted, as by Becket, for penance or mortification of the flesh.—See Fosbroke's *Monachism*, p. 31. Even hedge-hog skins (*pelles hericiti*) were worn for this purpose; the practice is forbidden in the "Ancient Rite," p. 419; see also p. 383. The remains of such tissue of hair have occasionally been noticed in mediæval interments.

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT read the following particulars, connected with the early commercial importance of Bristol; they throw fresh light on certain interesting facts communicated by him on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute in that city in 1851:—

“To the volume which the meeting of the Institute at Bristol contributed in illustration of the antiquities of that city, I furnished a few particulars of some proceedings taken by the mayor and commonalty to be released from the exercise of a privilege which, in early times, must have been very seldom appealed against.

“Without the opportunity of holding *fairs*, the advantages resulting from the productions of handicrafts and the wealth of commerce were exceedingly limited. They became, accordingly, the occasions of frequent and bitter disputes; and, in the history of most cities of high commercial rank, we find accounts similar to those which record the struggles of the Corporation of London with the sovereigns of this country, when they found a profit in supporting the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of St. Bartholomew, or some other neighbouring soke-lord, in their claims to a fair, against which nothing but the ready cash of the city had any weight.

“But there must have been something peculiar in the circumstances of the holder of such a privilege, either corporate or individual, who had to complain that what had been eagerly sought for as a benefit a few years before, had become disadvantageous and a burden. And the tracing the fluctuations of mercantile prosperity in so important a commercial mart as Bristol—the Liverpool of its day,—or rather, I would say, the rescue of facts relating thereto from utter oblivion, will, I am sure, be considered a subject in every way worthy the attention of the Institute.

“The few introductory remarks I prefixed to the documents printed in the ‘Bristol Volume’ were made in the hope that they would lead the way to the discovery of other particulars relating to that subject, most probably among the archives of the city itself. But nothing was met with in that quarter. This passage in the history of their commerce was entirely a new one to the merchants of Bristol; and it is only very lately that I have myself met with some further evidence which now enables me pretty clearly to trace out, if not entirely to supply the missing portions that were wanting to complete this page in their commercial annals.

“What I have already brought forward was a copy of the original petition of the mayor and principal inhabitants of Bristol to the Lord Privy Seal, setting out in very plaintive terms the ill effects upon the trade of the town produced by the fair held at Candlemas [Feb. 2]. I have now to bring before you some interrogatories and depositions upon the subject, which I have found with some proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber, but to which court I do not consider they belong. They are, doubtless, the result of proceedings consequent upon the petition already printed, and they contain many references to facts and other particulars which do not appear in that instrument, though they also comprise its principal statements. A commission, directed by the Bishop of Bristol, Sir John Seyntlow, and John Key, Esq., had been issued (probably out of the Court of Requests), under whose authority witnesses were examined at Bristol in the 35th year of King Henry VIII. (A.D. 1544). By the answers of the witnesses, who comprised the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city, it appears that fourteen years previously the then mayor had been induced to obtain a royal grant of the fair in question, and I was thus guided to the

Patent Roll, upon which that document would be recorded. Accordingly, I found the Letters Patent: they are dated 20th of September, in the 21st year of the king (A.D. 1530), and they give to the mayor, &c. of Bristol the right to them and their successors for ever of holding an annual fair within the bounds of the parish of St. Mary of Redcliff for the space of eight days; viz., from the 2nd to the 9th day of February in each year, with the right of taking tolls, &c. The grant itself is cancelled, and in the margin the occasion of its being so is clearly referred to the proceedings which I have now brought forward.

“It there says, ‘These Letters patent, with their enrolment, were vacated because the Mayor, &c., of Bristol, on the 10th of June, in the 35th year of the reign, by John Willy, their attorney, duly authorised under the common seal of the town, personally appeared in our Chancery, and surrendered these Letters there according to the form and effect of a certain order made by our Council on the 27th of May last. Therefore the said Letters Patent, together with their enrolment, are cancelled and annulled, as appears in the said surrender.’

“This fair it was proposed to sub-grant to the Master of St. John of Jerusalem and the Vicar of Redcliff, in whose district it was to be held, under conditions that it was not to prejudice the town. These parties appear to have been the prime movers in inducing the Mayor to obtain the grant. It appears the sub-grant was made, but without the condition annexed. In answer to the enquiries as to the effect of the fair upon the trade of the town, they allege that it had been unprofitable in the extreme, and fully confirm all the allegations contained in the petition, some of which are almost literally expressed. The great objection to the fair was that strangers and other buyers were enabled there to meet and deal with those who had wares to dispose of, without the intervention of the inhabitants; and the decay of the ‘great shippis wherein is reised and maynteyned many good mariners’ is pronounced as very imminent, and involving with it the fate of numerous dependents and chapmen. From one portion of the depositions we gather that the burgesses had long wished to get rid of the fair.

“The relation of William Popley, gentleman, aged fifty, and a native of Bristol, sets out that he being servant to the Earl of Essex, Master of the Rolls, was visited—then about seven years since—by some of his acquaintances, burgesses of the City, who showed him how the commonalty sustained much loss by the fair at Candlemas, and that greater decay was like to ensue if it continued; so they desired him to intercede with his master to annul the fair, whereon he, ‘considerynge he had fryndly acqeeuntaunce with the parochians of Redclyffe, who had procured to have the said Faire, sent woord unto them of the said request made to him by the said burgesses; whereupon they sent unto hym one Peers Cheritie, one of the head or cheiff of the Parisshe of Radcliff, and he said in dede iff itt be losse to the towne, itt is litle profit to the Churche; and to prove the same shewed to the said Popley certain bokes of accompt to declare the same; and fether said iff the Mayor and his brethren wold restore them to the money they had paid for the charges of the Faire they were contented to surrender their interest therein;’ but the suit was not followed up. Popley concludes by remarking that being born in Bristol, ‘and seeing that the occupiers of the said city do not so well encrease as they have done before the said faire was kept, by reson that all strangers that were wont wikelly to

repayre with many kindes of merchandise, espically with fische, they tary now, and come all at once to the faire where other straungers have the choyse and most part thereof at their pleasure—yea, and rather better chepe than the comons shall have, bycawse they take and bye great quantitie at ones; and fewe of them that moost desier to have the faire (if itt be trewly enserchid) be the better therby at the yeres end one peny.

“Some details are then given of certain profits belonging to the church of Redcliffe, but apparently not in connection with the fair.

“I will conclude by referring to another petition relating to the condition of Bristol, which, though undated, may perhaps have some reference to the effects of the fair. It asserts that upwards of nine hundred houses had fallen down, and speaks of the general decay of the town. As the means of raising its condition it prays that it may be released from paying prisage of wines, and from the payment to the Castle, ‘which is now in utter ruin, and serveth for no purpose but for idle persons to play there at the bowles and other unlawful games.’ It prays also that religious and other persons might be allowed to subscribe for the purchase of the King’s fee farm, and then the tolls and duties taken from merchant strangers would be entirely remitted by the Corporation.”

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A Roman die, of bone, found in ploughing at Arbor Banks, in the parish of Ashwell, Herts, about 1820. Roman pottery, coins, &c., were discovered at the same place: the spot is situated on the property of Mr. Nash, Fordham, of Royston. Each side of the cube measures about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch; the pips are marked by two concentric circles, with a central point. The die had been placed in a vessel of Roman ware, in which it was found. Two diminutive bone dice, in the Faussett Collections, found in Kent, are figured in Mr. Roach Smith’s “*Inventorium Sepulchrale*,” p. 7. Several Roman dice are figured in Tersan (*Arts et Métiers*, pl. 18); they are of ivory, bone, agate, rock-crystal, and basalt: the bone die is perforated through the middle in one direction.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—A small four-footed stand of bronze, like a diminutive model of a stool, the upper part enamelled: it belongs to the same rare class of Roman reliques of which two specimens, found on Farley Heath, and presented to the British Museum by Henry Drummond, Esq., M.P., are figured in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 27.—A looped enamelled ornament, formed for suspension to horse-trappings, or for some similar purpose: diam. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. It is charged with an escutcheon, quarterly, Toulouse, and France, semé. It is figured in the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. v., p. 161, with a notice by Mr. Planché, who is inclined to assign it to John, King of France, taken prisoner at Poitiers, 1356, supposing it to bear his arms as Count of Toulouse.—A proof-piece, struck in a thick piece of lead from dies for coining pennies of the reign of King Alfred, the type resembling that of fig. 176, pl. xiii., of Mr. Hawkins’ *Silver Coins*. It is evidently a trial-piece of the engraver. Figured in *Gent. Mag.*, 1842, part. ii., p. 498, and in the catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith’s *Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 107. It was found in St. Paul’s Churchyard.—A large collection of pilgrims’ signs, or *signacula*, of lead or pewter, found in London, comprising several “*Canterbury Bells*,” one of them bearing the

name of St. Thomas ; a mitred head, similarly inscribed (figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. ii., pl. xvii.) ; a figure of a bishop on horse-back, possibly intended to represent Becket ; two *ampullæ* ; a sword scabbard, with an escutcheon affixed behind it ; the lid of an hexagonal pyx, inscribed with the names of the three Kings of the East : it was found in the Thames, (figured, *Collectanea*, vol. i., pl. xliii.) These curious reliques have subsequently been deposited, with Mr. Roach Smith's collection, in the British Museum.

By Mr. COLE.—A bronze fibula, probably of late Roman workmans'hip, plated with tin or some white metal : it was found a considerable depth in Throgmorton Street, City, as related at the previous meeting. Also, a small globular money-pot, or *tirelire*, of green glazed ware, found in Dunster Court.

By the Rev. EDWARD HARSTON, Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset.—Photographic representations of a remarkable sculptured fragment, found in June, 1854, in digging a grave near the south porch of the Abbey Church. It lay ten feet below the surface, and portions of mosaic pavement, and tiles with impressed patterns, were brought to light at the same time. Careful search was made, but in vain, for any other fragments of sculpture. During recent "restorations" of the church, portions of old monuments of similar description, one of them with a crosier and inscription, were found in much better preservation than that under consideration ; but, according to the account given by the sexton, the workmen always threw them in again amongst the rubbish. A notice of the discovery in 1854 had been sent to Professor Willis by the Rev. J. Williamson, and Mr. Harston, who had shortly after been presented to the living, supplied further information. At his request Mr. Bergman, of Sherborne, had, in the most obliging manner, given the aid of his skill in the art of photography. Through his kindness we are enabled to present to our readers the accompanying representation, a fresh example of the great value of the photographic art as an auxiliary to antiquarian research. The sculptured fragment, described as of granite, is evidently part of a monumental effigy, chiselled on the lid of a stone coffin, or low altar tomb, of greater width at the head than at the foot. The tonsure is distinctly shown, the hair and the beard are arranged in locks with singular conventional regularity, similar to that shown in the remarkable sculptures in Chichester Cathedral, figured in this Journal, vol. xii., p. 409. The stone measures about 27 inches at top, 25 inches at the bottom ; the length of either side about 22 inches ; thickness, 8 inches. The inscription, running round the circular arch over the head of the effigy, is to be read thus, the numerous contractions being given in *extenso*,—

CLEMENS : CLEMENTEM : SIBI : SENTIAT : OMNIPOTENTEM :

QVO : DUM : VIVEBAT : DOMVS : HEC : DOMINANTE : VIGEBAT.

This Leonine distich may be thus rendered :—May Clement find the Omnipotent clement to him ; under whose rule, (namely, the Abbot Clement's,) throughout his life, this house flourished.

There seems good reason to regard this curious sculpture as part of the memorial of Clement, Abbot of Sherborne, about the middle of the XIIth century. Peter was abbot about 1142, and Clement occurs in 1163, but the precise date of his succession, as also of his decease, is not known. He may have been living as late as 1189, when William de Stoke was elected abbot.¹

¹ Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset. Willis, "Mitred Abbeys," vol. ii. p. 71.

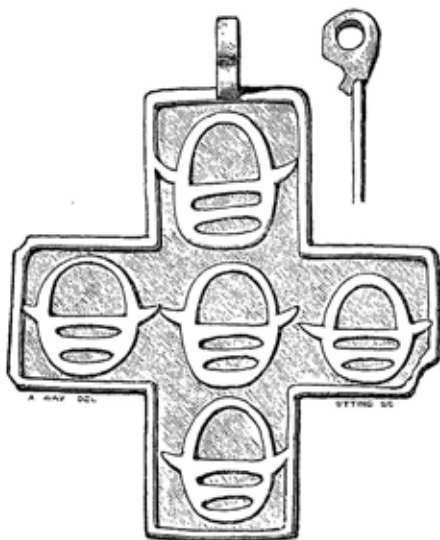


FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURED EFFIGY DISCOVERED AT THE
 ABBEY CHURCH, SHERBORNE, DORSET.

[Supposed to be part of the Sepulchral Memorial of Clement, Abbot of Sherborne,
 about A.D. 1163.]

CLEMENS CLEMENTEM SIBI SENTIAT OMNIPOTENTEM.
 QUO DUM VIVEBAT DOMUS HEC DOMINANTE VIGEBAT.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—Four glass beads, stated to have been found in Berkshire; a metal figure of St. George and the Dragon, found in Oxfordshire; and an ornament of copper, originally enamelled (*champlevé*), described as found near the Beacon Hill, Kent. The latter is an unusual example of the looped enamelled ornaments formed for suspension, as supposed, to horse-trappings and harness, of which numerous specimens, in form of escutcheons, have been produced at the meetings of the Institute. This cruciform ornament (see woodcut, orig. size) is charged with five caldrons, probably taken from the armorial bearing of some Spanish family (De Lara?). Palliot gives the following coat,—“De Lara en Espagne



Enamelled Cross. Orig. size. Date, XIVth cent.

porte de gueules à deux chaudieres fascées d'or et de sable, en chacun 8 serpens de sinople issans des costés de l'ance." The caldrons appear here to be *fascées*, but the colours, which were expressed by enamel, have unfortunately disappeared. Some trace, however, of *gules* may be seen in the field.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—An enamelled ornament of copper, chased in relief, partly gilt, and preserving portions of rich colouring: it is probably of early mediæval date, and had been recently purchased in London by Mr. C. Roach Smith.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—Transcript of a fragment found in the binding of a volume of old MS. collections in his possession, containing medical receipts, physical charms, a treatise on astrology, the virtue of herbs, &c. It is a copy of the oath and homage of John Balliol for the Kingdom of Scotland, done before Edward I., at Norham Castle, Nov. 20, 1292, and printed in the series of documents given in Rymer, vol. i., p. 781 (new edit.). This transcript, probably of contemporary date, is closely conformable to the text as there printed.—Two plates, architectural subjects, from the last number of Heidehoff's 'Deutsche Ornamentik,' representations

of windows in the Castle of Rotenburg, called the Palace of the Dukes of Franconia, and of a modern house built at Nuremberg.

By Mr. W. TITE, M.P.—Two illuminated service books, Italian MSS. of the XVth century.—Two *viatoria*, or portable dials; and an elaborately sculptured ivory comb, probably of the work of Goa, in the times of Portuguese occupation.

By Mr. F. A. CARRINGTON.—A massive gold ring, found in a gravel pit on the Bansted Downs, Surrey, and bearing the initials—W. T.—Date, XVI. cent.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A massive Papal ring, of Pope Paul II. Pietro Barbo, a Venetian of good family, was elected Pope under this name in 1464. He projected an expedition against the Turks, and Ferdinand, King of Naples, promised him aid, if he would remit a debt due from him to the Holy See. He achieved the union of all the Princes of Italy, and received with great state the Emperor Frederick III., to whom he gave a consecrated sword. He died in 1471, having been found dead in his bed, as it was supposed from apoplexy, having eaten two large melons for supper. The ring is of large size, and has for a stone a piece of rich crystal, with red foil under it. It is ornamented with emblematical figures of the four evangelists, and has on one side the family arms of Barbo, surmounted by the Papal tiara, and on the other the arms of Arragon, which were also those of Ferdinand, King of Naples, who was of the Arragon family; these are surmounted by a pointed crown or coronet of fine points. The ring bears the inscription,—PAULUS P.P. SECUNDUS.

By Miss J. M. BOCKETT.—A large silver medal (Schaumunze) of John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, called the Magnanimous. He succeeded in 1532, and died in 1554. Obv., the bust of the elector, seen nearly full face, a drawn sword upraised in his right hand, with his left he holds his hat, placed before him. IOANNIS. FRIDERICI. ELECTOR. DVX. SAXONIE. FIERI. FECIT. ETATIS. SVÆ. 32. Under his hand are the initials H—R. united, being the monogram of Heinrich Reitz of Leipsic, an artist of considerable celebrity. On the reverse there is a large richly decorated achievement of numerous quarterings, ensigned with three helms and crests, lambrequins, &c.—SPES MEA IN DEO EST ANNO NOSTRI SALVATORIS M.D.X.X.X.V. This fine medal measures rather more than 2½ in. diam. It appears to have been cast, and then worked up by the tool. Mr. Franks does not notice it in his accounts of the works of Heinrich Reitz, in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 317, where a representation of one of his finest productions may be seen.

By Mr. CHARLES WILCOX, of Wareham.—Brass matrix of the seal of the prioress of the Benedictine nunnery of Ivingho, or St. Margaret's de Bosco, Buckinghamshire, founded by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, early in the XIIth century. This matrix was found in a wall at Worth Matravers, in the isle of Purbeck, Dorset. It is of round form; diameter rather more than seven-eighths of an inch: the device is a crowned female bust, seen full face, possibly representing St. Margaret.* *Sigillum priorisse; de: Ibyngbo.* Date, late XIVth century. This seal is not mentioned in Caley's edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, where a list of the prioresses is given (vol. iv., p. 268). An impression of the common seal of the nunnery is appended to the Harleian Charter, dated 1325.

JUNE 6, 1856.

THE HON. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, in continuation of his valuable illustrations of the ancient mortuary customs of Scandinavia, offered some observations upon the various fruits and plants found in connection with the interments of northern nations, as also upon their stone-worship. He adverted to the ancient use of the hazel-twigs, of which the tradition may be recognised even in very recent times, in the divining rod used in Cornwall and other parts of England for discovering water or veins of metal. Hazel-nuts had been found in the hands of buried skeletons; and in two instances, which had come under Mr. Kemble's own observation, walnuts had been found thus deposited. He stated various other remarkable facts in illustration of this remarkable subject.¹ In regard to stone monuments of the earliest periods, Mr. Kemble remarked that a large ring of stones appeared to have enclosed a place of combat or judgment; and connected with it was a great stone,—the stone of Thor, upon which criminals, or vanquished combatants, were slain or sacrificed by having the spine broken. Large stones were regarded as abodes of the gods, and Mr. Kemble cited various legends in connection with such superstition. Circles of stone were sometimes considered to be persons,—for instance, a nuptial procession turned into stone during a violent thunderstorm. Mr. Kemble concluded his discourse by earnestly advocating the careful collection of all the materials which may tend to throw light upon the customs of the earlier periods, still involved in so much obscurity; and the endeavour by such means to establish our knowledge and opinions upon a secure basis.

The Hon. R. C. NEVILLE gave a short account of the discovery of a Roman interment, accompanied by glass *unguentaria* and other reliques.

"The five Roman *unguentaria* (which were exhibited) were found in a square leaden coffin, with a bronze armlet, a bone pin, and a small brass coin of Cunobelin. The discovery took place in lowering a hillock at Meldreth, Cambridgeshire, about 1816. The place is called "Metal Hill," and is not an artificial tumulus, but apparently a natural eminence. The name possibly may be a corruption of *Muttilow*, the name of several places of ancient sculpture. Muttilow Hill is the designation of the tumulus on the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, opened under my directions in 1852, as related in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 226. Myrtle Hill, at Wenden, Essex, as it is now called, is properly, as I believe, Muttilow Hill; and ancient interments have been found there. The glass vessels and other ancient objects submitted to the meeting are actually the property of Mr. Carver, of Meldreth, by whom they were purchased from the workmen at the time of the discovery."

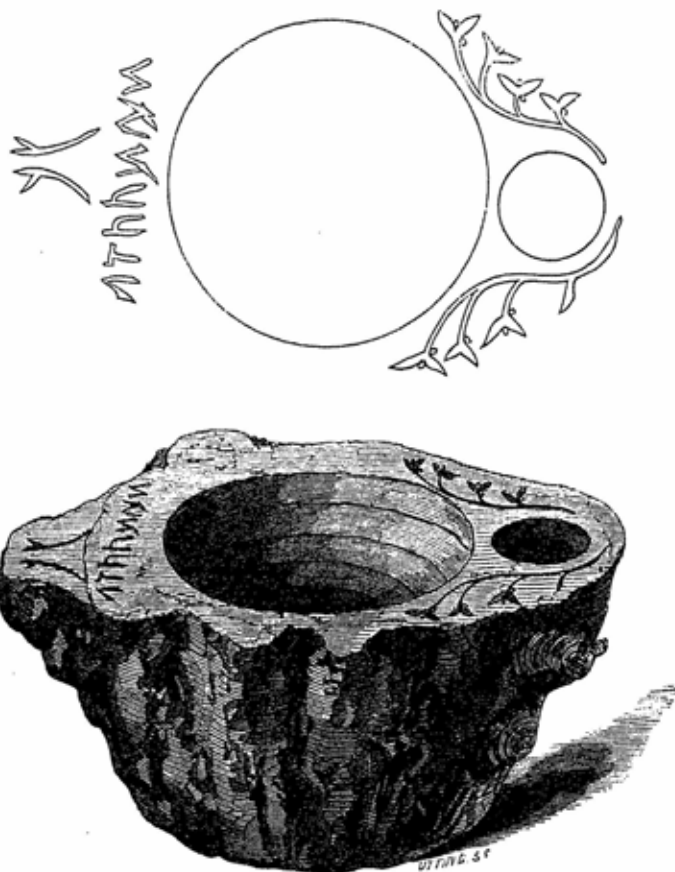
Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., communicated representations of a singular rude wooden vessel, supposed to have been used as a font, preserved in the hall at Pengwern, the seat of Lord Mostyn, in Denbighshire. Mr. Wynne

¹ In an interment found in county Kincardine, in 1822, a skeleton occurred, placed doubled up, in a stone cist, the floor of which was strewed with sea-shore

pebbles; and around the body, as it was believed, had been placed a number of acorns.—Arch. Scot., vol. ii., p. 463.

gave the following account of this curious relique, by Richard Llwyd, written in 1790.

"It was found in a bog near Dinas Mowddwy, in Merionethshire, possibly in old times occupied by some great forest, and near the site of some building, of which there is not a vestige left. It is formed of a massy piece of knotty oak, rude on the sides as in the state of nature, the top and bottom levelled seemingly with no better instrument than the axe. On the upper part is a large hollow basin capable of containing about six



Wooden Font, at Pengwern, Denbighshire.

quarts. A little beyond this is a superficial hollow of small diameter, with an artless foliage with round berries fixed to the leaves, cut on each side, and immediately beyond a narrow slope had been formed on which is cut in large letters the word *ATHRYWYN*, which Davis interprets *Pugnantes et discordantes sejungere*. *ATHRYWYN* is a word still in use, but not commonly, but in the same sense as that given in the Welsh Dictionary.

The diameter of the larger hollow is 11 inches; depth $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diameter of the less hollow 3 in.; depth about 1 in.; length of the log 1 foot 10 in.; thickness near 10 in.

That this was a very ancient font I have no sort of doubt; the large cavity contained the water, the lesser may have held the salt, which to this day is used in the Roman Catholic Church in the ceremony of baptism. The priest blesses the salt in case it has not been blessed before, then takes a little, and putting it into the child's mouth says, "Receive the Salt of Wisdom."

The word "*Athrywyn*" may signify the putting an end to the contests between Christianity and Paganism by the quiet progress made by the true faith in the world; or it may signify the separations of the "Lusts of the Flesh" from the purity of the spirit by virtue of this Holy Sacrament.

In the early days of Christianity fonts were not confined to churches. They were usually kept in private houses and sometimes in public places in the open air. Out of tenderness to infants they were afterwards removed into the porch, and finally into the church itself. From the smallness, it must have been made when aspersion was admitted.

This font seems made of the material next at hand. The rude block cut out of the next oak. I do not recollect any font made of this material,² and therefore look on it as a curiosity worthy the attention of the public. It is in fine preservation, owing to the bituminous peat or turf which so well preserves the fossil trees, the date of which may boast of far higher antiquity than this venerable relique.

N.B. *Athrywyn*, as a substantive, signifies "happiness, tranquillity, pacification." As a verb, to "conciliate or reconcile."

In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a rudely fashioned vessel may be seen, formed of a trunk of a tree, and possibly used as a font in primitive times. The font in the church of Chobham, Surrey, is formed of wood, lined with lead. See Simpson's *Baptismal Fonts*, preface, p. viii. The chief examples of fonts bearing inscriptions are enumerated by Mr. Paley, in the introduction to the *Illustrations of Fonts*, published by Van Voorst, p. 26. The second basin of smaller size, as seen in the wooden object found in Merionethshire, occurs in a font at Youlgrave, Derbyshire, figured in Mr. Markland's *Remarks on English Churches*, p. 92, third edition. A projecting bracket or ledge occurs on a font at Pitsford, Northamptonshire (Van Voorst, *ut supra*). It has been conjectured that the small basin served as a stoup for holy-water, the font being placed near the entrance door; or possibly for affusion in the rite of baptism. It was more probably a receptacle for the chrismatory, for the holy oil used in baptism.

Mr. F. A. CARRINGTON read a memoir on the Brank or Scolds' Bridle (Printed in this volume, p. 263).

Mr. R. W. BLENCOWE read the following letter, relating to the Rooper family, in the XVIth century, and addressed by George Rooper, son of Richard Rooper, of Derbyshire, who appears to have been in favour with Henry VIII. and Queen Mary. The letter is dated, Bridgewater, May 25, 1626, directed to his "Worshipful Cozen, Mr. Samuel Roper, Esq., at Lincoln's Inn." His ancestor, Richard, eldest son of Richard Furneaux of Beighton, in Derbyshire, married Isolda, only daughter of John Roper, of Turndich, Derbyshire, (in 7 Hen. VI.) and it was covenanted on that occasion that he and his issue by her should thenceforth assume the name of Roper.³

² There is, as Mr. Wynne observed, a plain octagonal oak font at Efenechtyd, in Denbighshire.

³ See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, under Lemington Hastings, and Hasted's account of the Ropers of Wellhall in Eltham, Kent.

[To my Worshipful Cozen, Mr. Samuel Roper, Esq., at Lincoln's Inn. Deliver these.]

Worthy Cozen,

I rec'd your letter by Mr. Dauge, when he came from the last term, wherein you desire me to set down what I know upon *my own knowledge* of our kindred ; indeed, Cozen, I can say little, butt of my father's and mother's uncles which liv'd in my tyme, for I was but a stranger myself in my father's cuntry of Darbyshire. I and my five brethren were all borne in Hide Park by London, in the Lodge neere Knightsbridge. My father's name was Richard, hee was servant to King Henry the seventh and to King Henry the eighth, and was much in their favour, and a pensioner, as I have heard my mother and many others say ; and soe it should seeme, for King Henry the eighth gave him the Keeping of Enfield chace, Hide Park, and Marebone, and the King gave him good gifts ever and anon, and my father put keepers in and out at his pleasure, but hee lived beyond it, and hee left us all unprovided for. I was not above 8 or 9 years old as I take it when hee died. I remember Queen Mary came into our house within a little of my father's death, and found my mother weeping, and took her by the hand and lifted her up, for shee kneeld, and bid her bee of good cheere, for her children should be well provided for. Afterwards my brother Richard and I being the eldest were sent to Harrow to school, and were there till almost men. Sir Ralph Sadler took order for all things for us there, by Queen Mary's appointment, as long as shee lived ; and after, Queen Elizabeth for a tyme, but *shee* gave orders to bind my brothers, William, Ralph, Henry and Hugh, apprentices, and sent for us to the Court, and said shee would give us good places ; but wee were put to bee of her guard, which I think kill'd my mother's hart, for shee would allways say that my father was of a very great stock, and little look't for such place for his sonnes. I've often heard her say she thought we fared the worss that Queen Mary was so kind to us. Queen Elizabeth had not reigned long but my mother died. Shee was one Mr. Hanshaw's daughter belonging to the law. My father had two brothers, Henry was the eldest, and your great grandfather, and George was the second, he married one Mr. Alsop's daughter in Darbyshire ; this am I sure of, for once I went into Darbyshire to see our friends, and went to Alsop and to Heanor your great grandfather's, and to my aunt Gilbert, and my aunt Key's, and my aunt Hall, they were my father's sisters. My brothers, Richard, Henry, Ralph and Hugh, died without issue. My brother William had one son borne in Milk street, who was father to Sir Thomas Roper in Ireland, his wife was daughter of one Fetherstone, [he was created Viscount Baltinglass, extinct 1730.] Hugh, a citizen ; for my part I married a widdow here by Bridgewater, past children when I had her first. I had good means by her whiles shee lived, and it was all the good I ever got by my mistress Queen Elizabeth, but indeed by her means I gott her. Cozen you must pardon mee, for this I write not with mine own hand. I have not writt a letter this seven years, my eyes are so bad. I am now above fourscore years old, but I made this to be written after my own very words, and the writer reade it over again to mee. Worthy Cozen, the Lord of Heaven bless you. It joyes my hart to hear from you, and therefore I beseech you lett me receive a letter from you now and then. I shall not live long, for I am almost done. God prepare mee for himselfe, for I have beene a great sinner.

I rest your loving Cozen, till death,

G. ROPER.

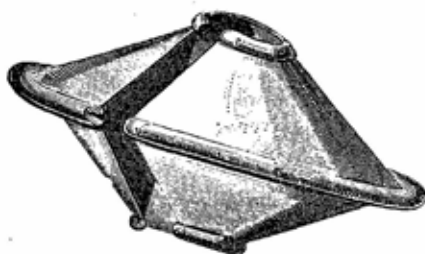
Cozen, if you look upon the seale of this letter, you shall find I have the seale of my father still. My brother Richard gave it mee. He w'd say it had long beene in the name, and after my death it shall be yours, its natural possessor, but I will never part with it till death.—G. ROOPER.

"This is a true copy of the originall given in my custody, who am the only male heir of *that* branch of the family, given under my hand and the *seal* above mentioned, 6th of April, 1679.—THOMAS ROOPER."

The original letter and seals were in the possession of the late John Bonfoy Rooper, Esq., of Abbots Ripton, Hunts. The bearing appears to be an eagle, the wings closed.—SIGILLUM RULBERTI OU LE ROSPER. In Burke's Armoury the coat of Roper of Derbyshire is given as—"Sa. a stork Or." With this seal has been preserved that of Sir Robert Furneaux, SIGILLUM D'NI ROBERTI DE FURNEAUX MILITIS, of which and of the other seal drawings were brought by Mr. Blencowe, as also of the crest of Rooper;—on a chapeau a flaming star, with the motto—*Lux Anglis. Crux Francis*. No charge appears on the escutcheon on the seal of Furneaux. A pedigree in possession of the family gives the coat as—*Gu. a bend Arg. between six cross crosslets Or.*

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAX.—Representations of some armlets and ornaments of unknown use, of gold, stated to have been found at Gaerwein, Anglesea. They had been brought to Newcastle by an itinerant dealer in the watch-making trade, named Edward Brown, and sold to Mr. Young, a silversmith in the Bigg Market at Newcastle, from whom they had been recently purchased by Dr. Collingwood Bruce. There were reported to have been eleven armlets discovered, and with each there was a flat capsule or penannular ornament of thin gold plate. The armlets are likewise penannular, with the extremities slightly dilated, the weight of each being nearly an



Irish gold ornaments, similar to those found in Anglesea.

ounce. The peculiar form of the ornaments will be best understood from the accompanying representations of a pair, in all respects similar, found in the county Limerick; no other example, it is believed, had hitherto been noticed. There appears to have been much intercourse in early times between Anglesea and Ireland; and these peculiar objects may possibly have been derived from that country at some remote period.⁴ Pennant had in his collection "three gold bracelets and a bulla," found in Anglesea, in the parish of Llanflewyn, near some circular entrenchments called Castell Crwn.⁵ The *bulla* may have been an object of the same fashion as those here figured.

⁴ See Mr. Edward Hoare's observations on the gold ornaments, formerly in Mr. VOL. XIII.

Abell's collection, Arch. Jour. vol. x. p. 73.
⁵ Nicholson's Cambrian Guide.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE. — A necklace of beads, found in February, 1839, in removing parts of a barrow near Lord Berners' watermill, in the parish of Northwold, Norfolk. The beads, sixty-five in number, comprise fifty-six of dark blue glass, with one of rock crystal, cut in facets, cubes of variously coloured opaque vitrified paste, and other beads of like material. They are doubtless of Anglo-Saxon date. — Two small Egyptian figures of bronze, brought from the tombs in Egypt. — An Irish spear-head of bronze, of unusual length (14½ inches) and of very fine workmanship. It has loops at the lower end of the blade, and the socket is pierced through both sides for a rivet.⁶ — Two basket-hilted swords; one of them from Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, has a remarkably small hilt of peculiar fashion. It has long been in the possession of a family at that place, and was regarded as a relique taken in the Civil Wars. The other found near Worcester, was formerly in the collection of the late Dr. Turley, of that city. The basket-hilt and part of the blade are coated with a black varnish, supposed to have been used in token of mourning by the Royalists.

By Mr. EVELYN SHIRLEY, M.P. — Bronze reliques found near the bog of Annamawen, Barony of Ferney, co. Monaghan: supposed to have been the rims and handles of ancient Irish vessels, in form of pails.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH. — A small urn of dark black ware, found at Upchurch, Kent, where traces of extensive Roman pottery-works have been found, as described by Mr. C. Roach Smith, *Journal of the Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. ii., p. 133. The form bears resemblance to that of the Upchurch vases, Akerman's *Archaeol. Index*, pl. xi. figs. 83, 84.

By Mr. G. A. CARTHESW. — Two fragments of silver personal ornaments, probably portions of girdles: they are bands of stout metal, chased with considerable care, the surface being alternately grooved, and ornamented with beaded and zigzag lines in relief. One of the fragments measures 1½ inch in width, the other rather less than an inch, and a round locket or fastening is hinged upon it, like the fastening of a belt. In this is set a silver coin of the Lucretia family. Obv. a radiated head of the sun. — Rev. a crescent in the midst of seven stars. L. LUCRETIA. [TRIO?] These fragments were found in the Norfolk Fen, at Northwold, and are supposed to be of Saxon workmanship. They resemble the work of that period in general character. (Compare some of the silver fragments found at Cuerdale.) The ornaments, however, appear to be wholly wrought with the tool, without the use of the punch.

By Mr. J. L. RANDAL, of Shrewsbury. — A cast from an inscribed fragment of Purbeck marble, lately found in Castle Street, Shrewsbury, and bearing the name of Alice Lestrangle. Mr. Randal had kindly caused a cast to be taken, which he presented to the Institute. A more detailed notice of this curious inscription will be given hereafter.

By Mr. R. R. CATON. — Representation of an ancient sun-dial of remarkable character, existing on the terrace at Park Hall, near Oswestry. A brass key of curious construction, found in ploughed land on the Pentreclawd farm, in the parish of Selattyn, Shropshire, close upon Wat's Dyke. The field is known as "Norman's Field," and there is a tradition that a battle was fought there between "King Norman" and the Welsh. The space, about two or three miles in width, between Offa's and Wat's

⁶ A bronze spear, with similar loops, found at Rossmore Park, co. Monaghan, was produced by Lord Rossmore in the

Dublin exhibition; it measured 27 inches in length.

Dykes, which in that part run parallel to each other, was formerly considered neutral ground between the English and the Welsh, and Mr. Caton suggested that the name might be a corruption of No-man's Field.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A betrothal ring of silver, parcel-gilt, date XIVth century, the hoop formed with the device of a crowned heart, instead of the hands conjoined, the more usual fashion in such rings.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A gold ring having on the facet a small cottage, with the initial R. upon it; possibly intended as a rebus for the name R. Cot-ton, or Hut-ton. On the hoop is engraved on each side St: Anthony's Tau. Date, XVth century.

By Mr. J. ROGERS.—A rubbing from a sepulchral brass in the church of St. Ives, Cornwall, unnoticed by collectors. It bears the date 1467.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A silver mounted cup, supposed to be formed of the horn of the rhinoceros, which was regarded as possessing virtue against poison. It belonged to Helena, daughter of the second Viscount Mountgarret, and wife of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormonde, who succeeded in 1614. Also a German knife and fork, silver mounted.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A one-handed silver porringer, or more properly a barber's eight ounce bleeding basin, bearing the assay-mark of the year 1684. The porringer or pottinger, Mr. Morgan observed, appears to have had two handles ("*escuelle à oreillons*," Cotgr.) and to have been rather different in form, not contracted at the top, like that exhibited.—A Gothic reliquary of copper-gilt, with the knop and stem partly enamelled, and on the latter the mystical or talismanic inscription,—" *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum*."—A collection of ecclesiastical and other finger-rings, one of them formed with a diminutive squirt, which being concealed in the hand would at pleasure throw a jet of water into the eye of any one examining it.

By Mr. JAMES YATES.—An elaborately carved wooden box, bearing the emblems of the Passion, possibly intended to hold the wafers used in the services of the Church.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A small globular one-handed bottle, of white enamelled pottery, manufactured in England in imitation of that made at Delft. This ware was probably made at Lambeth. On one side is inscribed in bright blue—SACK, 1661. The Hon. Robert Curzon has a similar bottle for Sack, dated 1659, figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 211; Mr. Franks has another, dated 1648; and in the Norwich Museum there are three similar bottles,—SACK, 1650. WHIT, 1648. CLARET, 1648.

By Mr. J. J. BOASE, of Penzance.—An impression from a brass matrix, dug up in the parish of St. Burian, near Penzance, and now in his possession. The seal is circular, diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; in the centre appears the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour, standing on a bracket, as if in a niche of tabernacle work. On the dexter side is a Saint probably intended for St. Augustine, vested in a cope, wearing a mitre, and holding a crosier in his right hand. Three small figures, apparently females, kneel at his feet, apparently protected within the skirt of the Saint's ample cope. On the sinister side is a female Saint, and at her feet, sheltered by her mantle, are three little male figures kneeling. The inscription is as follows:—*§ : confraternitatis : concepc'onis. b'te : m : orb' : sci : augustini : parisius.* A representation of this seal may be seen in the recently published volume of "Ancient Crosses and other Antiquities in Cornwall," by Mr. J. T. Blight, of Penzance.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

"INVENTORIUM SEPULCHRALE," &c. By the Rev. BRYAN FAUSSETT; edited by C. ROACH SMITH. 4to. London, 1856.

Inventorium Sepulchrale is the title given by the Rev. Bryan Faussett to the journals conscientiously kept by him during the progress of his excavations of Kentish Tumuli; and under this name, those journals have been arranged for publication by our learned colleague, Mr. C. R. Smith, in a handsome quarto volume, enriched with a multitude of woodcuts, coloured and uncoloured plates, an introduction and an indispensable index. By means of this work, which we owe mainly to the enlightened liberality of Mr. Joseph Mayer—the owner of the Faussett Collection,—these beautiful and interesting records of Anglo-Saxon life are made accessible to the archaeologist, and placed beyond the reach of accident. We do not intend to reopen the vexed question respecting the refusal of the trustees of the British Museum to purchase the collection itself, when offered to them at a very low price. The opinion of all archaeologists throughout Europe has declared against them, and settled that, whatever unfortunate misapprehensions may have led to their decision, it was an unhappy and erroneous one. We shall only express our warm satisfaction, that, if this collection of national antiquities was not to find a place in the National Museum, it should have passed into the hands of a gentleman so fully capable of appreciating its value, and so honourably distinguished by the liberality with which he renders his treasures accessible to all who know how to use them.

If the Faussett Collection itself is pronounced by all judges to be one of the most interesting and important of its kind, the journals which record the slow and gradual labours by which it was formed, are no less deserving of attention and praise. In order fully to appreciate the calm common sense, and conscientious spirit that dictated them, we must remember what antiquarian research usually was in the latter half of the last century, when Mr. Faussett was occupied with his enquiries, and bear in mind the wild spirit of reckless theorising which characterised almost every branch of Archaeological study. A few vague traditions, copied from book to book, or delivered from hand to hand, but based upon no sound historical grounds, and never brought to the reasonable test of observation, were assumed to account for whatever was exhumed. Cæsar's legions, Druidism, Saxon worship, Helio-Arkite cult, the Lingam Ionam, and Heaven only knows how much more trash, were the convenient catchwords under the cover of which the antiquarian rode off; and if the facts did not exactly square with the theory, they were strained till they suited it. Comparative Archaeology of course did not exist; nor was history, a hundred years ago, pursued as now it is, under our crucial system of criticism. It is due to the memory of two Kentish antiquaries to record that they were the first to desert the unsatisfactory method of their contemporaries, and to found a school whose

principle was to be patient observation, and conscientious collection of facts for future induction. Bryan Faussett and Douglas, the author of the *Nænia*, are in this respect the fathers of the modern Archaeological method, and we owe them no little gratitude both for the example they set, and the materials they laboriously collected. In truth, when we remember with what difficulties they had to contend, we cannot prize their insight too highly, or speak in terms of too great praise of the cool judgment which directed their proceedings.

The work of Douglas has long been known to and appreciated by English archaeologists: the labours of Faussett, never having been reduced to form, and put forth in the imposing dimensions of a book, have remained unknown. It is well that this late justice has been done to his memory, and that the simple records of his activity should be given to us, in their integrity. We can value them now, as perhaps we might not have done, half a century ago. And indeed it is just possible that had he lived to reduce his own observations to order, the spirit of systematising, and the anxiety to win results from the phenomena collected, might have seduced him into adopting a form for his journals, which would have been less satisfactory than their present unadorned, and, as it were, spontaneous record. We follow him now from grave to grave, and see how in every case the details of the interment presented themselves to his eyes upon removal of the superincumbent earth. We observe the circular fibula, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, in its place below the neck; we see the earrings at the sides of the head; the knife or knives suspended to the girdle; the rare sword, the large spear—the characteristic weapon of the Germanic tribes; the javelins, which probably rarely left their hands; the traces of the orbicular shield with its boss or umbo. The ornaments of the toilet, and the implements of the household, are supplied in great numbers and interesting variety. The position of many articles upon the skeleton teaches, for the first time, what was their actual use, and puts an end to a good deal of unprofitable speculation, as to the modes of their employment.

By the means of comparison thus furnished in so extensive a degree, we gain also important lessons as to the condition of Kent, in relation to other parts of England, and some valuable hints as to the chronology of Archaeological data. It is impossible to doubt that the elaborate ornaments, the improved pottery, the buried skeletons of the Kentish grave-yards, mark a much more advanced development of culture, and probably a much later period of time, than the rude evidences of cremation in Norfolk and Suffolk. While these latter recall to us the wild, wandering pagans of the Elbe and Weser, the Kentish deposits remind us rather of the settled districts under Frankish rule, and the Merovingian culture of North France, Germanic, indeed, but modified by Roman models and the adoption of the Christian faith. We wait still for archaeological evidence, drawn from the earth, for the Pagan age of the Franks, which is to be sought in Belgium perhaps rather than in France; unless, indeed, the cemetery of Port-le-grand and others like it, should contain such; however, I am at present inclined to look upon these as Saxon. But the historical evidence is sufficient to show that the Pagan Franks, like all other Pagans of German race, burnt their dead. We wait equally for evidence of the Pagan Saxon age in Kent; the discoveries there have, hitherto, almost exclusively revealed to us deposits of the Christian times. Faussett and Douglas looked down upon

the bones of men, not such as accompanied a fabulous Hengist and Horsa, or thronged round the more historical Eormannic; but men who may have helped Ædhelberht to give form to his laws, or even battled for Eáðberht Pren against the intrusive Cénwulf of Mercia. There is, in fact, nothing in these interments inconsistent with the supposition that they belong to the period extending from the commencement of the seventh, till at least the first half of the ninth centuries. We see in them the contemporaries, not of Clovis or Theodoric, but of Carl Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

And in truth there is a remarkable resemblance between the contents of these Kentish graves and those of the Frankish or Alemannic inhabitants of the valleys of the Rhine and Danube. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the plates of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* with Dr. von Raiser's account of the cemetery at Nordendorf in Bavaria, will see that he has before his eyes the products of the same stage of civilisation. The beautiful circular fibulæ which are so distinguishing a characteristic of Kentish interments, are reproduced there in even greater variety: they are found in Normandy, in Luxemburg, and in Suabia. On the other hand they are entirely wanting in the districts from which the Saxon populations emigrated to England: nothing at all resembling them is preserved in the museums of North Germany, or even in Copenhagen: neither Count Münster, Von Estorff, nor myself, detected a trace of them on the Weser, in Westphalia, or in Lüneburg. The Jutish peninsula repudiates them: Mecklenburgh knows them not. In short they appear as yet nearly confined to the Franks, and the men of Kent who were at all times in close relation to that people. At the same time, to the honour of the English workmen, it must be admitted that their circular brooches are superior in finish to the most of those found upon the continent: nothing in this class will bear comparison for a moment with the splendid ornament found at Kingston, and delineated upon Mr. C. R. Smith's first plate. As far as we have yet seen, those of Nordendorf approach the nearest in beauty to the Kentish. It is possible that one reason for the inferiority of the continental circular fibulæ may be found in the prevalence of fibulæ of another pattern—the cruciform—which may have been more in fashion. Nothing which England has to show in this respect can be put in competition with the exquisite products which the valleys of the Rhine and Danube furnish, some few of which may be known to our readers from a specimen-plate issued by Lindenschmidt and Wilhelmi, or by the casts which the first of those gentlemen has had made from several of them, and which have found their way into this country. These too are nearly as rare in the North German graves. The general character of the Kentish graves, the position of the skeletons, the arms, the ornaments, the domestic implements, in short the whole series of accidents, are in all essential respects identical with those described in the *Normandie Souterraine* of M. Cochet, and in the observations of MM. Namur, Baudot, Moutié, Troyon, Lindenschmidt, von Raiser, and Wilhelmi. We may admit slight variations in degree, but there are none in kind. The man of Kent, favoured by his position, and a sharer in the benefits of an early commercial civilisation, may have been richer than the Frank of *Londinieres* or *Envrement*, or Luxemburg, or Lausanne; he had no doubt some peculiar fashions of his own: but there is less difference between himself and the inhabitant of the Calvados than between this one and the Saxon of the Weser, or the cultivator of Schleswig and Holstein: less, perhaps, than the difference between him of Kent, and him of Yorkshire or Gloucestershire. We might

have been tempted to explain this Archaeological fact by assuming an early and close intercourse between the inhabitants of the *Littus Saxonicum per Gallias* and the *Littus Saxonicum per Britannias*, but for two reasons. The first of these is, that the interments of the Saxons (*Saxones Baiocassini*) upon the coast of France are of a much older character than the Frankish in Normandy or the Kentish, and as nearly as possible identical with those discovered by myself at Molzen and Ripdorf on the Ilmenau and Wipperau, or by von Estorff and Zimmermann in the adjoining districts. The second is that the Frankish interments in Normandy do not differ essentially from those noticed in other parts of France, in Switzerland, and in Germany, where no influences of Baiocassine Saxons can have been exercised. I am, therefore, on the contrary, disposed to refer any peculiarities by which the Kentish may be distinguished from other Anglo-Saxon interments to Frankish influence, which the political relations between the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Kentish kings must early have created. There was probably a good deal of acquaintance with Christianity in Kent before the time of Augustine: without it we can hardly believe the Christian Frankish kings to have given their daughters in marriage to English princes: and it is to be borne in mind, that the *orthodox* Roman Catholic writers are very apt to ignore all Christianity which did not go out directly from Rome. St. Boniface, for example, is constantly spoken of as the Apostle of Germany; yet, from his contemporaneous biographer, it is easy to see that the conversion of the pagan Germans was not his greatest service—this was the reduction of Christian communities, *already extant*, to obedience to Rome. It is now pretty certain that very many of the Franks were Christians before Clovis professed that faith in 496; and although their Christianity probably was of a somewhat indefinite character, and may have spread slowly enough, still no one can doubt for a moment that the Frankish cemeteries in France, hitherto described, are those of Christians. Even in the most remote corner it cannot be believed that heathendom would be openly practised after the beginning of the VIth century, such a heathendom at least as carried the dead in ostentatious solemnity to a funeral fire. A timid, half-concealed Paganism in spells and superstitions there was then, as there is now; but bold flaunting heathendom that burnt its dead in the face of the sun was become an impossibility. How this may have acted upon England it is easier to guess than to prove; but as yet I have only heard of one or two Kentish Saxon interments which could be shown *not* to be Christian. It is true that even Kent has as yet been very imperfectly explored, or very carelessly observed. Only one class of graves has received the proper measure of attention; and it is perhaps now too late—in a country so generally cultivated—to expect any other to be detected except by some fortunate accident. It is, however, extremely gratifying that even one class should have been so admirably illustrated as this has been. It furnishes a great link in the Teutonic chain, and gives the Archaeological evidence to the truth of what history has taught us: the Frank and the Saxon, when no longer separated in spirit by desolating wars, and the fury of religious difference, readily coalesced again, and fell into that similarity of customs which might have been expected in two races so nearly cognate in blood, and which, probably, in earlier periods had already prevailed. This is an important point in the history of these races; much more important, indeed, than the vain efforts of our English antiquarians in an overstrained love of *antiquity*,—to make out our early Christian sepulchres to be pagan.

It is of course impossible here to go into details which can only be profitably studied in the work itself, and with the plates under our eyes. I will only add, that these are extremely well executed and very faithful representations of the originals. They give an accurate and lively picture of the treasures in this collection. The antiquarian who studies in earnest will find in them some compensation for the impossibility of contemplating the arms and ornaments of his forefathers in their proper place—the Anglo-Saxon room, which I hope may one day exist, in the British Museum.

It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. C. R. Smith's part of the work is also done extremely well, and with much judgment. With all of his introduction I am disposed to concur, excepting such parts as seem to waver as to the Christian character of the deposits. It is evident that on this point his own opportunities of observation have been too limited. The notes which he has here and there added are useful and practical; and I readily believe that anything which he has omitted from Faussett's MSS. would at this stage of Archaeological study have been superfluous. Those, however, who have studied the question of the Anglo-Saxon settlements will not be disposed to attach much importance to Mr. Wright's views with respect to the ancient divisions of Saxon England, incorporated in the introduction: all who heard Dr. Guest's admirable dissertation upon the four Great Roads at Edinburgh, will readily agree with me in this.

Mr. Roach Smith has taken upon himself a labour of love in the Appendix to this volume. It is one, too, that rewards itself. When we have become familiar with the work of an author, and as in this case, accompanied him from spot to spot, and from discovery to discovery, we gladly learn what manner of man he was, and how he moved and conversed among his fellow men, in pursuits of a more general tendency. We are here, therefore, presented with a biographical sketch of Bryan Faussett, and with selections from his correspondence, which are of great interest. We cannot doubt that every reader will gladly see this record of the man added to the record of the *archaeologist*.

Both to Mr. Mayer, the munificent possessor of the collection, and to Mr. Roach Smith, who has done the work of making it accessible so well, we in common with all archaeologists return hearty thanks. The collection itself might have been dispersed, or lost to us: it is preserved entire. Even in the Museum it might have been inaccessible to many who would gladly have used it: the publication of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*" has multiplied it, and placed it within the reach of hundreds who would probably never have seen it; and the labours of the editor have supplied a guide by which all may be instructed to use it with advantage. We hope, and we believe, that the example thus set will not be lost, and that the good work these gentlemen have done will be fruitful in the future.

J. M. K.

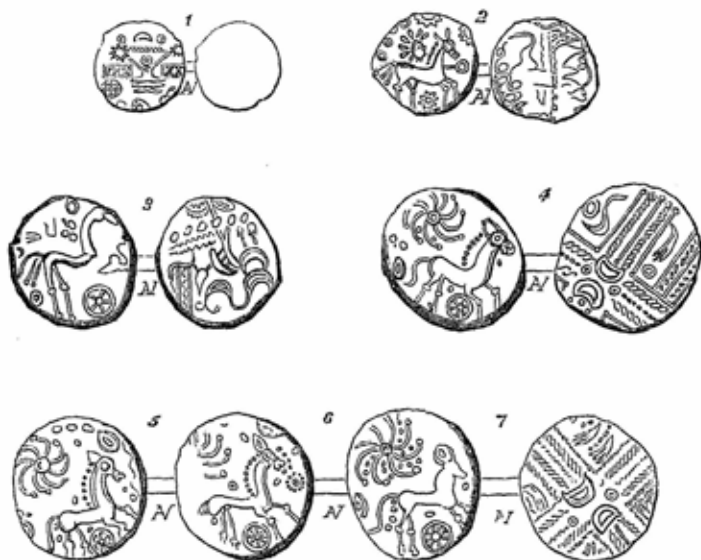
TRANSACTIONS OF THE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, for the years 1854—1855. Vol. I. part i. London: published for the Society, by J. Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square. 1856. Octavo.

It is with pleasure that we take occasion to invite attention to the commencement of a fresh effort to give an impulse to the prosecution of historical and antiquarian research, in a locality of no ordinary interest. At a period when so many institutions and combinations of local talent and archaeological information, have rapidly been established throughout England, for the special purpose of developing the taste for national antiquities, it might well be anticipated that the memory of Sir Edward Bysshe, of Aubrey and of John Evelyn, of Salmon, and Ducarel and Manning, with other honoured precursors in the field, should quickly give to the antiquaries of Surrey the watchword and the rallying-point for some well directed enterprise amidst the ranks of archaeologists.

The first fasciculus of the publications of the Surrey Society is now before us. It were needless to point out how varied and how extensive are the subject-matters of investigation, connected with the metropolis itself, and with one of the most populous counties in the realm, associated with so many stirring historical recollections, which fall within the range of the labours of the Society. Originated by Mr. Bish Webb in the autumn of 1852, the Society has already held its periodical gatherings in Southwark, and around the "Morasteen" at Kingston,—the *Fatale Saxum* of the Anglo-Saxon kings; they have assembled near the venerable vestiges of Chertsey Abbey, at Guildford also, and at Croydon. Of these meetings, as also of numerous collections of Surrey reliques and illustrations of local antiquities, which such meetings invariably draw forth, Mr. Bish Webb has preserved a detailed record in the publication before us. The Inaugural Address by Mr. Henry Drummond must be read with interest, marked, as it will be found to be, by originality of thought as of expression. The Surrey archaeologists will do well to bear in mind the suggestive counsels of the accomplished *Litta* of English Family History. Amongst memoirs read at the annual and other meetings, a selection of the subjects regarded as of leading interest has been made by the council to form the fasciculus of "Transactions" under consideration. It commences with a discourse, by the Rev. O. F. Owen, on "The Archaeology of the County of Surrey;" followed by an essay on "The religious bearing of Archaeology upon Architecture and Art," by the Rev. John Jessop. Dr. Bell has contributed a dissertation on "The Kingston Morasteen," the name by which he designates the supposed coronation stone of Athelstan, and Edgar, and Edward the Martyr, a name derived from that of the remarkable stone-circle or inaugural Swedish temple near Upsala. Whether the supposition be well-grounded or not that the Surrey *Palladium* may at some remote period have formed part of certain concentric circles of stones, as Dr. Bell conjectures, we are unable to determine; but all must honour the good feeling and conservatism on the part of the worthy townsmen of the *Regia Villa*, recently shown in protecting with due respect so precious a relique, hallowed by popular tradition.

Mr. Steinman has given a notice of "the Warham Monument in Croydon

Church," hitherto incorrectly appropriated; the memorial of a near relative of Archbishop Warham, and presenting some features of interest in connexion with the history of his family. A short memoir by Lieut. Col. McDougall, of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, with some observations by Mr. Lance, accompany a plan of the line of Roman Road from Staines towards Silchester, accurately marking its course to the south of Virginia Water, and over Duke's Hill passing Bagshot Park to East-hampstead Plain. Of the approach of the great Roman way to Silchester, Mr. McLauchlan gave an account in his valuable memoir on that station in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 234. The survey also, of which the results have been recorded in the United Service Journal, Jan. 1836, Part I. p. 39, may be consulted with advantage. A short notice of British gold coins found in Surrey, is accompanied by representations of eleven specimens of this curious class of our earlier remains, from the collection of Mr. R. Whitbourn of Godalming, who for some years has preserved with much good taste and intelligence all vestiges of antiquity which have fallen within his reach. To the Council of the Surrey Society we are indebted for the illustration, which gives seven of these coins, chiefly of the "Charioteer type," found on Farley Heath, a locality where numerous remains of highly interesting character have been brought to light through the researches of Mr. Henry Drummond and Mr. M. Farquhar Tupper. The first of these coins (see woodcuts) inverted by accident in the engraving, is of a rare and remarkable type, of which several, found near Albury in 1848, are figured in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xi., p. 92.



Ancient Gold Coins, found in Surrey.

The discoveries at Farley Heath, and the liberality of Mr. Drummond in presenting the antiquities there collected to the British Museum, have been

repeatedly brought under the notice of our readers. We may here refer them for further information to the narrative of Mr. Tupper, "Farley Heath; a record of its Roman Remains and other Antiquities," in which several of the Numismatic treasures there found have been figured.

A notice of Mural paintings, found in Lingfield church in 1845, is supplied by Mr. I'Anson. The examination of a tumulus at Teddington, which took place under the direction of Mr. Akerman, is duly recorded. Popular tradition affirmed that a warrior and his horse were buried beneath the mound; no remains, however, of the latter were traced: the precise site of the funeral pyre was brought to view in the centre of the hillock, where there lay a small heap of calcined bones, a few chippings of flint, and a bronze blade, of a type which has frequently occurred in Wiltshire and other localities. This had probably served either as knife or dagger; the handle, of bone, wood, or horn, had perished. A secondary interment was found, accompanied by fragments of a large urn, and a flint celt. The body had not been burnt. Mr. G. R. Corner contributes the last Memoir in this fasciculus, "On the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Fridwald, Ælfred, and Edward the Confessor, to Chertsey Abbey," printed by Mr. Kemble in his "Codex Diplomaticus." It is gratifying to witness the important bearing of that collection, in questions of local investigation. Mr. Corner has successfully identified many of the ancient sites named as boundary-marks in those early evidences, which are replete with curious interest to the Surrey antiquary; more especially as associated with one of the earliest and most important of the monastic foundations of the county.



Bronze Weapon found in a tumulus in Surrey. Length. 7 in.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE KILKENNY AND SOUTHEAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vols. I., II., and III. 1850-6. Dublin: Printed for the Society. Octavo.

We have on several former occasions briefly noticed the progress of the energetic and well-sustained movement to which the first impulse was given, in 1849, by the Rev. James Graves, at Kilkenny. The short reports of the proceedings of the society which have been given from time to time in former volumes of the Journal, have sufficed to show the rapid growth of

intelligent interest in the national antiquities of Ireland; and the advantageous position to which the Kilkenny Society had attained, under the auspices of the late lamented Marquis of Ormonde. Of the benefits, however, to Archaeological Science, which have accrued from the enterprise so zealously and successfully achieved by Mr. Graves, the volumes before us present the best evidence. Ireland presents a problem of deep interest to the archaeologist. Our cordial thanks are due to those who, content to abandon the visions of romantic speculation, in regard to the Primitive inhabitants of Ireland, or the origin of those remarkable types occurring amongst the reliques of the earlier periods, earnestly address themselves to the comparison of established facts with the vestiges of similar character or age in other countries. The volumes before us show how varied and valuable are the authentic materials throughout Ireland, demanding only scientific classification. An important advantage is within reach of the student of antiquity in that country, in the means of reference afforded by the extensive collections of the Royal Irish Academy, with which the members of the Institute have been in some measure familiarised, through the liberality of that institution in permitting the "Pictorial Catalogue" of their museum to be produced at our Edinburgh meeting, as also on previous occasions. Nothing, perhaps, would conduce more profitably to the extension of knowledge, in regard to the earlier vestiges in the British Islands, than the publication of an illustrated description of those collections. We earnestly hope that the Council of the Academy may be encouraged by the rapidly increasing interest in Irish antiquities, to produce such an instructive manual as we now possess in Mr. Worsaae's *Illustrations of Scandinavian Antiquities*, preserved in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen.¹

The limits of our present purpose will only admit of our noticing a few amongst many interesting subjects comprised in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Society. Amongst those which bear on the Primeval Period, we may specially advert to the memoirs of Mr. Graves, Mr. O'Neill and Mr. H. P. Clarke, on the Stone Monuments of Ireland, the *cromleacs*, cists, cairns and rock chambers, (vol. i. p. 129, vol. ii. p. 40). In regard to the so-called *cromleacs* in Ireland, a name alleged to have been introduced from Wales by Vallancey and his school, it is stated that the stone monuments of that class are almost uniformly termed by the peasantry *leaba*, beds or graves. The baseless theory of the "Druids' Altar" appears indeed to have been dispelled by the scientific examination of these primitive structures. One of the most remarkable examples hitherto described is undoubtedly that discovered in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. It was enclosed in an earthen mound, known as "Knockmary," (the hill of the mariners), on the removal of which a rock chamber (or *cromleac*) was found, containing human skeletons doubled up, with a quantity of small sea-shells, prepared so as to be strung, and possibly worn as a necklace. This formed the central deposit: in other parts of the tumulus were smaller chambers or cists, containing small urns with burnt bones. One of the urns, now in the museum of the Academy, is figured, (vol. ii. p. 44). It may deserve

¹ "Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum," &c., by J. J. A. Worsaae. Copenhagen, 1854, 8vo. The illustrations representing 459 ancient objects in the Museum, comprising all periods and every class of remains, are produced with great

accuracy of detail by a certain "chemi-typic" art, well deserving of adoption in this country. This beautiful volume may be obtained from Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, or other foreign booksellers.

notice that a bone, stated to be that of a dog, was found with the human remains in the principal chamber. Some traces of the interment of a dog with the ashes of the deceased, occurred, it may be remembered, in the burial-place at Porth Dafarch in Holyhead Island, described in this Journal by the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P.² Amongst the numerous facts relating to peculiar sepulchral ages, brought under the notice of the Kilkenny Society, the discovery of a sepulchre, nearly resembling in form that of a shoe made to fit the right foot, may claim attention, (vol. i. p. 138). It was a covered cist formed of flag-stones set on their edges; the part answering to the heel was made by small stones, set one over another. The chamber contained a great quantity of ashes of oak with a few burned bones. We remember no similar form of tomb, with the exception of those found at Aldborough, Yorkshire, figured in Mr. Eceyrd Smith's "*Reliquiæ Isurianæ*," pl. x.; one of them formed of slabs set on edge, the other, precisely similar in shape to a shoe, was of clay well-tempered and burned, and it contained a mass of ashes of oak, with small fragments of bone.³ These remarkable tombs appear to present a certain analogy to the *πύλοι* of the ancients. Mr. Newton discovered at Calymnos a coffin made of thick clay, moulded into a form like a slipper-bath, as described in this volume of the Journal, p. 17.

Some curious varieties of the "Ring-money of ancient Ireland" are described and figured by Dr. Cane and Mr. Windele (vol. i. pp. 322, 333). Our readers are familiar with various types of this supposed currency, of very rare occurrence in England or in Scotland, but profusely scattered over Ireland. Gold rings have been found varying from 56 oz. to 2 dwts. Silver rings are less common, but several varieties are here given. Some persons have endeavoured to establish the principle of a certain adjustment of weight in these gold rings, so as to confirm the theory of their use as money at a remote period, in like manner as rings are actually used by certain African nations in lieu of specie.

By the kindness of the council, we are enabled to place before our readers the accompanying representation of a very singular object, deposited in the museum of the Kilkenny Society by Mr. Blake, in the possession of whose family it had long remained. It is the upper portion of a staff, apparently of yew, which had been coated with silver; the boss, which is richly wrought with intertwined lizards, is of bronze, and the boat-shaped head with recurved dragon-heads is of the same metal. The eyes of these heads are formed alternately of red enamel and of silver. Mr. Blake remembered three bosses of the lacertine work, but two of these had been lost. At the March meeting of the Institute, in 1854, the learned President of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Todd, produced a drawing of this unique relique, and he expressed an opinion, in which other able antiquaries concurred, that it bore a striking resemblance to the pastoral staff carried by dignitaries and abbots of the Greek Church, of which the handle was sometimes formed by two heads of dragons or some other animal, turned upwards and recurved. A staff of this description appears in the right hand of the Patriarch, figured in Goar, *Rituale Græcorum*, pp. 156, 313. It was termed *δρακίσιον*, and was often presented to a patriarch or bishop by the Imperial hand. It

² Arch. Journal, vol. vi. p. 238. A full account of the burial-place in the Phoenix Park may be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. p. 186.

³ See an account of a sarcophagus of clay, enclosing a human body, found near Maidstone, in 1848. Journal of Arch. Assoc. vol. iv. p. 65.



Ancient Irish Staff-Head, in the Museum of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society

(Scale, one half original size.)

differed materially from the *cambuca* or crosier of the Latin Church, its proportions being those of a walking-staff, and it was rarely formed of precious materials, being most commonly of ivory and ebony, &c. The Abbé Texier, in his "*Recueil des Inscriptions du Limousin*," has given a representation of a staff-head, found in the tomb (as supposed) of Gerard, bishop of Limoges, who died 1022. This has a cross-piece of ivory, terminating in two animal's heads, and it presents at first sight considerable resemblance to the object here figured. The heads, however, are not recurved, and there appears to have been a suitable rest for the hand at the top of the cross-handle; whereas in the Irish staff, the heads approach so closely together as to preclude such use of the staff. It will be seen moreover by the vertical view (see woodcut) that two small bars cross the aperture between the dragon-heads, suggesting the idea that a cross or crosier-head may have been there affixed, when the staff was perfect. Mr. Graves states the opinion, most consistent with probability, that a cross, such as the Cross of Cong in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, protruded between these bars, which cross the inside of the present boat-shaped termination of the staff. Whatever may have been its intention, this example of the *opus Hibernicum* is of highly curious character, and as it is believed, unique in form.⁴

A memoir is contributed by Mr. T. L. Cooke (vol. ii. p. 47) on the singular Irish bells, some of which, of great antiquity, have been exhibited at the meetings of the Institute. The earliest examples are of iron, riveted together, in form four-sided; they were regarded with singular veneration, as we learn from Giraldus and other authorities, and were often encased in costly jewelled cases or shrines of the richest workmanship. In many instances, such was the popular superstition in regard to these reliques, that they were used for the purpose of adjuration. As examples of early skill in metallurgy, these bells are highly curious. They were dipped in molten bronze, so as to be plated with that metal, doubtless to increase the sonorous qualities of the bell, and to preserve the iron plate from rust. Bells of similar construction, and partly encased in bronze, were produced by Lord Cawdor and other exhibitors in the museum formed during the recent meeting in Edinburgh. Several valuable memoirs on these British and Irish sacred bells have been given by Mr. Westwood; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii. pp. 230, 301; vol. iv. pp. 13, 167.

In these volumes will be found several interesting communications regarding Popular Traditions or "Folk-lore," by Mr. Dunne, Mr. O'Kearney, Dr. O'Donovan, and other writers. There are various contributions to ecclesiology, monastic history, and the general topography of the south-eastern parts of Ireland, amongst which we may mention the papers on the "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal*," and the numerous conventual institutions at that place, by the Rev. S. Hayman, who has produced a monograph on that subject, as a separate publication, a desirable accession to the "*Monasticon Hibernicum*." Mr. Graves and Mr. O'Donovan have illustrated an obscure chapter in the history of the ancient Celtic divisions, by their detailed memoirs on "the ancient tribes and territories of Ossory." The lamented and able archaeologist, the late Mr. Prendergast,

⁴ Transactions of the Kilkenny Society, vol. iii. p. 137. We may here invite attention to the explanations of the legends on

the Cross of Cong, by Mr. Henry O'Neill, *ibid*, p. 417.

contributed largely to these volumes, not only from the historical materials and record-lore, with which he was so conversant, but from his researches of a more generally popular character, such as his memoir "Of Hawks and Hounds in Ireland," an agreeable chapter in the history of ancient Field Sports.

Sepulchral memorials of the mediæval age, to which so much attention has been devoted in England, are not abundant in the sister kingdom. We find, however, besides the elaborately sculptured crosses to which Mr. O'Neill has recently attracted the attention of antiquaries by his valuable publication, numerous early cross-slabs and inscriptions, such as those in Lismore Cathedral (figured vol. iii. p. 200); the curious fragment of a sepulchral cross or headstone found there by Archdeacon Cotton, in 1851. (see woodcut) soliciting a prayer for Cormac; the more enriched grave-slabs at Clonmacnoise, described by Mr. Graves (vol. iii. p. 293) and other similar memorials. Amongst mediæval tombs we may advert to those found at the Dominican Abbey, Kilkenny, described by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.



(vol. i. p. 453); the cross-slab of very uncommon design, found at Bannow. (vol. i. p. 194), and the cross-legged effigies of the co. Kilkenny, figured in Mr. Graves' memoir (vol. ii. p. 63). Effigies of the earlier periods are very rare in Ireland; our readers may however recall those existing at Cashel, described in this Journal by Mr. Du Noyer, including three figures of ladies, of the XIIIth cent., in the cross-legged attitude.*

The most peculiar inscribed memorials presented to us in the varied field of Irish archaeology are undoubtedly those which bear the mysterious markings, generally known as Oghams, once a fertile subject of visionary speculation to Irish antiquarians, amidst perplexing absurdities which the recent researches of a few intelligent enquirers have, as we believe, satisfactorily dispelled. Many examples of these very singular cryptic inscriptions will be found in the volumes before us; and not a few of these have been brought to light through the influence and exertions of the Kilkenny

* Archaeol. Journ. vol. ii. p. 121.

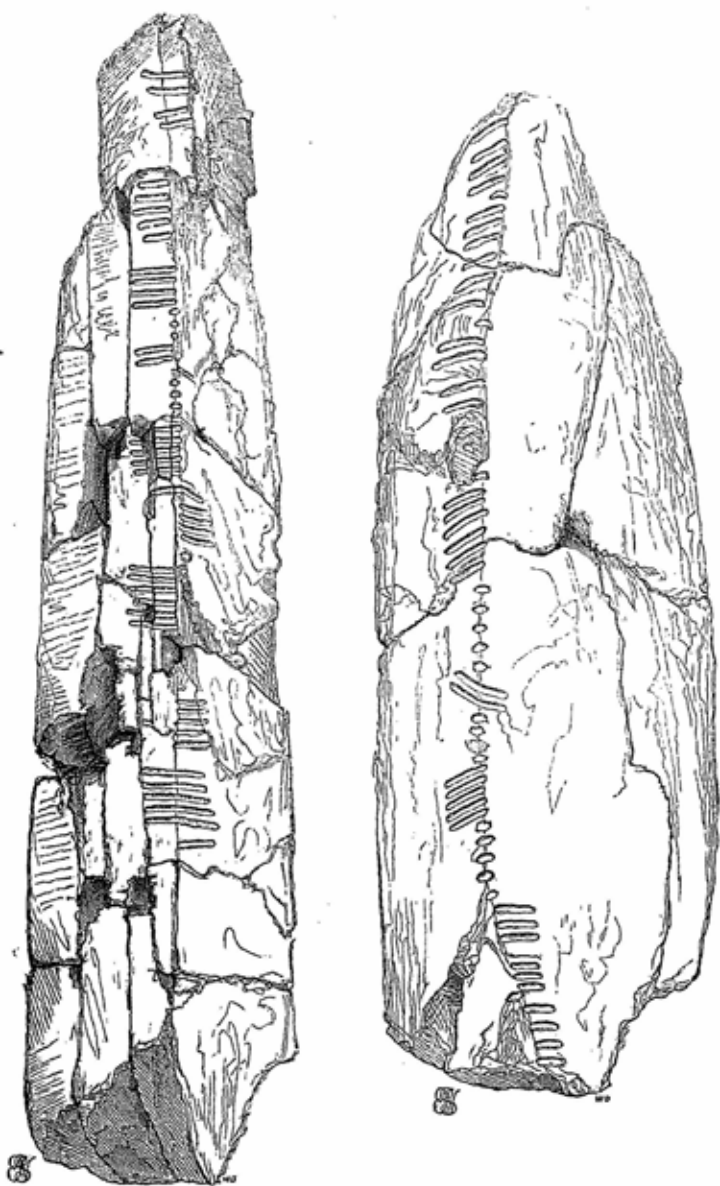
archaeologists. Amongst these none are more remarkable than the slabs here represented, (see woodcuts) found in 1855, in an artificial cavity or passage at the Rath of Dunbel, co. Kilkenny. Mr. Prim has given (vol. iii. p. 397) a full report of the multifarious reliques brought to light on that site of ancient occupation; the Ogham stones were unfortunately broken by the workmen into fragments, but these were rescued, and the slabs are actually preserved, as here represented, in the Museum of the Kilkenny Society. We have gladly availed ourselves of the kind permission of their Council, to bring before our readers these examples of Ogham inscriptions, not only as a memorable result of the devoted ingenuity and perseverance of Mr. Graves and his brother-archaeologists, in effecting their preservation after such disastrous mutilation, but with the view of inviting research for similar inscriptions, probably existing in Cornwall, Wales, or other parts of our island. One highly curious specimen found in Shetland,⁶ has already been brought before the Institute by Dr. Charlton, at the Newcastle meeting, and formed the subject of a discourse by Dr. Graves, of Dublin, at one of our monthly meetings in London.⁷ Ogham inscriptions have been found at Golspie in Sutherland, and at Newton in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, figured in Dr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals," p. 506, and more accurately in Mr. Stuart's admirable "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," pl. i. We are not aware that any Ogham monument has hitherto been noticed in England. The number of examples already collected in Ireland is considerable, and we await with anxiety the promised Dissertation by Dr. Graves on this very curious subject. Meanwhile, information may be obtained from his contributions to the volumes under consideration, and from the abstracts of his papers read before the Royal Irish Academy, in 1848, and printed in their Proceedings (vol. iv. pp. 173, 356). The credit of ascertaining the principle upon which these remarkable cryptic memorials may be decyphered, is due, as we believe, to that learned archaeologist, to Mr. Hitchcock, and Mr. Windele of Cork. Occasionally the "medial line," in most cases defined by the angle of the inscribed slab, was not used. In Lord Londesborough's collections at Grimston, there is an amber bead, inscribed with Oghams; it had been highly esteemed as an amulet for the cure of sore eyes, and was obtained in the co. Cork. Vallancey published a brooch, charged with Oghams. They are, however, of excessive rarity on any object of ornament or daily use.

A personal seal of great interest, and as far as we are aware previously unknown, is given by Mr. Graves, by whom it was discovered in the muniment chamber of the Ormonde family, at Kilkenny Castle. This remarkable example (figured, vol. i. p. 503) is the seal of Richard, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, appended to his grant to Adam de Hereford of lands in Aghaboe and Ossory. On one side the earl is seen on his charger, with sword upraised; he wears a singular conical helm furnished with a nasal. On the obverse appears an armed figure on foot, bearing a lance or javelin, and a long shield *chevrony*, doubtless the earliest type of the bearing of Clare, afterwards modified as *three chevrons*. The same chevrony shield may be seen on the seals of Gilbert, father of Strongbow, created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen, in 1138. It has been figured in

⁶ It has been figured in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 150, and in Mr. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*,

published by the Spalding Club, pl. 94.

⁷ May 4, 1855, noticed *Arch. Journ.* vol. xii. p. 274.



Upright Slabs, bearing Ogham Inscriptions. Found in a Rath
at Dunbel, county Kilkenny.

(Scale, 1 inch to a foot.)

the Notes on Upton, p. 89, and presents nearly the same types as the seals found by Mr. Graves at Kilkenny. The warrior on foot bears a barbed and feathered javelin; on the seal of the son the weapon has a lozenge-shaped head, and to the other extremity appears to be attached a globular object, probably as a counterpoise, not shown in the lithograph which accompanies Mr. Graves' notice. The costume and equipments are for the most part similar on these two rare examples of so early date. Mediæval seals are comparatively of uncommon occurrence in Ireland, but some good matrices exist in the museum of the Academy. Mr. Caulfield, of Cork, has recently produced the third and fourth parts of his "*Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*," the only work specially devoted to the illustration of Irish seals. A curious little example is figured in the Kilkenny Transactions, (vol. iii. p. 330) found near the Friary at Youghal, of which, by the kindness of the Rev. S. Hayman, author of the "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*"^s of that place, we here give a representation. (See woodcut.) Its date may be XIVth or early XVth century. The device is a heart, of frequent occurrence on seals of that period, here, as has been supposed, "pierced from above by a perpendicular sword-blade, and resting on a mass of coagulated blood." We must leave it to some antiquary practised in these conventional devices to suggest a more probable explanation. The legend appears to read, *§. fr'is. ioh'.* *thynghul*, which suggests that brother John may have been of the place where his seal was found; Dr. Todd was of opinion that the last word may be the same as *de Yughul*, of Youghal; whilst the late Mr. Crofton Croker proposed to read *th* as a contraction for *thesaurarii*, supposing the seal to have belonged to the Treasurer of the Franciscan Friary. Some, however, read the name as—Thynghul.

The foregoing notices may serve to show some of the subjects of interest comprised in these volumes. The illustrations, (lithographs and woodcuts,) are numerous, and for the most part effective and accurate. We regret to be unable to place before our readers the facsimile of a spirited sketch of the Court of Exchequer, with the judges and officials, the suitors, &c., crowding around the table covered with a chequered cloth. (Vol. iii. p. 45.) This curious picture of a court of law in the reign of Henry IV. has been preserved in the *Liber Ruber*, in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, Dublin.

^s Notes and Records of the Religious Foundations at Youghal, co. Cork, and its vicinity. By the Rev. Samuel Hayman. Youghal: R. Lindsay, 1855, 8vo. An

account of the seal above figured, was given by Mr. Hayman in *Gent. Mag.* vol. xli. p. 277.



Archaeological Intelligence.

WE are specially desirous to invite attention to the important work announced for immediate publication by Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, entitled—“*Hors Ferales ; or studies in the Archæology of the Northern Nations.*” The aim proposed is to supply the means of comparison between the principal types of objects of Archaeological interest, from different ages and different parts of the world. The illustrations (thirty plates, of which twenty coloured) will represent the most remarkable antiquities in the principal Museums of Northern Europe. The introductory letter-press will contain the author's complete “*System of Northern Archæology.*” The work will be published (by subscription) by Mr. Lovell Reeve, 5, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden ; price, to subscribers, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. DUNCAN MCPHERSON, late Inspector of Hospitals in the Turkish Contingent, had prosecuted during the recent occupation of Kertch by the allied forces, some important investigations of the tombs of various periods near that place. Dr. McPherson gave a discourse at the Edinburgh Meeting on the curious reliques lately disinterred, and which he has generously presented to the British Museum. He proposes to produce (by subscription) a detailed account of his discoveries, accompanied by ten coloured plates, displaying fictile and bronze vessels, lamps, gold ornaments, and a very remarkable collection of bronze fibulæ, &c., of high interest on account of their close resemblance to those found in Anglo-Saxon graves. Subscribers' names are received at the Office of the Institute.

The Rev. J. C. CUMMING, of Lichfield, author of the “*Isle of Man, its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Legendary,*” proposes to publish (by subscription) two works in further illustration of the History and Antiquities of that Island. One of these will be entitled, “*The Story of Rushen Castle and Abbey,*” the other will comprise representations of the sculptured monuments, crosses and Runic inscriptions existing in the Isle of Man. The latter volume will be in quarto, uniform with Mr. Graham's “*Antiquities of Iona,*” and will contain about sixty plates. Subscribers are requested to send their names to the Author, or to Mr. Lomax, bookseller, Lichfield.

Mr. J. T. BLIGHT, of Penzance, who has recently produced a volume entitled “*Ancient Crosses and other Antiquities, in the West of Cornwall,*” (London : Simpkin and Marshall,) comprising upwards of seventy representations of sculptured crosses, of cromlechs, and other ancient remains, proposes to produce (by subscription) a similar work on the Crosses, &c., of the Northern parts of Cornwall. Subscribers are requested to forward their names to the author.

Mr. G. GOLDIE, of Sheffield, has announced for publication, in twenty numbers, Royal quarto, select examples of the Mediæval Architecture and Arts of Italy. A list of the subjects, amongst which are some of the best Italian examples of architectural composition, metal-work, sculpture, painted glass, mural and other decorations, may be obtained from the author, or from Messrs. Bell and Daldy, the Publishers.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1856.

ON SOME OF THE BEARINGS OF ETHNOLOGY UPON ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.¹

By J. BARNARD DAVIS, F.S.A., F.E.S.

ETHNOLOGY may have been regarded as a series of fanciful, and, probably, futile inquiries, leading to no very definite ends; and the ethnologist, as a sort of harmless visionary, led hither and thither by trifling indications, and exciting more smiles than looks of satisfaction. In such a region, hypotheses have been very prolific, and the pertinacity of their inventors has usually been in the inverse ratio to the stability and the number of the facts on which they have built them. Great learning has often been expended, even by men of sterling merit, upon investigations into the origin, migrations, and settlements of early nations, without any fixed principles or sound philosophy, to guide or to support the inquiries entered upon. Frequently some fancied, especially when recondite, resemblances, have led to a search for facts and appearances to give countenance to the theories they have suggested. Ethnology, therefore, in this sense, is mainly an abstraction of the mind. Such vague lucubrations may be very fascinating, but are chiefly to be tolerated on the principle of the old French maxim: "*Du choc des idées jaillit la lumière.*" This, however, is but a description of the early stage of ethnology, like that of many other branches of research, which have grown into sciences. The wild, if not groundless speculations, not based upon facts and sound principles, of some antiquaries of the last century, perhaps even of more recent times—which speculations have commonly been as erroneous in their

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities, at the Edinburgh Meeting of the Archaeological Institute, July, 1856.

ethnology as in their archaeology—bear little relation to the science of archaeology, as at present understood. And the “theories of the earth” of the earlier cosmogonists, in which the imagination set itself to educe order out of primeval chaos, using all the wonderful forces of nature at discretion, had a very small resemblance indeed to modern geology.

The great erudition displayed by the German philologists upon subjects so captivating to enquiring minds, may not be regarded as leading to very definite conclusions. Still a sort of science of *comparative philology* is being raised up, which, when subjected to more rigid criticism, and eliminated from those hasty views that have misled some very eminent cultivators of this field of knowledge, may ultimately produce satisfactory results. Man, his origin, his relations and alliances in all their extent, constitute a series of complex and difficult subjects of inquiry. And it is not to be wondered that the learned have too readily identified particular languages with certain races of men; and have allowed their attention to be absorbed by the curious and erudite study of the tongues of ancient people, when their personal peculiarities were so inaccessible—supposing this more facile ground to be the true ground of anthropological research. Language, the property of man, offers an immense region for investigation, and when investigated upon large and correct principles, such as are being gradually introduced into comparative philology, will no doubt lead to valuable results. Still language is only one of the attributes of man, and all the comparisons it admits of, constitute but a small part of the circle of inquiry of which he is the centre. His *physical characters*, the physiological laws to which his organisation and whole being are subjected, and the essential properties and distinctive peculiarities of his mental constitution, all difficult to learn on any comprehensive scale, and to elucidate, and requiring for their study long and extensive research, are the surest and first bases of ethnological science, as it appears to us.

This must first of all acquire fixed and well-defined principles before it can deserve the name of a science. It must before all be ascertained by a close and thorough investigation of different races of people, that they have and do observe something like definite laws in their origin, developments, alliances, and mutations, before ethnology itself can have

any stable ground to stand upon. The speculations which have formed its aerial substance too frequently, must be called down from the cloudy regions in which they have floated, wherein transmutations and metamorphoses innumerable have been as easy as those of the magician. And when this is accomplished, and the whole has been subjected to the test of rational inquiry, ethnology will itself obtain firm foundations, and be able to afford aid and elucidation to other branches of study.

I. For instance, if it can be ascertained, as there is every reason to believe it will be, that *race* is something more than the mere name of a mutable thing, and is really a permanent and enduring entity, which must of necessity have had a primeval origin, and exists the same now as it has always done, unchanged and unchangeable; archaeology will find in this ethnological principle a stable and consistent basis of inquiry of real value and use. Instead of the doubt and hesitation with which current doctrines have led us to regard the remnants of ancient people to be met with in almost every country, we shall then look upon them as the venerable living representatives of nations whose ancestry reaches back perhaps to creation itself. A firmer and surer footing will thus be given to antiquarian researches, which will not be confined to unfolding ancient manners and customs, old dialects, or even modes of thought and expression, but may retrace the very lineaments and forms of people of primitive and pre-historic times.

As examples of the permanent and undying endurance of race, of features and physical peculiarities which have lasted for many ages, and cling with unchanged constancy to the people still, we may especially cite one from the most primitive of ancient nations, the *ancient Egyptians*. In point of antiquity we can refer to no older on the face of the globe, and their most remarkable monuments afford the very test our citation demands. In physical conformation, special study has convinced us, they also present peculiarities which, taken altogether, do not meet in any other people. So that whether they be admitted to be an autochthonous race or not, they are strictly indigenous to the Valley of the Nile; for we may pronounce with much confidence, that no people presenting the same peculiarities of form are to be met with elsewhere. This ancient and fine race is to be

traced through all the monuments of the successive dynasties, possessing the same delicate features, in perfect contrast with the Negroïd conformation, which, from an ill-understood passage of Herodotus, they had been supposed to present. And, what is still more remarkable, all observant travellers who ascend the sacred river, even the most recent, concur in the testimony, that the people of the country everywhere offer the most striking resemblance to the venerable bas-reliefs and paintings of the monuments. This forcible figure has more than once been used by Egyptian travellers, that in colour, form, and every other outward feature, the proper rural population look as if they had stepped from the walls of the temples as animated images of their far-off ancestors. Notwithstanding a succession of invasions and conquests, continually repeated from the time of Cambyses downwards, to the intrusion of the Saracens and modern Turks and Arnaouts, the true Egyptian people have remained as constant as the Nile and its inundations. We need not here refer to the features and characteristics of the ancient Egyptians, and the many curious questions connected with them. It is enough to establish the great central ethnological position, that the most ancient of the Egyptian people still exist in their living representatives, in the Fellahs of the villages on the shores of the Nile. A position in itself sufficient, were it requisite, to show that ethnology and archaeology are twin sisters, intimately connected, and mutually supporting each other—destined, when better understood, and their relations more fully developed, each to lend the other reciprocal aid.

Examples of like peculiarity, and of like pertinacity of form, occur on every hand. Of the personal remains of *the ancient Assyrians*, the learned and most enterprising antiquarians who have revealed their remarkable bas-reliefs, and other characteristic monuments, have scarcely met with any. We have been informed, through the kindness of Sir Henry Rawlinson, that "in all the ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea," evidences of a peculiar mode of sepulture are met with, which accounts for this. "The bodies were originally doubled up and squeezed into the lower half of a clay sepulchral jar, after which the upper half of the jar must have been added in a soft state and again exposed to the furnace, the result being that the bones were partially cal-

cined in the process." Sir Henry adds, "I judge that this was the mode of sepulture, from having in a hundred instances found skeletons in jars, either with no aperture at all, or at any rate with so small an orifice that by no possibility could the cranium have been forced through it." Mr. Layard, in his second work, alludes with an expression of surprise to the absence of tombs at Nineveh, and observes, "I cannot conjecture how or where the people of Nineveh buried their dead." From accidental circumstances, however, Mr. Layard, during his excavations at the North West Palace, was enabled to bring to light a veritable skull of an ancient Assyrian, now preserved in the British Museum. It was found in a chamber, which had an entrance and no exit, with a great many other bones and armour; a room to which it is supposed the defenders of the palace on its destruction had retreated, and there perished. This skull is possessed of great interest for its complete identity with the heads of the people of the sculptures, thus conferring upon them the irrefragable stamp of nature and of authenticity. Besides which it presents special characters, which distinguish it from the crania of all other ancient races, as far as the writer's inquiries have enabled him to determine. And this precious osseous relic, archaeologically of such great value, is equally so in an ethnological view, for it not only represents the special people of ancient Assyria, but, according to the testimony of high authorities, especially that of M. Botta, it may be considered as a model of those now inhabiting Persia, Armenia, and Kurdistan. For these are said still to preserve the type offered by the bas-reliefs themselves. Not only in their physical conformation, but, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, in mother-tongue also, the present inhabitants of the country resemble their far-off ancestors—for he says, "they speak a language closely allied to that of the Nineveh inscriptions."

But it is the same with other ancient races, *the Jews* and *the Gypsies* being the most familiar instances. The former present specific features, which we are authorised specially to identify with them in all ages and in all countries, proof of which it were easy to adduce from every quarter of the globe, and almost every clime, did time permit. We prefer, however, rather to allude to an observation made some years ago, by the present governor of Hong-Kong, Sir John

Bowring, when he visited Nablous, the Schechem of the Old Testament and Sychar of the New, the ancient capital of Samaria. The excellent and learned traveller was surprised to find that the Chief Priest, and other remnants of this ancient sect, personally, "had nothing of the Hebrew expression," but, on the contrary, "much resembled the Druses of Mount Labanon, the ancient Syrian race." They were "utterly unlike Jews," of whose remarkable features the traveller had expected to find traces, whilst the similarity to the ancient race of the country was striking. But there is a total failure of evidence to show that the ancient Samaritans were of the Jewish race, however much they might be allied in religious views and worship. Some have affirmed that they were "a mixed race of people, being composed of immigrants and the remaining natives." There appears, therefore, strong, and, we believe, conclusive evidence, that, notwithstanding the captivity under one of the Assyrian monarchs, the Samaritans were, and continue to be to this day, mainly the aboriginal race of the country. As M. Alfred Maury has so well expressed it, "*C'est toujours le caractère primitif qui a prévalu*," whatever mixture may have taken place.

II. If it can be established that not only peculiar physical conformations, but *the mental and moral properties of all races are essential to them*, and do not admit of being transmuted one into the other, or of undergoing any material change—and there are strong reasons for thinking this will be established—the archaeologist will be able with much more self-reliance to travel back along the line of preceding centuries, and to fix upon people whose mental and moral status, whose social and intellectual characteristics, he has developed by the study of various ages.

The civilisations of all civilised races are special. Whether we regard the civilisation of the ancient Egyptians, of the Assyrians, of the Greeks, of the Arabians, of the Chinese, of the Hindoos, of the Mexicans, or of the Peruvians, we cannot deny that we are contemplating in each case an aggregate of causes and effects which is peculiar, and, without refusing to admit that one may have influenced the other in some respects, as the art of Egypt or of Assyria may have been reflected upon that of Greece at its dawn; and possibly the letters of Greece may have shed an influence, hitherto unde-

veloped, over those of the East—the whole mental and moral character in its evolutions, of these distinct civilisations has been peculiar to it—and not capable of being transferred from one great nation to another. It has had its bases in their physical and psychical organisation, and has been intimately connected with it, and, therefore, cannot in the nature of things, really and thoroughly reappear in a people of different organisation.

The Jew of modern times, and in almost all countries, presents the same propensities as to trade and a wandering life that distinguished him in the middle ages, and which have characterised him since he was first induced to migrate from the plains of Mesopotamia. His civilisation is quite peculiar and distinct from all those in which he mingles, but never wholly adopts. In literature and art his position is inferior, and one belonging to himself alone.

The Chinese are a race of people whose mental and moral organisation has conferred upon them as marked a character as any we can refer to, and which will be at once admitted by those who have paid attention to this remarkable nation, having a civilisation of its own. That they have an especial endowment of mind appears in every feature of their characters. During the war with this people, which led to the admission of the English to different parts of the Celestial Empire, a phenomenon was frequently exhibited which it would be impossible to parallel in European countries. On the capture of different places by the English *demons*, for such they appear to have been esteemed, as soon as our soldiers entered them, they were appalled by sights as unaccountable as they were monstrous and unheard of. The inhabitants, instead of perishing in the defence of their household gods, or flying from an enemy which had overcome them, with some shadow of hope for future resistance, if not revenge, or at least with the instinct of self-preservation, were discovered quietly in their houses in great numbers dead or dying of sheer terror, hanging and drowning themselves by scores with fanatical agony. That our irrepressible love of life, which leads to ceaseless care and anxiety for its preservation, and which we regard as an instinct of human nature, is not shared in, in anything like the same degree, by this singular people, is apparent from the accounts lately transmitted to this country by Sir John Bowring—which do

equal violence to the precious estimation of the value of life inherent in our minds. Sir John, in his recent visits to continental China, says, he has passed towers built up for the reception of living infants, into which they are thrown by their parents, through a hole left for that purpose, there to perish. He also saw ponds in which were numerous bodies of infants floating about, victims of the same barbarous inhumanity. The instinctive horror connected with the presence of the dead seems also to be wanting, for he frequently, on entering a house, stumbled over a corpse lying at the threshold; and witnessed parties seated at table with a dead body under their feet. One result of the recent rebellion is a sacrifice of human life intensely painful to reflect upon. It is believed that in the city of Canton alone from 70,000 to 100,000 persons perished by the hands of the executioner during the year 1855. And it is stated on good authority, that, on the taking of Blenheim Fort, near Canton, houses were erected in many of the surrounding villages, where suspected and proscribed persons might go and commit suicide, by hanging or by opium, to save the disgrace of a public execution—and that hundreds availed themselves of this privilege. We have it on the authority of a number of respectable witnesses, whose testimony there is no reason to question, that in China there is no insuperable difficulty, when an individual is condemned to capital punishment, for him to procure a substitute, if he have the means, who will submit to the last infliction of the law *in his stead*. For alluding to these appalling facts before this learned Society an apology seems necessary. They are adduced as striking and convincing evidence of an *essential* difference in the moral constitution of the people to which they appertain, from anything of which we have any cognisance among European nations,—notwithstanding the occasional calamities which have at times occurred in this western world, and for short periods seemed to pervert the strongest instincts of our nature by the overwhelming force of despair, or other fearful passions.

The sanguinary worship of the *Ancient Mexicans*, in which hecatombs of human beings were annually sacrificed on the altars in honour of their gods, is another parallel instance that need not detain us, but which substantiates our deduction.

It is unnecessary, however, to travel so far to discover the very different estimate which is entertained of the precious principle of life by dissimilar races, and which seems to prove an essential diversity of moral character. The Celtic races, amongst many other markedly peculiar moral features, are well known to entertain very different notions about the value of life from those of Germanic descent. We may merely point to *our fellow-countrymen across the channel*, and to *the people of France* for evidence of this position—a position that may be confirmed not only in our own day, but in any period of the history of these nations. The “wild Irish” of the Middle Ages were not doubtful descendants of those more voracious, and less discriminating in their repasts, of Diodorus and Strabo. The people of Anglo-Saxon descent, on the contrary, are remarkable among all races for the reverence they entertain for the priceless boon of life, for the stringency of the laws which are designed to protect it, and the sacredness with which it is always invested in their estimation.²

III. A third point, which, if it can be established, that *any mixture of races does not result in a new hybrid people*, will have an equal tendency to render the doctrines of ethnology stable, and to strengthen its archaeological applications. It would appear that any mixture of breeds among the families of man can only be effected, so as to produce fruitful and permanent results, when the original families are very similar, or belong to tribes nearly allied. When ever this essential condition does not exist, the hybrid product is not endowed with those vigorous and healthy qualities, neither of mind nor body, which are necessary for its permanence and welfare. And a physiological law comes into immediate operation amongst all mixed breeds, which in a few generations eliminates the foreign blood from the

² The earliest of our written laws, the “Dooms” of Ethelbert, King of Kent, might be adduced in support of this position, as they ordain the *wer-geld*, or compensatory mulct, solely as the penalty for every offence, however heinous. But, leaving out of view the influence of Augustine and his monks in the enactment of these laws, which might cast a doubt upon their validity in support of the position now maintained, we appeal to the general character of the people of

the Teutonic race, in all periods of their history.

It is also worthy of remark, that the title of the work of Bartholine, the son of the celebrated physician and anatomist, “*De Causis Mortis a Danis gentilibus Contemptæ*,” refers not to the want of appreciation of life among the northern nations, but to their contempt of death—an essentially different feeling—however prodigally they may have sported with the precious possession.

stronger and more predominant race, and restores it to its original purity. Were it not for the operation of this law, what an inconceivable medley mankind would by this time have been reduced to. There would be scarcely a people on the face of the globe that we could recognise. All would be change and equally mongrel deterioration, which is opposed to observation in almost every country; and against which, happily, the divine fore-ordination has provided; and, as the lesser evil, all really mixed races are by the very circumstance of such mixture, naturally transient and perishable. The consequence is, there is no *race* of mulattos, or half-breeds, in any country, and wherever they are produced, they excite no important and persistent influence on the native populations.

IV. A fourth and last subject to which we shall advert on the present occasion, as having an important influence on the bearing of ethnology on archaeological science, refers to *civilisation*. If it can be confirmed by reasonable evidence that civilisation is not a state of progression, equally common to all races of man, from a pristine condition of helpless barbarism upwards, whether ascending by definite degrees and ages, like the stone, bronze, &c., or otherwise, but is a resultant of the developmental process of certain given races only; so that there are as many civilisations, as we have before hinted, as there have been civilisable and civilised races, each essentially different from the rest; we shall have another test of the greatest value archaeologically, whereby to try all ancient people, their remains and works.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to the most extraordinary doctrine that the discovery of stone weapons and implements in every quarter of the globe, is a valid evidence that the very same race, a nation of workers in stone, has been spread over all these vastly separated countries. Such incredible hypothesis is by no means necessary to account for this fact, which is readily explained, if we consider that every race of man, having the same, or nearly the same, thews and sinews, the same faculties; being stimulated by the same wants and necessities to procure food, clothing, and shelter, and being surrounded by very similar circumstances in the form of objects of chase, and minerals, and other natural productions, out of which to provide weapons, &c., must necessarily go to work pretty much in the same manner, and

produce very similar results ; objects, which, in reality, have stood to these simple and primitive people everywhere in place of the claws and teeth with which the lower beasts of prey are naturally armed. It is no doubt a curious circumstance to find the forms of arrow and spear-heads, &c., from such distant countries, presenting the same shape ; nay, some of the ruder flint spear-heads from the Pacific Islands are fashioned by the same number of blows, given in the self-same direction, as the similar weapons, of the same material, of the ancient Britons. The materials, however, frequently vary, whilst the most perfect and appropriate shapes occur everywhere. The ancient stone weapons of the North American Indian tribes are formed of a variety of very beautiful hard stones, of agates, sienite, obsidian, jaspers, quartz, chalcedonies, in the place of the flint and the granite of the ancient Briton.

It has been a prevalent view of this subject to regard the early period of all people to be alike. When they first find themselves scattered over the land they are in the archaeological position of *a stone age*. This, however, in one respect, may be very much questioned. Primitive races have, in all probability, been very differently endowed, and whilst all may have adopted stone weapons and implements, some only have continued in their use for any length of time—the civilisable races having abandoned them soon. We know not that any great weight in support of this view can be attached to the fact of the much greater prevalence of these stone objects in some countries than in others. In Egypt, for example, we believe they have only been met with infrequently, and in small numbers, which we should expect among this most early civilised people. In Greece and Assyria, we believe, they have never been found in the same profusion as in the British islands, and on the continent of America.

If, therefore, the four positions we have enumerated, and supported in this brief manner, can be satisfactorily established—and, we wish it to be distinctly noticed, that what we have put hypothetically and suggestively is not to be understood as uttered dogmatically,—then the advantages which archaeology may derive from ethnology will be very materially increased. Instead of the dubious and uncertain doctrines which have hitherto prevailed, ethnology will be

based upon more fixed principles, and these principles will afford the foundation for antiquarian investigations and reasonings of the greatest interest and importance. The antiquities of different races, especially of primeval ones, may be studied and elucidated with much more confidence and more satisfactory results.

Ethnology, it must be recollected, we consider to embrace the investigation of the anatomical and physiological peculiarities of all people of all ages, of their manners and customs, religion, mode of thought; their history and traditions, their origin and migrations, and the whole subject of their language. If the study of their monuments and works be more particularly archaeological, ethnology cannot fail to claim her part in this inquiry, as exemplifying the specific character of the people themselves. And without pretending to have pointed out a tithe of the alliances of the two sciences within the limits of this brief paper, we believe enough has been shown to prove beyond question that they are destined mutually to help each other, as their resources are developed, and their principles become more and more established, and that they should always go on together, hand in hand.

Ethnology is, and must needs frequently be, itself an archaeological research, when it concerns itself with ancient people; and it is much to be desired that archaeologists would take up the study of old races ethnologically, instead of being too easily contented with that of their works of art, and the monuments they have left behind. If the views we have been endeavouring to explain be correct, there must be a number of remnants of people in the remote corners of our Islands, that can trace their descent from the great races which have inhabited them in distant ages. These remnants of ancient races deserve the most careful investigation in every peculiarity attached to them, and results of a curious nature may confidently be expected. It seems probable that modern changes will tend to increase the rapidity with which these primitive people are disappearing. Therefore, their physical characters, habits, manners, and customs, all the peculiar properties of their minds in their development, should be observed with much care—that is their ethnological phenomena—in order that the antiquities of their far-off ancestors may be better understood. Each study will throw

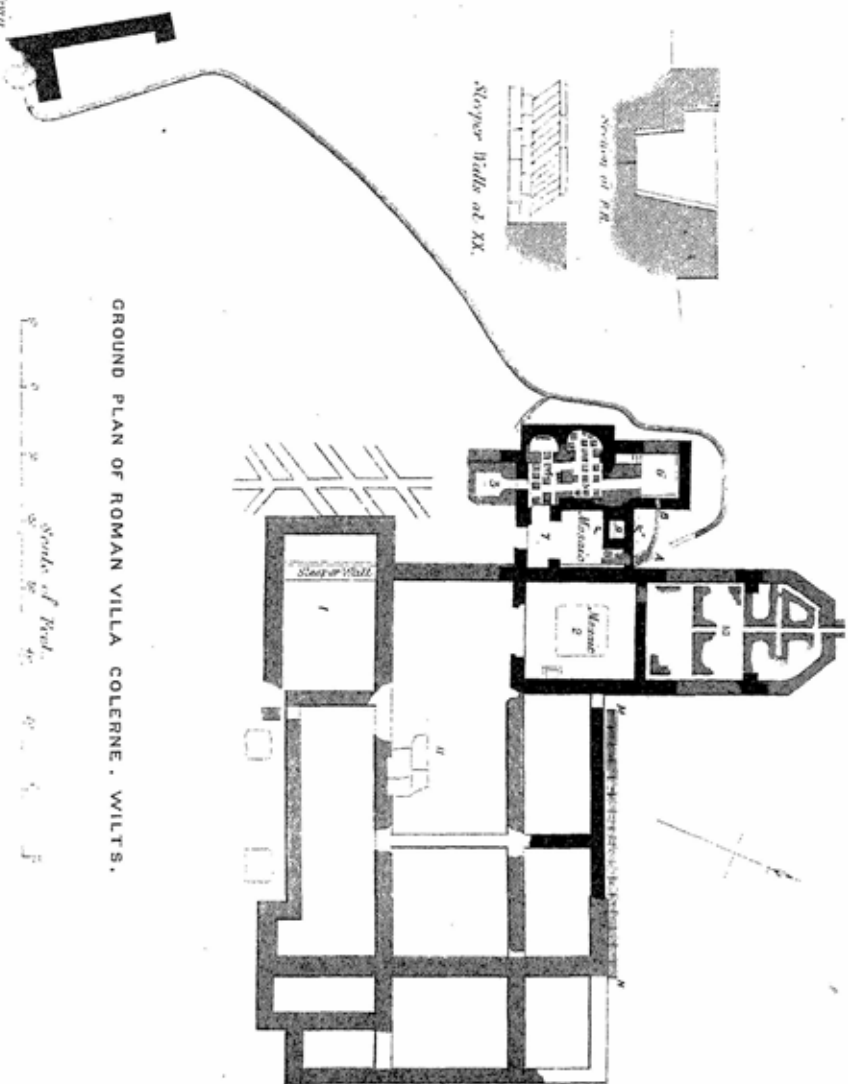
light upon the other reciprocally. Nothing could be of greater value and interest in these pursuits than careful descriptions of these more obscure people, a collection of faithfully executed coloured drawings of them, of their crania, their most characteristic and comprehensive epitome, and of their implements, utensils, and weapons. Human knowledge must always remain imperfect, and have an illimitable field before it; but it can never reach attainable perfection without collecting all the rays from all available sources of light.

ACCOUNT OF A ROMAN VILLA DISCOVERED AT COLERNE, IN
THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

THE remains of the Roman villa, which form the subject of this paper, are situated in a field called the Allotment, in the parish of Colerne, Wiltshire, about six miles N.E. of Bath, and about half a mile E. from the Fosse way.

Eighteen years since (in 1838), some men, whilst ploughing in this field, accidentally struck upon a pavement which the occupier of the land, Mr. James Perren, immediately caused to be exposed; finding, however, that neither the owner of the field, nor any gentleman in the neighbourhood, took any interest in the discovery, the remains were, after a short time, covered up, and unfortunately without any drawing or notes being taken. As soon as I became acquainted with these circumstances, I communicated them to my friend, the Rev. Gilbert Heathcote, vicar of the parish, in whom I found a most ready and liberal coadjutor, and having obtained permission of the present occupier, Mr. Frederick Perren, we commenced digging upon the 10th of October, 1854. At about nine inches below the surface of the ground, we found the remains of the pavement that had been previously opened. The excavations were then continued under my direction for about a month, and at the end of that time the remains of a villa of no inconsiderable extent were exposed. During the progress of the work a great quantity of broken pottery, flanged and striated flue tiles, roofing slabs and charcoal, besides numerous fragments of stucco of various coloured patterns, were brought to light. A few plaster mouldings, some copper roofing-nails, two or three bits of a coloured glass lachrymatory, and some copper coins of the Constantine family, were also found. The walls were built chiefly of the stone of the neighbourhood, in coursed rubble work, and varied from three feet to one foot in thickness.

I shall now proceed to describe the various rooms and portions of the villa, according to the numbers on the plan, corresponding with the order in which they were excavated.



The apartment which was first opened proved, on examination, to have retained only one or two small fragments of the borders of the pavement previously exhumed (fig. 1). No idea could be obtained of the rich mosaic which formed the centre, the whole of this part being a confused mass of loose tesserae and cement. From the descriptions of those persons in the neighbourhood who visited the pavement in 1838, it appears that the design consisted of a chariot, with a charioteer, and four horses abreast. Some persons in the parish remembered seeing an inscription or word above the chariot, which the parish clerk told me was either *SERVIVS* or *SEVERVS*, but this I found no one could confirm.

The outer border of the pavement, which was two feet wide, was composed of white tesserae about one inch square; immediately within this was a narrow guilloche border about five inches wide, composed of blue, red, and white tesserae, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch square, inside which, at the N.E. and S.W. angles, fragments of a kind of wheel pattern (blue and red upon a white ground) could, after some difficulty, be traced. There were no flues under this apartment, but a sleeper wall, shown dotted on the plan, crossed the western end. The walls of this apartment were so entirely razed that the position of the doorway could not be determined. At this point of the excavations I was suddenly called away, and, on returning two or three weeks after to the scene of our labours, I heard with regret that in 1838 three labourers had been employed by Mr. Perren to dig for further remains, but without success. It was therefore with anything but sanguine expectations that I directed the labourers to dig northwards, and was agreeably surprised when at about 14 inches below the surface they came to a remarkably perfect pavement, measuring inside the walls 15 ft. 4 in. by 17 ft. 8 in. This room (fig. 2) was apparently entered by a doorway in the middle of the south wall. One rather peculiar feature in this room was the stone curb indicated in the plan, the inside of which had decidedly been subject to the action of fire. Mr. Heathcote supposes this to have been a fireplace. It is true no hypocaust was found, but the size and position of the curb, as well as what we know of the habits of the Romans, would throw some doubt upon this supposition. The pavement of this room was anything but pleasing in effect, from the great preponderance of blue

tesserae, and the repetition of fret-work ; the double guilloche or ribbon pattern at the upper end of the room, and the remarkably wide outer border composed of the large white inch-square tesserae, tend somewhat to relieve this monotony. The furnace-chamber (fig. 3) was constructed of large stones, which, from the action of the fire, had very much the aspect of very large blue pebbles ; the communication between this and the hypocaust (fig. 4) had its sides constructed with bricks an inch thick, whilst the top and bottom of the aperture were of hard stone. In excavating the hypocausts no tesserae of any description were discovered, although the circular ends were plastered with precisely the same kind of cement used in the bath of a villa discovered at the neighbouring village of Box, where it was embedded with white tesserae. The pillars, all of which existed *in situ*, were constructed of a hard red stone, in slabs about an inch thick, and varying from 10 to 12 inches square ; the most perfect pier measured about 27 or 28 inches in height. From the second hypocaust (fig. 5) a passage cased with stone, similar to that used in the furnace, and which, like that, had materially suffered from the action of fire, communicated with the chamber (fig. 6). Here two features present themselves to our notice ; viz., the position of the drain in the east wall, and the steps in the south-west corner. Returning to the first hypocaust, we find that the only entrance to the chamber or bath above was from the passage (fig. 7), and that the floor of the bath-room was one or two steps below the passage pavement, as was evinced by the stone step with the tesserae upon it still existing. In this passage, and in the small room in connection with it, another tessellated pavement was discovered, of which a representation has been preserved, taken from actual measurement. The arrangement of this pavement is almost of itself sufficient to indicate that this apartment was the dressing-room, separated only from the passage by a curtain suspended between the piers. But the purposes for which the two small compartments (figs. 8 and 9) were constructed, are by no means so evident. Similar in size and character to those at Bartlow, discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville,¹ and concerning the use of which that able archaeologist felt some uncertainty, they demand particular attention. The first of these chambers (fig. 8) was

¹ Described in the *Arch. Journ.*, vol. x., p. 17.

in the form of a recess, having had a pavement in continuation of, or rather in juxtaposition with, that of the dressing-room. Two small fragments only of this pavement existed, but enough to show that the design consisted of the double guilloche or ribbon pattern, bordered by large blue tesserae. But the singularity which attaches itself to this recess lies mainly in the cavity constructed at its further end. This receptacle, which ran about 15 inches into the foundation of the outer wall, is 2 feet 1 inch below the level of the pavement, and built perfectly water-tight, with stone drains communicating with it from the exterior as well as from the interior. This feature in its arrangement would to some extent point out the purpose for which it was used, but the small size of the cavity, and the difference of level between the two drains, that towards the room being the lowest, make it, however, a matter of some uncertainty. The second of these compartments is still more puzzling; the dimensions would seem to preclude the probability of its being a bath; another objection may be made against this supposition, as well as any purpose connected with water, from the fact of the floor being constructed of *two* stones by no means water-tight. The sides were, however, thickly plastered, and, when first exposed, the mortar was so hard that the pickaxe would scarcely penetrate it. These circumstances, considered with the seat-like projection on one of its sides, may give rise to a question whether it was not appropriated to the slave in attendance upon the bath. There is still another peculiarity in this part of the villa that remains to be noticed; viz., the short branch drain AB. Its fall, which was very slight, was from east to west, and from a portion discovered in excavating the chamber (fig. 6), it appeared to have projected beyond the wall interiorly; the main drain with which it communicates fell in the same direction, and, after traversing more than 100 feet towards the south-west, terminated in a sort of cess-pool hollowed out of the rock. Remains of foundation walls adjoined this, and it was here that the greater number of the coins were found. In the room numbered 10 on the plan, the sleeper walls and passages for hot air were to be seen; the pavement had been destroyed, but a few loose fragments of the tesserae were found in the flue on the west side of the chamber. The only apparent entrance to this apartment was from the room (fig. 2). The herring-bone masonry of

one of the transverse sleeper walls, and the somewhat singular termination of the building northwards, deserve attention.

The remaining portions of the villa require but little comment. The huge paving-stones in the central court (fig. 11), the flues at the S.W. angle, and the drain, M N, as far as is shown on the plan, had been left quite undisturbed. It is cut out of solid stone, and from the absence of all kind of covering appears to have acted simply as a surface drain. The chambers on the east side of the building were merely marked by the two lower courses of the foundation walls, and call for no further remark.

There is little doubt that more extensive remains might be discovered, for several vestiges of masonry have been brought to light by the plough, subsequently to the excavations which I have described. It must be a matter of great regret that these vestiges of a villa presenting more than ordinarily perfect and interesting features, should, through the apathy and indifference evinced both by the proprietor and occupier of the land, have been hidden from view, shortly after the discovery, and the ground has again been subjected to the plough.

EDWARD WILLIAM GODWIN.

THE HOUSES OF FITZ-ALAN AND STUART: THEIR ORIGIN
AND EARLY HISTORY.¹

BY THE REV. ROBERT WILLIAM EYTON, M.A.

THIS subject is brought forward in the present instance as one well fitted to an occasion when it may reasonably be expected to attract some degree of antiquarian notice. The writer submits a problem rather than a mature theory, anxious that some new lights may be elicited on a question which at present seems to be as full of difficulty as of interest. Thus seeking for assistance, he feels that the surest way to obtain it is to arrange and offer all the evidence which he has himself collected on the subject.

The preliminaries of the proposed investigation are these :—The English Genealogists say, and say truly, that the great house of Fitz Alan is descended from Alan Fitz Flaald. The Scottish historians say that the Royal House of Stuart is descended from Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, the victim of King Macbeth. It is also discovered that the same Royal House is descended from Alan Fitz Flaald.

The further question, and that which, answered affirmatively, will make all these assertions consistent, and establish a great genealogical, or rather historical truth, is this.—Were the Stuarts descended from Banquo through Alan Fitz Flaald? or in other words—Was Alan Fitz Flaald a descendant of Banquo?

Before we enter into particulars we must discharge this subject of certain previous mistakes, which, if allowed to remain, will encumber us with some such chronological difficulties as usually pave the way to wild conjecture and double error.

“In the time of William the Conqueror,” says Dugdale, “Alan, the son of Flathald (or Flaald), obtained by the gift of that king, the Castle of Oswaldster, with the territory adjoining, which belonged to Meredith ap Blethyn, a Britton.”

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh, July, 1856.

This statement seems to have been originally derived from the "Fitz Warine Chronicle," which (purporting to give an account of William the Conqueror's visit to Wales and disposal of the Marches) says that the king "came to a country joining to the White Laund" (the district about Whittington is meant) "which belonged formerly to a Briton, Meredus son of Beledins; and beside it is a little castle which is called the Tree of Oswald; but now it is called Osewaldestre. The king called a knight Alan Fitz Flaew, and gave him the little castle with all the honour appertaining to it: and from this Alan came all the great lords of England who have the surname of Fitz Alan. Subsequently this Alan caused the castle to be much enlarged."²

John Leland, abridging another version of this same metrical romance, says—"Alane Fleilsone had gyven to hym Oswaldestre."³

The particulars thus asserted require some observation. In the first place William the Conqueror's only visit to Wales was in A.D. 1081;—earlier rather than later. Domesday (compiled five years after that date) says not a word about Oswestry, or any place which we can identify with the present town. Neither does it say anything of a castle thereabouts. It gives, however, a full account of all the manors in the district; and a brief comparison with later documents will show that Rainald, Sheriff of Shropshire, was then holding all the lands in that quarter which were subsequently held by Fitz Alan. The Shropshire Domesday moreover, makes no mention of Alan Fitz Flaew, either under that or any similar name. There is, in short, no coeval mention of such a person in Shropshire till the reign of Henry I.

In the next place Meredyth ap Blethyn, whose era one would fix from the above as earlier than the visit of William the Conqueror, was a Prince of North Wales at the very time. The death of his father, Blethyn ap Conwyn, was in 1073. Meredyth did not succeed him as king of North Wales, nor as anything more than prince of Powis Land. He died in 1133; and it was Madoc ap Meredyth, his son, who, according to the Welsh Chronicles, first built Oswestry Castle, in 1148.

² Fitz Warine Chronicle (Warton Club), pp. 13, 14.

³ Collectanea. Vol. i., p. 261.

Dugdale further relates how "Alan Fitz Flaald married the daughter and heir of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire, and had in her right the Barony of the said Warine."

That Alan Fitz Flaald had Warine's barony is true, but it was after the era of Rainald the Sheriff, Warine's successor. Moreover, the documents to which Dugdale refers in proof of the alleged marriage, prove nothing of the kind. I discredit this supposed match altogether; and for three reasons:—1st. Because it is nowhere authentically announced. 2ndly. Because, if it had taken place, there are authentic documents which traverse the very ground in which it would have constituted an important fact, and yet these documents say nothing about it. 3rdly. Because there are good reasons for thinking that Alan Fitz Flaald's only wife was another person than any supposed daughter of Warine, Sheriff of Shropshire.

Another story has yet to be told and contradicted. The Fitz Alans held a considerable fief in Norfolk, the tenure of which was made matter of report by a provincial jury in the year 1275. These jurors said that, "Melam (Mileham) with its appurtenances, was in the hand of William the Bastard at the Conquest, and the said king gave the said manor to a certain knight, who was called Flancus, who came with the said king into England; and afterward the said manor (descended) from heir to heir till (it came) to John Fitz Alan, now (1275) in the king's custody."⁴

There was, therefore, a Norfolk tradition, the counterpart of that current in Shropshire, except that it made Flancus or Flaald the feoffee of the Conqueror, and not his son Alan. We will examine this tradition by the same test as the last. The honour of Mileham with its adjuncts, as subsequently held by Fitz Alan, is readily identified in the Norfolk Domesday. It had belonged to Archbishop Stigand (deprived in 1070), and was then (1085-6) in the king's hand, William Noiers having custody thereof. Neither in Mileham itself, nor in any of its adjuncts, does the name Flancus or aught associable therewith occur. After the completion of Domesday, William the Conqueror passed so little of his remaining life in England, that it would be idle to attribute his alleged feoffment of Flancus to that brief interval.

⁴ Rot. Hundred. i. 434. The jurors made a mistake as to the name of the minor then in custody. It was Richard.

Having now got rid of certain traditions about Flaald and his son Alan as untrue in each essential particular, we pass to certain other traditions, which only relate to those persons by implication, which are also inaccurate in many points, but which may possibly contain a germ of truth well worth searching for,

Shakespeare knew of a legend which made Banquo ancestor of the Stuarts. The story in his hands became a matter of world-wide fame. We attend first, therefore, to his, as to the most known version thereof, and we must attend with caution. The fundamental study of the dramatist is the human mind, its motives, its workings, and its passions: his art is to exhibit those principles in appropriate though imaginary action. With the historian it is otherwise. His knowledge should be primarily that of actions themselves; from these, well and honestly investigated, he will infer or suggest what were the characters and motives of the actors.

When Shakespeare sought in a remote and obscure period of Scottish story the materials of a drama which was to exhibit, in one phase, his consummate knowledge of the human heart, no secondary considerations were suffered to interfere with his engrossing purpose. Among adjuncts altogether subsidiary to the main object, we trace rather the flattery of a courtier than the accuracy of an historian.

Waiting on the smiles of royalty, Shakespeare was by no means careful to memorialize the circumstance that, when Macbeth rebelled against and slew king Duncan, Banquo Thane of Lochaber was of Macbeth's party; but Shakespeare did not omit another matter of tradition, viz.; that this same Banquo was progenitor of the Royal House which then occupied the throne of England. The existence of this legend being established, Shakespeare's personal belief therein or particular use thereof, are no longer matters for our consideration. We proceed to present it in its other forms⁵

⁵ For the best version of this tradition I depend on the following authorities.—Powel's History of Wales (Edition of 1811, page 73) contains an abstract thereof, compiled apparently from Holinshed and from the Scotch historians, Hector Boece and George Buchanan, who both wrote in the first half of the XVth century.

Robert Wells, alias Steward, last

Prior and first Dean of Ely, being a vain man (*homo ventosus*) and proud of his ancestry, compiled in the year 1522 a genealogy of the Stuarts. It is printed by Wharton in the *Anglia Sacra* (vol. i., p. 686). The author, who was really a Stuart, surrendered Ely Priory, Nov. 18, 1539, and being a great promoter of the Dissolution, was appointed dean of the same cathedral by Henry VIII. on Sept.

accompanied by such external tests of date and circumstance as remain for our guidance.

Macbeth reigned in Scotland about seventeen years, viz. ; from 1039-40 to 1056-7. A date varying between the years 1048 and 1053 is assigned for the period when Macbeth, suspecting that certain of his subjects were plotting the restoration of Malcolm Canmore (eldest son of Duncan), endeavoured to fortify his throne by confiscations, imprisonments and executions. Some nobles, more fortunate than the rest, fled the kingdom, and awaited in foreign countries the turn of events. Of those who perished by the axe or the dagger was probably Banquo Thane of Lochaber ; of those who escaped was Fleance, Banquo's son. He sought the protection of the king or prince of North Wales,—Trahern ap Caradoc, says one account ; Gruffyth ap Lewellyn, says another. We must adopt the latter, whose era (1037-1063) is entirely consistent with the facts above stated, whereas Trahern ap Caradoc did not succeed to the throne of North Wales till 1073, *i.e.* seventeen years after Malcolm Canmore had been restored to that of Scotland.

As the guest then of Gruffyth ap Lewellyn, Fleance secretly became either the husband or the paramour of his protector's daughter, a deception or a crime for which he atoned with his life. The issue of this alliance, doubly ill-fated if, as it is said, the Welsh princess died in prison, was a son whom I find called Walter in both versions of this tradition, but whom I shall here call only Son of Fleance.

It does not appear where the Son of Fleance was brought up : it was "in the country" says one authority, by which, I presume, is meant, not in the Welsh Court. He was, says the same authority, in his eighteenth year, when some Welshman having insulted him with the supposed illegitimacy of his birth, he slew the over-curious genealogist, and was obliged to fly the country. Naturally enough he returned to Scotland, where Malcolm Canmore was at length reigning. The period of his return can be ascertained by a circumstance given. It was, says the legend, at the time when "Queen Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, sought refuge there with many English." Though Margaret's royalty is here somewhat anticipated, the event alluded to and its date are

10, 1541. He died Dec. 23, 1557. Among the armorial insignia attached to this

genealogy is the ancient Stuart coat—Arg. a fesse cheque, az. and arg.

obvious enough. It was in the summer of 1067 that Edgar Atheling, his mother and two sisters, with many Saxons left England to the triumphant Norman and placed themselves under the protection of Malcolm, who soon afterwards married Margaret, the elder of the said sisters.

The Son of Fleance then, born about 1050, and returning to Scotland in 1067, is said to have soon distinguished himself in the service of Malcolm, who knighted him, gave him lands, and made him seneschal or steward of Scotland.

"Of the which office," says one authority,⁶ "he and his posteritie retained that sername of Steward ever after, from whom descended the most noble kings of Scotland of the family of Stewards, besides many other Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Barons, of great fame and renowne."

My second authority, after a similar flourish, ends his account of the Son of Fleance, whom he calls Walter throughout, by saying that he died about the forty-second year of his age (constructively then about 1091), and left a son Alan.⁷

"Alan Seneschal or Stuart," continues this writer, "was also a famous knight. He performed great things in the Holy Land under the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon" (the crusade of 1096-1099 must be here intended). "He demeaned himself bravely against Stephen King of England at Abarton." (The Battle of Alverton, otherwise called the Battle of the Standard, must be the event alluded to. It was fought on August 22nd, 1138. No Alan of this family can have been present thereat.) The same writer proceeds to give Alan a son, Alexander, whom he makes to have been founder of Paisley; but we happen to know that Paisley was founded in or about 1163, by Walter Fitz Alan, Steward of Scotland, whom this author altogether excludes from his proper place in the genealogy. In fact, the known descent of the earlier Stuarts is quite irreconcilable with this part of the account which I quote, and which we may here dismiss, having better authorities to depend upon than those which at the best were merely legendary.

Before however we can compare the Scottish legends with the English accounts of the origin of the Stuarts, the latter must be collected and arranged, for at present they

⁶ Powel, *ut supra*.

⁷ Robert Stewarde, *ut supra*.

exist in only a fragmentary form. To this business I now address myself.—

It is well known how Henry I. endeavoured to strengthen his hold on the English sceptre, to which his title was doubtful. His uniform policy was to create a new aristocracy, unconnected with that older one with which Domesday acquaints us.

This policy had a double result. It secured to himself and his daughter after him, the steadfast loyalty of a small but able band of chieftains, but it alienated the affections of the nobility created by his father, which underrated the new favourites, and in the sequel adhered generally to the usurper Stephen.

Further, it is not probable, nay in some instances we know the contrary, that Henry selected his favourites from among the Normans. Foreigners, or men whose origin was unknown or problematical, were preferred. Such, in Shropshire, were Warin de Metz, a Lorrainer, the three Peverels, and, greatest of all, Alan, son of Flaald.

King Henry had occupied the throne of England about three months, when (on November 11, 1100), Matilda, daughter of that Malcolm and Margaret, of whom we have spoken, became his queen.

The first mention which I can find of Alan Fitz Flaald belongs to the year following. On Sept. 3, 1101, the king was holding a great court at Windsor. A charter, which he granted to Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, is attested by Alan Fitz Flaald, (whose name however is printed as Alan Fitz Harald). The charter designates the witnesses as the "illustrious of England, ecclesiastical and secular," and the list (headed by Queen Matilda) warrants the description. Alan Fitz Harald's name occupies no mean position thereon. It stands before those of Gilbert and Roger Fitz Richard, of Robert Malet, and of Herbert, the king's chamberlain.^s

The charter by which Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, founded the cathedral priory of his see, passed on this same occasion. It is attested by the king and queen, and by a set of witnesses who nearly all appear in the king's charter. Among the rest, Alan Fitz Flaald is a subscriber. But this charter contains something still more to our purpose. It

^s Monasticon, iv. 17, v.

confirms the "Church of Langham, which had been Alan's, and his (Alan's) tithes."⁹ Now Longham was afterwards a recognised member of Fitz-Alan's Honour of Mileham, from which it was not far distant. Summarily, then, we conclude that Alan Fitz Flaald had acquired a part of his Norfolk fief before September 1101, and had already granted a church and tithes therein towards the endowment of Norwich Priory.

Continuing to investigate Alan Fitz Flaald's connexion with Norfolk, I should point out that Henry I. seems to have been seized in demesne of the Manor of Eaton. Eaton was near Norwich, and so not a member of Mileham. This manor the king gave to Alan Fitz Flaald, and Alan transferred it to Norwich priory, apparently before November 1109; for that I take to be the date of a charter, whereby Henry I. gives to the said priory "his (the king's) Manor of Eaton, which Alan Fitz Flahald had before given thereto; and this with soc and sac and other customs, as the manor was when in the king's demesne." "And hereof," says the king, "I will confirm unto them (the monks) a charter, when Alan shall come to my court."¹ I suppose the king was waiting for some fuller information as to the grant before he gave it a more formal sanction.

Alan Fitz Flaald's interest in Norfolk is further illustrated by his grants to the priory of Castle Acre, a Cluniac house, whose site and precinct formed the western boundary of his honour of Mileham. His charter, already printed,² I will not here recite, but only remark that Adelina, his wife, is a party thereto; that he gives land at Kameston, (Kempston), and "apud Sparlacum" (at Sporle), also three soldates of rent out of his mill of Newton, with other things; and that three of the witnesses to this deed, viz., Ruald le Strange, Gorhannus, and Henry de Pagrave, were probably ancestors of John le Strange, Herbert Fitz Gurant, and William de Pagrave, who held three of the five knights' fees, which, in 1165, constituted the Norfolk fief of Fitz-Alan.³

A confirmation of King Henry I.'s to Castle-Acre, which seems to have passed in 1109, does not include Alan Fitz Flaald's donations,⁴ which I therefore take to have been later. He seems to have otherwise benefited this house,

⁹ Monasticon, iv. 17, Num. iii.

¹ Monasticon, iv. 17, Num. vi.

² Monasticon, v. 51, ix. Kempston, Sporle, Great and Little Pulgrave, Mile-

ham and Castle Acre, all lie within a circle of less than eight miles in diameter.

³ Hearne's *Liber Niger*, i. 142.

⁴ Harl. MS. 2110, fo. 112.

and a different confirmation of Henry I., which I have no means of dating, alludes to his further grants.⁵

A grant by William de Boscville to the same priory conveys the church of Newton, and is tested by Alan Fitz Flaald. This grant I believe to have been earlier than 1109.⁶

I should now notice that the foreign Abbey of St. Florant, near Saumur, on the Loire, (diocese of Angers, province of Anjou) had several very ancient cells in England. I here instance Andover (Hampshire), Sele (Sussex), and Sporle (Norfolk), because I can show a connexion between Alan Fitz Flaald or his descendants and each of these cells.

Sporle to wit, was near to, if not a member of the honour of Mileham : and its endowments lay chiefly in Alan Fitz Flaald's Norfolk fief, viz., in Great and Little Palgrave, in Dunham Magna, Mileham, Hunstanton, and Holme.⁷

Early in the reign of Henry I., the privileges of their church or cell of Andover being in question, the monks of St. Florant defended the same. An *inspeximus* of the record, which details the consequent proceedings, calls the said record, by great error, a charter of king William I. Whatever of royal charter is involved in the narrative is by Henry I., and must have passed between 1103—1107, probably in the former year. The royal memorial favours the immunities of the monks of St. Florant. It passed at Sturtonell, in the New Forest, where the king was probably hunting, and is attested amongst others by Alan Fitz Flaald.⁸

As regards the cell of St. Peter's at Sele, both Alan Fitz Flaald's son and grandson, were benefactors thereto, as the charter testifies ; wherein the latter, called Jordan, son of Jordan, son of Alan Fitz Flaald, is said to have confirmed the mill of Burton to the Abbey of St. Florant, as his father had previously given it.⁹

⁵ Harl. MS. 2110. fo. 112—Alan Fitz Flaald's interest in some of the places wherein he granted to Castle Acre, was not the sole interest. His grants, too, were afterwards confirmed and augmented by persons whom I cannot make out to have been descended from Alan. One of these, Simon de Norfolk, mentions his "ancestors from the time of Alan Fitz Flaald," speaks of his (Simon's) mother, Avelina, and of the day when he (Simon) acquired (conquisivit) the Honour of Mileham.

⁶ *Ibidem*, fo. 23, b.

⁷ The foundation of Sporle has been attributed to Henry II., probably because he was an Anjovin. I should suppose it to have been earlier than his day, but little is known about it.

⁸ *Monasticon*, vii. 992, i. Another attestation of Alan Fitz Flaald's to a charter of Henry I., was at York (*Monasticon*, vi. 683, Num. v). I can only guess its date as circa 1109.

⁹ *Dallaway's Sussex*, vol. ii., pt. ii., p.

I now pass to a much more important and more difficult subject, the connexion of Alan Fitz Flaald with Shropshire. We have seen that he must have been enfeoffed in Norfolk before the period of that great Shropshire catastrophe, the forfeiture and exile of Earl Robert de Belesme. The latter event occurred in the autumn of 1102, and a month or two later there is good reason for thinking that Rainald the Domesday sheriff of this county was still unaffected in credit or estate by the fall of his suzerain.¹

The great ascendancy of Richard de Belmeis, who now became King Henry's viceroy in the west, makes it very difficult to mark at this period the succession of those who may be called sheriffs-in-fee of Shropshire.

Warin, the first sheriff of Shropshire, was dead at the time of Domesday, 1085-6. He had probably held both office and estate in consequence of his marriage with Ameria, a niece of Earl Roger de Montgomery. Warin left a son, Hugh, an infant at his decease. Ameria remarried to Rainald,² and so, at the date of Domesday, Rainald had both the shrievalty and lands of Warin, not I think as guardian of Warin's heir, but in right of Ameria. There is good reason for thinking that Hugh, the son of Warin and Ameria, and step-son of Rainald, entered on his inheritance after the cession of the latter.³ His line however must have soon expired with his life; and failing all other descendants of Ameria, the shrievalty and its attached barony will have reverted to the crown.

Then came the event thus described in the only, but very authoritative document, which touches the question.—

225, No. x. The grandson's grant seems to have been in the way of restitution, and to have been made "during the sickness whereof he died, and in the presence of the Archbishop." The original deed with other Sele charters is, I presume, in possession of the President and Fellows of St. M. Magdalene Coll., Oxford.

¹ Antiquities of Shropshire. Vol. ii. 193, 194.

² This fact has been doubted, in consequence of Rainald being called in one instance, Brother of Warin. We must there interpret the word "brother" as brother-in-law, for it is certain that Rainald (whose name by the way was De Ballol) married Ameria. His Norman

fief of Ballol (Ballolium) was in the Oximin, and was held under Earl Roger.

³ I use the word "cession" advisedly, for it is clear to me that Rainald neither lost his shrievalty by forfeiture nor by death. He was in fact living in France as late as 1118. The death of Ameria, at whatever period (if without issue by Rainald), would, according to the well-known custom of England, have terminated all his pretensions in her right. Nevertheless, he might have been continued in office either by the Norman earl or the king, for a period and during pleasure, if Hugh son of Warin had been still in minority at his mother's death.

"Alanus filius Fladaldi honorem Vicecomitis Warini post filium ejus suscepit."⁴

From these words has arisen the unwarranted statement that Alan Fitz Flaald acquired his Shropshire fief by marrying a supposed daughter and eventual heir of Warin.

Had it been so, I think the precise and nearly coeval document which I have quoted, would have stated the fact.

My conviction is that Alan Fitz Flaald received by a new investiture, and by grant of Henry I., the whole honour of the sheriff of Shropshire, whether we call it the honour of Warin, of Rainald, or of Hugh; that he so received it during the first ten years of Henry's reign, but under no claim whatever of hereditary right or succession.

This "Honour of the Sheriff" lay chiefly in Shropshire, but it involved lands in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Sussex.⁵ In three out of these four counties I have now to speak of Alan Fitz Flaald's further concern.

In the autumn of 1109, Henry I. paid a visit to Shropshire. It was during that visit I suppose that the king, Richard (de Belmeis) Bishop of London, Alan Fitz Flaald, Hamo Peverel, Roger and Robert Corbet, and Herbert Fitz Helgot, attested a judicial decision of the bishop, which regarded some right of Shrewsbury Abbey.⁶

To the same abbey and probably at the same period "Alan Fitz Fladald, with ready devotion, conceded all things which had been bestowed by his predecessors⁷ or by his barons, whether in his time or previously." Of this were witnesses Richard Bishop of London, Hamo Peverel, Roger Fitz Corbet, and nearly the whole county.⁸

We learn this from a recitatory charter of King Henry I., which passed in 1121. The statement is repeated in Stephen's confirmation (above noticed), with the additional clause about Alan Fitz Flaald having *received* the honour of Warin.

Confirmations of Henry II. and Henry III. mention

⁴ Monasticon, iii., 519, Col. a.—This document is a narrative of their endowments, drawn up by the monks of Shrewsbury, and confirmed by King Stephen soon after his accession.

⁵ Viz., all which Rainaldus, Rainaldus Vicecomes, or Rainaldus Bailiote had held in those counties under King or Earl at Domesday.

⁶ Salop Chartulary, No. 1.

⁷ "Antecessoribus" is the word used, which, if translated "Ancestors" might lead to error. The latter implies hereditary precedence, a meaning which the usage of the time did not attach to the word "antecessores."

⁸ Salop Chartulary, No. 35.

and ratify a grant of tithes in Opton (Upton Magna) to Salop Abbey, by Alan Vicecomes. This was doubtless Alan Fitz Flaald, but I know of no other instance of his being described by a title, which probably indicated rather his right as of fee, than any active discharge of the office of sheriff. In fact, we know that during the whole of Alan's life the official deputy of Belmeis in Shropshire was Fulcuius.

Dugdale estimated the period of Alan Fitz Flaald's tenure of Wolston, Warwickshire (it was part of the fief of Rainald under Earl Roger at Domesday), to have been as early as the time of the said earl or one of his sons, that is as early as the year 1102.⁹ In this antiquity of dates, Dugdale was mistaken. Dugdale constructively intimates that Dame Adeliza, who granted in Wolston to Burton Abbey, before the year 1114, was Alan Fitz Flaald's widow, and the mother of that Sibil who, with her husband Roger de Freville, confirmed Dame Adeliza's grant in the year 1132.—

Here, I doubt not, that Dugdale was right; but it does not at first appear how Dame Adeliza, as a widow, could grant definitely in her husband's fief. That difficulty is solved by a further piece of evidence in the Burton register, viz., that the monks of Burton "redeemed the grant by a payment of six merks to Roger de Freville and Sibil his wife in 1132."¹

I shall say nothing more as to Alan Fitz Flaald's Warwickshire fief, than that it involved the manor of Stretton super Dunesmore; that that manor had constituted part of Rainald's Domesday fief, and that there Alan Fitz Flaald himself sometime made a specific grant to Burton Abbey.

As succeeding to the shrievalty and estates of Rainald, Alan Fitz Flaald will have been a tenant in the honour of Arundel. I have, however, no notice of his personal concern in Sussex. A feodary of the honour of Arundel, which

⁹ Dugdale's Warwickshire (Thomas's Edition), vol. i., p. 33.

¹ Dugdale's MSS. in Bibl. Ashmol., 13 G. i., fo. 529. The same Roger de Freville and Sibil, his wife, also made a grant in Wolston to Kenilworth Priory. Dugdale has given us, under Wolston, a tabular statement of their succession, as

suggested, not asserted by him. It may help to clear a difficult question if I add that, in 1165, Engelram de Wlfricheston and Hamo filius Rdault, held jointly a knight's fee under Fitz Alan, and that that fee was undoubtedly Wolston. Dugdale's Genealogy takes no notice of these two persons.

I have elsewhere ascribed to the year 1135,² enters this tenure as "Stokes II. milites," without giving the name of the then tenant.³

The widow however of Alan Fitz Flaald, called in this instance *Avelina*, seems to have had part of her dower in these Sussex estates; for William Fitz Alan, her eldest son, granting, between the years 1155 and 1158, the land of "Piperinges" to Haughmond Abbey, added to his grant such rights of common pasture in the neighbouring vill of Stokes as had been previously enjoyed by "his mother Avelina."⁴

On the whole, therefore, we conclude that Alan Fitz Flaald was enfeoffed by Henry I. in Norfolk in 1100 or 1101, in Shropshire &c., after 1102 and before 1109; that he was living in the latter year, but dead in 1114.

His wife and widow, variously called Adelina, Adeliza, or Avelina, perhaps survived him many years.⁵ Their marriage must have taken place, as we shall presently see, between 1100 and 1105. Who she was shall now be our inquiry, and I think that that point can be settled without doubt. The various fees in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and elsewhere, which formed the Domesday barony of Ernulf de Hesding, are found in 1165 to be divided among coparceners. A third of this fief, or thereabouts, was then vested in the representatives of Alan Fitz Flaald.

Now, that Ernulf de Hesding, who for his brave defence of Shrewsbury in 1138 was so mercilessly put to death by Stephen, was, as Ordericus informs us, maternal uncle (avunculus) of William Fitz Alan. Therefore William Fitz Alan's mother and Alan Fitz Flaald's wife was Avelina de Hesding, and she was in her issue a co-heiress.⁶ These are the undoubted conclusions to be adopted from a mass of difficulties which beset the succession of the Domesday Ernulf de Hesding. With the residue of those difficulties we have nothing here to do. We are content to have demolished the old error, which made the wife of Alan Fitz Flaald a daughter of Warin, sheriff of Shropshire. I proceed now to

² Antiquities of Shropshire. Vol. ii., p. 202, note.

³ Liber Niger, i., 65.

⁴ Haughmond Chartulary, fo. 166.

⁵ I also think that she re-married, but my evidence on the point is too much a matter of detail to bring forward.

⁶ In 1165, that part of the Barony of

William Fitz Alan (then a minor) which lay in Wiltshire is expressly said to have previously belonged to "Ernulf de Hesdinges" (Liber Niger, i. 145). My idea is, that this Ernulf, being son of him who was hanged by Stephen, had died without issue, so that his estate devolved on his collateral heirs.

name the children of Alan Fitz Flaald and his wife Avelina de Hesding. These were William, the heir of both, Walter, Jordan, Sibil, and possibly some others.⁷ Of William Fitz Alan, as he was called, I have said most of what need be said in my notice of Haughmond Abbey.⁸ I here add, or rather deduce, that he must have been born about 1105; not much later, as his younger brother was of age in 1129; not much earlier, otherwise Ordericus could hardly have called him *a youth* in 1138.⁹

Of Jordan Fitz Alan I have spoken briefly above. It remains to say of him that in the year 1129 and 1130 he seems to have been farming for King Henry I. some royal manor (probably Clipston) in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire; also in 1130 he was excused his quota of the Dane-geld, then assessed on those counties and on Lincolnshire. In Lincolnshire too the sheriff is allowed to deduct 4*l.* 16*s.* from his yearly ferm in respect of "land of Jordan Fitz Alan;" that is, I presume, land then first granted by the king to the said Jordan.¹

Of Sibil, married to Roger de Freville, in or before 1132, I have before spoken.

It remains then to treat of Walter Fitz Alan, the undoubted ancestor of the Royal House of Stewart, and therefore the person around whose name our previous arguments and our future conclusions must be assembled as their centre. I have in my notice of Haughmond Abbey shown how Walter Fitz Alan attested the earliest grant which his brother William is known to have made to the canons of that house. I have also exhibited Walter Fitz Alan in the court of the empress at Oxford in the summer of 1141, where also was David king of Scots and William Fitz Alan.

Another charter of the empress made perhaps later to Haughmond, has also the attestation of Walter Fitz Alan.

⁷ Simon, a brother of Walter Fitz Alan, attests a charter of the latter about 1163. I know nothing further of him with any certainty. He is the reputed ancestor of Boyd, earl of Errol.

⁸ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 145.

⁹ He would then be thirty-three, according to my estimate, and I believe it was the custom of that age to use the term "*Juvenis*" much later than is consistent with our ideas. A singular instance of

this occurs with regard to the second William Fitz Alan, son of the person here spoken of. He came of age in 1175; and in 1183 (when he was thirty-four years of age) Giraldus, his guest, calls him "a noble and liberal young man."

¹ Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I. pp. 7, 11, 12, 121, &c. One entry seems to place Jordan Fitz-Alan's Lincolnshire estate in "Louendene Wapentac."

So also has a grant of William Fitz Alan to Shrewsbury Abbey, which I cannot date with any certainty, but think it must have passed between 1155 and 1160.² Within the same limits of time William Fitz Alan "invested" his brother Walter in his Sussex manor of Stoke,³ and this feoffment must have been over and above those two knights' fees of new feoffment, which in 1165 Walter Fitz Alan is said to have held in the barony of his nephew.⁴ The locality of the latter I cannot determine, except by stating that the Knights Templars held in 1185 a virgate of land in Coneton, which they had originally by gift of Walter Fitz Alan.⁵ The place alluded to was undoubtedly in Shropshire, and was perhaps Cound.

This is all that I can say of Walter Fitz Alan, as connected with England. Notwithstanding his reappearance in this country on his elder brother's restoration (1155), it is quite clear that during the reverses which began to attend the cause of the empress in 1141, Walter Fitz Alan had taken refuge in the court of her uncle,—David king of Scots. He attested a grant of that monarch to Melrose Abbey, which seems to have passed in June, 1142, at Ercheldon.⁶ He also attests King David's charter to May Priory, which is dated at Kyngor, and must have passed between August, 1147, and May, 1153.⁷ Also he attested a charter of Prince Henry of Scotland to Holm Cultram,⁸ which must have passed after the foundation of that house in January, 1150, and before the death of the prince in May or June, 1152. Malcolm IV. ascended the throne of Scotland on May 24, 1153. On June 24, 1157, being at Roxburgh, he expedited a charter to Walter Fitz Alan, his seneschal (Dapifero). It confirms to the said Walter and his heirs the donation which King David the grantor's grandfather gave him, viz., Renfrew and Passeleth. It also gives to him and his heirs the Royal Seneschalcy, as King David gave the same.⁹

² Salop Chartulary, No. 84.

³ Harl. MS. 2188, fo. 123.

⁴ Liber Niger, i. 144. The Sussex fees of Fitz Alan are not entered in the Liber Niger, that is, not under Fitz Alan's barony. They were no part of Fitz Alan's tenure in capite, being held of the Earl of Arundel.

⁵ MS. account of the Templars, quoted Monasticon, vii. 821, xxiv., as in custody of the King's Remembrancer.

⁶ Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de Melros (Bannatyne Club, p. 4).

⁷ Monasticon, iv. 62, i. Ernald, abbot of Kelso (the first witness), did not become so till after August, 1147, and King David died May 24, 1153.

⁸ Monasticon, v. 594, iii. A search among Scottish chartularies would, I doubt not, greatly strengthen this evidence.

⁹ Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (Wood's edition, 1813), p. 45.

The Scottish Abbey of Paisley, near Renfrew, is said to have been founded in 1163. Its founder was Walter Fitz Alan, and it was colonized with monks from the great Cluniac house of Wenlock, in Shropshire. The latter event is placed by the Melrose Chronicle in 1169, when it says that "Hunbaudus Prior de Weneloc adduxit conventum apud Passelet qui est juxta Renfrieu." A charter of the founder is mentioned by a great Shropshire antiquary as containing names of several witnesses, which associated their bearers with that county. He instances Robert de Munde-gumbi, Robert and Geoffrey de Costentin, Richard Wall and Roger de Nesse.¹

Walter Fitz Alan, Seneschal of the king of Scotland, was also a benefactor to Melrose Abbey. He granted to that house the lands of Machline in Kyle, about the year 1170, says my authority. His charter seems to be yet in existence. Its seal presents on one side the figure of an "armed Knight on horseback; at full speed; a lance, with pennon, couched in his right hand and a shield on his left arm." The legend is, *Sigillum Walteri filii Alani Dapiferi Reg.* The counter-seal presents "a Warrior with a spear in his right hand, leaning against a pillar, and with his left hand holding a horse."²

Here then we have another authentic notice of Walter Fitz Alan as steward or seneschal of the king of Scots.

At his death, in 1177, the Melrose Chronicle accords him the same title, as well as commemorates the ties which had bound him to that house.—"Obiit Walterus filius Alani, dapifer Regis Scotiæ, familiaris noster, cujus beata anima vivat in gloria."

¹ Blakeway's MSS. Parochial History, vol. iii., Tit. Wenlock.—A better transcript of this charter is I find in the Paisley Register (Maitland Club, 1832, p. 5). It gives Alan the grantor's son, Walter and Nigel de Costentin, and Alexander de Hasting (Hesding) in addition as witnesses.—

I had not seen the Paisley Register when I wrote the above. It strengthens many points of my statement, and, as far as I am aware, controverts none. Its amplitude of evidences forbids more than this general reference to a work of great interest, and most consummate editorial skill. The same may be said of the Liber

Sanctæ Mariæ de Melros. When will our English chartularies (many of them essential to a complete history of the kingdom) be treated with similar deference?

² Laing's Scottish Seals, p. 126, Nos. 769, 770, quoting Melros Charters. See also plate iii., fig. 1. These seals, says Mr. Laing, afford a presumption that as yet the family used no coat armour.

P.S.—This charter is, I find, printed in the Liber de Melros (Bannatyne Club, 1837, p. 55). Its witnesses are Alan the grantor's son, Robert de Costentin, Robert de Montegumeri, Walter Costentin, Richard Wallensis, Adam de Neuton.

Walter Fitz Alan was succeeded by his son Alan, called Alan Fitz Walter. He died in 1204.

He also granted Machline in Kyle to Melrose Abbey, and apparently early in his life. The seal of his charter has the figure of an "armed knight on horseback, with a sword in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. The legend is as follows ;—S' Alain L. Fi Watir L. Fi. Al. Senescall. Re. Sco.—which I suppose in full is, *Sigillum Alain le Fitz Watir le Fitz Alain Senescalli Regis Scotiæ.*"³

This same Alan, renouncing at a later period his claim to certain lands in Blenselei, in favour of Melrose Abbey, sealed his charter with a seal which indicates some progress in art as well as fashion. On the knight's shield the remains of a fesse chequé are quite apparent, "and this," says Mr. Laing, "is perhaps the earliest instance of this well-known bearing of the Stuarts." The legend is :—*Sigill. Alani filii Walteri.*⁴ At his death, in 1204, this Alan was succeeded by his son Walter, called Walter Fitz Alan.

A confirmation by this Walter to Melrose Abbey assures certain land at Edmunstune, as granted by Walter Fitz Alan his grandfather. The shield on his seal is charged with a fesse chequé. The legend is *Sigill' Walteri filii Alani.*⁵

This is the same Walter Fitz Alan who, as seneschal, attests the deed whereby Alexander II. of Scotland fixed the dower of the English Princess Johanna. The charter passed at York on 18 June, 1221.⁶

He also in September 1237 was one of the commissioners named by the same king to swear to the peace then agreed upon with Henry III.⁷

He died in 1241, says the Melrose Chronicle, calling him "Walterus filius Alani Junioris," which shows that the Scotch annalists recognised an earlier Alan in this descent than the father of Walter Fitz Alan (II).

³ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 771, and plate iii., fig. 3. Mr. Laing estimates the date of this Charter as about 1170; perhaps on better grounds than would induce me to place it after 1177. The mixture of Norman-French and Latin in the legend is singular.

P.S.—The witnesses to this deed are Reginald de Asting, William de Lindesei, Walter de Constantin, Adam de Neuetun.

⁴ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 772, and plate iii., fig. 2.

⁵ Laing's Seals, p. 127, No. 773, and

plate iii., fig. 4. The date assigned by Mr. Laing for this deed (*circa* 1170) is probably a typographical error. Another deed of the same person is dated by Mr. Laing, *circa* 1200. Mr. Laing also quotes a deed of Alexander Stuart, son of this Walter, which he dates *circa* 1226, and deeds of James Stuart, son of Alexander, which he dates *circa* 1270 and 1296. Some of these dates must surely be very wide of the mark.

⁶ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 165.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 234.

Alexander Stuart, son of the latter, occurs in various deeds and diplomatic matters of king Alexander III., and under dates of 1252, 1255, 1258, 1260, 1262, and July, 1281.⁸

Soon after the last date he will have died. He left two sons, James and John, the former of whom occurs as seneschal of Scotland on February 5, 1283, and throughout the reign of Edward I. of England, to whom he did formal homage as seneschal of Scotland, on October 23, 1306.

But I am not intending to enter upon the various political changes of that period. I have descended thus far in my account of the Stuarts for a specific purpose. It is to say, that at one period in the reign of Edward I., Richard Fitz Alan (then Earl of Arundel in England), was declared hereditary steward of Scotland.⁹

I cannot verify this statement by reference to the particular document from which it was doubtless derived, and therefore I will not use it further than as a token that one fact was well understood in that day, viz., that the English Fitz Alans and the Stuarts of Scotland were descended from a common ancestor, viz., from Alan Fitz Flaald, and that the Fitz Alans were the elder representatives of the line. In short, the great-grandfather of James Stuart, and the great-grandfather of Richard Fitz Alan had been first cousins, and each of them grandsons of Alan Fitz Flaald. I now leave this matter to the more intelligible form of a tabular pedigree, and proceed to state my own belief as to that part of it which, at present, has not been fortified by proof, but which may now, it is hoped, attract the attention of others, and so meet with further comment, either illustrative or corrective, as the event may prove.

My belief, then, is that the son of Fleance was named Alan, not Walter, and that he whom the English called Alan Fitz Flaald was the person in question.¹ The change from Fleanchus to Flaaldus is not very great, when we compare it

⁸ *Fœdera passim*, and *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*, p. xlii.

⁹ Blakeway's MSS. *Parochial History*, vol. iii., Tit. Wenlock.

¹ The alternative is, that there was a Walter, son of Fleance, and father of Alan Fitz-Flaald. That supposition is not inconsistent with chronological possibility, and it has the support of the Scot-

tish legends. But it makes Alan Fitz Flaald to be in reality Alan Fitz Walter. However, these patronymic surnames were sometimes perpetuated to a second generation; to which it may be again replied, that when so perpetuated, they were usually carried on to the third and fourth generations.

with other instances where a foreign name had to be accommodated to the English ear.

We must remember, too, how a Norfolk jury, wishing evidently to designate the father of Alan Fitz Flaald, called him Flancus, though this probable approach to etymological correctness was adulterated with a great historical inaccuracy.

As to the Prior of Ely's genealogy of the Stuarts, so fully quoted above, I can take it for nothing more than a conjectural embodiment of certain traditions preserved in the family. Possibly, what he says of each of the four Stuarts whom he puts after Fleance, may have been true of some Stuart; but he gives names, whose order of succession is known, in a wrong order, and connects persons and events in a way which chronology shows to have been impossible. Between Fleance and Alexander he inserts four generations, the number of the subjoined pedigree; but his four successive names are Walter, Alan, Alexander, and Walter, whereas I have given them as Alan, Walter, Alan and Walter. About the second and third he is demonstrably wrong, probably, therefore, about the first and more remote.

But to continue.—The equivocal circumstances which seem to have attended the birth and education of the son of Fleance may well have affected him and his immediate successors in such a way as that they were disinclined to make any parade of their origin, even if they did not studiously conceal it. Alan Fitz Flaald's supposed changes of country, from Wales to Scotland and from Scotland to England, gave unusual facilities for such concealment.

I take it to have been Henry I.'s marriage with a Scottish princess which first brought Alan Fitz Flaald to the English court. He came, I should suppose, in the suit of queen Matilda, and if he had been formerly distinguished as a servant of king Malcolm, and more recently as a crusader, nothing is more probable than that he was retained by Henry I. on account of capabilities which, at that period of his reign, were greatly needed by the king. The enormous fief with which the king so promptly advanced a stranger, does not help us to determine who that stranger was; for, as I have explained, no specific claim to the shrievalty of Shropshire, could have accrued to Alan Fitz Flaald, either by inheritance or by marriage. I say *no specific claim to the shrievalty*, because I am not sure that Alan Fitz Flaald had not a large

claim on the king's consideration, and one of an hereditary nature too, though not amounting to a legal right, nor to any claim on the particular lands which he obtained. And here I introduce one hypothesis more, which possibly may be relevant to the whole subject. Algar, Earl of Mercia, who died in 1059, left two sons, the earls Morcar and Edwin. They both suffered forfeiture after the Conquest; both, perhaps, died by violent deaths, nor is either of them said to have left any surviving issue. But earl Algar is said also to have left two daughters. About one of these alleged daughters, Lucia, there is much mystery, but the same legends which name her relationship to earl Algar, make her also to have been ancestress of the Anglo-Norman earls of Chester and of Lincoln. The other daughter of earl Algar is called Alditha, and said to have been wife, first of Griffyth ap Lewellyn, prince of North Wales, and secondly of Harold, son of earl Godwin. With this supposed remarriage to Harold I have nothing here to do, but if Alditha was a daughter of earl Algar, and the wife of Griffyth, she may also have been mother of Griffyth's only recorded daughter,—of that Guenta I mean whom legends would teach us to have been the wife of Fleance, or at least mother by Fleance of Alan Fitz Flaald. Again, if Alan Fitz Flaald was the legitimate son of Fleance and Guenta, and if the other circumstances alleged above be true or probable, it is also true or probable that Alan Fitz Flaald was the great grandson of earl Algar, and (setting aside attainders) one of the legitimate representatives of the Saxon earls of Mercia. Then, again, if Henry I. were prevented by law, custom, Norman prejudices, or Norman interests, from recognising in Alan Fitz Flaald an hereditary right to particular estates already in the hands of others, it is still possible that the husband of a Scoto-Saxon princess may have seen something of justice in placing a descendant of earl Algar in a prominent position, especially when this supposed scion of an ill-fated house was a Scot, able and brave, a courtier likely to return a voluntary favour with gratitude, not a demandant likely to treat involuntary gifts as concessions.

Then, too, we may suppose a policy in the king's measure.—

By giving to Alan Fitz Flaald the specific fief of the sheriff of Shropshire, he encouraged no notion of hereditary right, such as might have led to further and extravagant

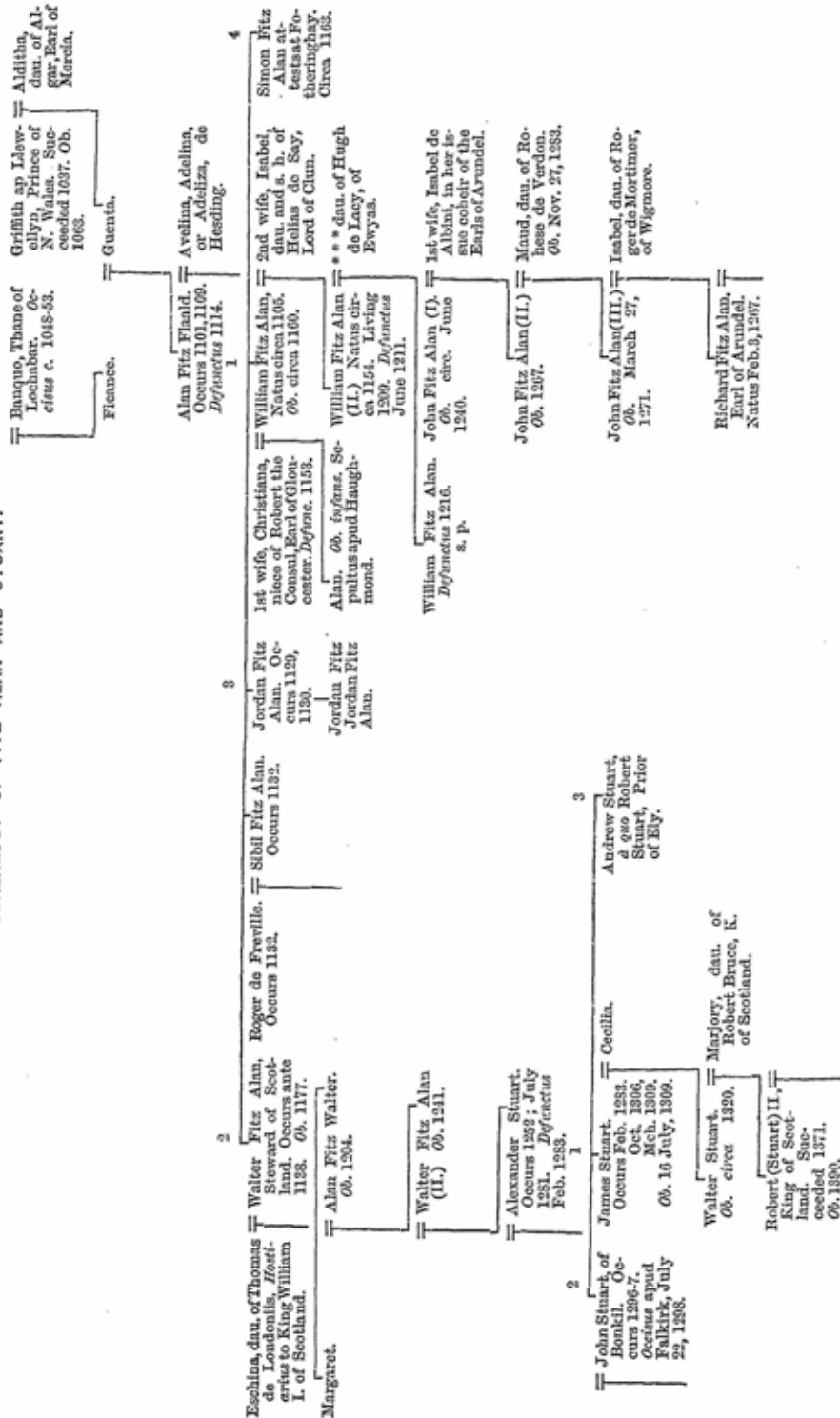
expectations, but he placed in the very van of border warfare a chieftain, who, if our assumptions are correct, could trace his descent from the native princes of North Wales.

We certainly conclude, then, that the personal favour and peculiar policy of Henry I. were two causes of Alan Fitz Flaald's advancement. We suggest that a compassion for misfortune and a sense of justice may have had their influence on the king's conduct.

Whatever the motives and whatever the facts, they are worth the fullest investigation, for they concern the foundation of a most illustrious house, a house which still numbers among its representatives the Queen of England and the highest of her subjects,² while there is hardly an ancient and noble family, whether in England or Scotland, but can name among its ancestors a Stuart or a Fitz Alan.

² The Queen represents one branch of the Stuarts. The Duke of Norfolk, the premier peer (after princes of the blood royal) represents Fitz Alan.

GENEALOGY OF FITZ ALAN AND STUART.



REMARKS ON THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS GRANTED TO THE
ABBEY OF ST. DENIS, IN FRANCE, AND ON THE SEALS
ATTACHED TO THEM.

In an article on the charter of Eudes, king of France, printed in the *Archaeological Journal* for September, 1854, I had occasion to notice the remarkable circumstance that, previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns should have been accustomed to authenticate their grants by a simple cross, and not rather have imitated the practice of sealing, which had prevailed among their neighbours, the Franks, from the time of Clovis. It was intimated at the same time, that a few well-authenticated instances to the contrary existed in the Anglo-Saxon charters granted to the Abbey of St. Denis, on which some remarks were promised on a future occasion. This promise I now proceed to redeem.

The existence of these charters in the archives of St. Denis ought to have been well known to the English antiquaries of the XVIIth century, since they were printed by Doublet in his "*Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys*," in 1625; and, even at an earlier date (in 1606), a brief abstract of the charter of Offa, with a cast of the seal affixed to it, was communicated by the learned Peiresc to Sir Robert Cotton, as we learn from an entry made by the latter in MS. Harl. 66, fol. 91b, and also from a letter addressed by Peiresc himself to Camden, in 1618.¹ Little notice, however, was taken in England of these remarkable documents. In 1661 the charter of Duke Berhtwald to St. Denis was again printed by Dugdale in the "*Monasticon*," vol. ii. p. 964 (the copy of which he had obtained from Du Chesne),² but he omits the confirmatory charters of Offa and Æthelwulf, in order to save space (*brevitatis intuitu*), and makes no mention of the charter of Eadgar. At a more recent period, these charters

¹ *Gul. Camdeni et illustr. Vir. Epistolæ*, edited by Dr. Smith, 1691, p. 255.

² Dugdale obtained access to Du Chesne's Collections respecting the French monasteries, when in Paris, in 1648, as

we learn from his "*Life*," ed. Hamper, p. 23, 1827. His copy of Berhtwald's Charter was not made from the *original*, but from the ancient Cartulary of St. Denis.

are entirely ignored by Hickes and Madox, both of whom contend against the usage of seals before the reign of Edward the Confessor; and although Felibien, in his History of the Abbey of St. Denis, in 1706, reprinted the charters of Offa and Eadgar, and their authenticity was more formally stated by the Benedictine authors of the "*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*," in 1759, yet it was not till more than half a century afterwards that the attention of English antiquaries was first formally directed to the evidence afforded by these charters, as to the use of seals previous to the Norman Conquest, in the papers written by Ellis and Douce, published in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xviii., 1817. Neither of these writers, however, had seen the original documents, and, consequently, they were unable to add anything to the statements already made by Doublet, Felibien, and the Benedictines. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that I inspected in 1838—I believe for the first time, any person from this side of the channel had done so—two of these charters (namely, those of Offa and Eadgar), in the Hôtel Soubise, at Paris, where the *Archives du Royaume* are now preserved; and I was so satisfied of their genuine character, that I caused accurate facsimiles to be made of them, together with drawings of the seals attached. It was my intention to have laid these before the Society of Antiquaries, but circumstances having occurred to prevent this, the copies remained forgotten in my hands, until I was reminded of them in the course of the inquiries made two years ago, to illustrate the charter and seal of Eudes.

These sealed grants to the Abbey of St. Denis, at a period much anterior to the reign of Edward the Confessor, seem to deserve more consideration than has hitherto been bestowed on them. Mr. Sharon Turner, the special historian of the Anglo-Saxons, can scarcely be said to have given more than a passing notice to their existence; Lappenberg, in his more recent and able work, has touched but lightly on them; while in the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, published in 1839—1848, they are altogether omitted.

These charters are (or rather, were) four in number, namely, of Berhtwald, Duke of the South Saxons, and of the kings Offa, Æthelwulf, and Eadgar. When Doublet published his work, all of them were preserved in the muniment room of St. Denis, but at present only those of Offa and

Eadgar remain, and it is uncertain at what period the others were lost.³

The charter of Berhtwald is, in all respects, note-worthy. He states in it, that having been afflicted with a serious illness, which the physicians could not cure, and having heard of the numerous miracles performed by the Holy Martyrs Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, in the abbey presided over by Abbot Folcrad, he sought and obtained permission from the Emperor Charlemagne to cross over to France, and having laid down before the tomb of the Holy Martyrs, he was in a few days completely restored by their intercession. In gratitude for this service, he made a vow to the Lord and to those Saints, and having obtained a portion of their holy reliques, he built, after his return home, a church in their name⁴ on his patrimonial estate at Rotherfield (*Ridrefelda*); and, with the concurrence of his brother Eadbald, and consent of his "fidelium," he bequeathed to the Holy Martyrs, in perpetuity, all his vill of Rotherfield, situate on the river Saford, in the county of Sussex,⁵ with its appurtenances. He granted also, for the use of the monks of St. Denis, his ports of Hastings (*Hastingas*) and Pevensey (*Pevenisel*), lying on the sea, together with the salt-pans there. This charter is witnessed by Eadbald,⁶ the Duke's brother, Egferdus Comes, Ediluinus Comes, and others. It is, moreover, stated to have been written and subscribed by "Æanfric Cancellarius;" and a memorandum is added, testifying that Deodatus, a monk of St. Denis, had received the aforesaid gifts from the hand of the donor, in the name of the Holy Martyrs, and certified the

³ It is remarkable that Felibien does not reprint the grants of Berhtwald and Æthelwulf, and the Benedictines only refer to Eadgar's charter, as having been actually seen by them. The missing documents may therefore have been lost previously, but I should be more inclined to date their disappearance at the period of the French revolution, when the Cartularies of St. Denis were so lamentably destroyed.

⁴ Thirteen monks of the Benedictine order were sent over from St. Denis to perform the duties of this monastic establishment, as we learn from Doublet, p. 187. Nothing more of its history is recorded, either by Dugdale or Tanner. The parish church is still consecrated to St. Denis.

⁵ "Omniem illam villam meam quæ vocatur Ridrefelda, sitam super fluvium qui dicitur Saforda, in pago qui nuncupatur Successa, et pagi civitas appellatur Chichestra, cum omnibus appendiciis suis." The name of the river is erroneously printed *Salforda* in Dugdale, which is repeated by Horsfield, *Hist. of Sussex*, vol. i. p. 377, edit. 1835. No such name appears on the county maps, and the name of *Rotherfield* is derived from the *Rother*, which here takes its rise.

⁶ This Eadbald, as well as his brother Berhtwald, repeatedly occur as witnesses in the charters of Offa, from the year 770 to 796. Both are qualified by the titles of *dux* and *princeps*, which appear to be used indifferently.

delivery in the presence of all the brethren of the monastery.⁷ In regard to the date of this charter, there is some little difficulty. From the mention in it of Folcrad (or Fulrad, as he is called by the French writers), the journey of Duke Berhtwald to Paris must have been undertaken previous to the year 784, in which year Fulrad is supposed to have died, and was succeeded by his disciple, Maginarius.⁸ The charter itself was not executed till some years after, when the church had been built by Berhtwald at Rotherfield, and the date, as printed in Doublet (who professes to have copied from the original) is thus given, "Actum dominicæ incarnationis anno 795,⁹ anno quo cœpit Offa regnare 31," but in the transcript furnished by Du Chesne to Dugdale, the grant is dated in 792, and the latter date is repeated by Sharon Turner and Lappenberg. Both these dates are erroneous, for the thirty-first year of Offa's reign (whether we reckon from the close of 757, when he succeeded to the throne, or from his coronation, as Lappenberg justly prefers, in 758) will alike fall in the year 788; and this is corroborated by the dates of the regnal years and indictions given in other charters of Offa,¹ and also by the confirmation charter of the same monarch specified hereafter. Berhtwald's grant is ratified in the following form, "✠Ego Berhtwaldus Dux manu mea firmavi et subscripsi." No mention is made of any seal, but from the testimony of Doublet, who saw the original, we learn that there was one, bearing the effigy of the Duke. His words are, "*Cette charte scellée d'un scel de cire sain et entier, auquel est empreinte l'effigie, de relief, dudit Prince Berthauld, apres le naturel.*" This is, undoubtedly, the earliest instance yet discovered of a seal having been employed by the Anglo-Saxons, and it was probably affixed *en placard*,

⁷ Printed in Doublet, p. 718, and in the *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 964, ed. 1661, vol. vi. p. 1077 new ed.

⁸ See Felibien, p. 58. Fulrad became abbot in 750, and filled the post with great distinction for thirty-four years. His will, dated in 777, is printed, *ibid.*, in the *Pièces Justif.*, No. 56. His successor, Maginarius, died in 792, and was buried at the feet of Fulrad. Their epitaph was written by Alcuin. *Ibid.* p. 571.

⁹ It would appear that Doublet must have misread or falsified the date in the original charter, as he certainly did that of Offa's confirmation, which he dates in

797, instead of 790. Dugdale, in another part of the *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1053, new ed., erroneously places Berhtwald's grant "about the year 800," and this is followed by Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica*.

¹ Thus, the year 779, is *indict. 2.* (*Cod. Dipl. No. 136*); 780, *indict. 3, anno regni 23*, (*No. 139*); 781, *indict. 4, (No. 141)*; 784, *anno regni 27, (No. 147)*; 789, *indict. 12, annis regni 31 et 32, (Nos. 154, 156)*; 793, *indict. 3, anno regni 36, (No. 162)*; 794, *anno regni 37, (No. 164)*; 795 (dated by Kemble 790), *anno regni 38, (No. 159)*.

in imitation of the Frank usage, in order to render the charter more valid in the estimation of the brethren of St. Denis. It is, therefore, deeply to be regretted, that so interesting a document should have been destroyed or lost.

About two years after Berhtwald's grant, namely, in 790, a confirmation of it was made, at the request of Maginarius, abbot of St. Denis, by the Mercian sovereign Offa, then at the height of his power, and who, from the friendly intercourse maintained by him with Charlemagne and Alcuin, was regarded on the continent with sentiments of great respect. He was then residing at the royal domain of Tamworth, in Staffordshire, and styles himself in his charter, "Rex Merciorum," and also, "Rex Anglorum."² By the same charter he confirms to the Holy Martyrs the donation of the two brothers Agonauuala and Sigrinus, of all their land in the port of Lundenuic,³ and adds to it, all the tax or custom payable to himself, whether in gold, silver, or rents. Amongst the witnesses appear the Queen Cynithryth (of legendary and unhappy memory), the king's son and successor, Ecgferth, and the dukes Berhtwald and Eadbald. This charter was ratified by the sign of the cross, and by an impression from the king's seal-ring; and was then delivered by Offa to the monk Nadelharius (sent over to England for this purpose by his abbot, Maginarius), in the presence of his brother Vitalis and Duke Eadbald; and the former conveyed it to France, and placed it on the tomb of the martyr St. Denis, in perpetual remembrance of the transaction.⁴

The third charter in the series is that of Æthelwulf, king

² The former title is the most usual in his charters and on his coins. His biographer, indeed, tells us, "Omnibus diebus vite sue se solum regem Merciorum in titulis scriptorum, in salutationibus, in relationibus, se præcepit et constituit nominari," p. 976, edit. 1682, but exceptions to this are proved by the charter above specified, and also by other charters in the *Codex Dipl.* dated in 772, 774, 781, and 795, (Nos. 120, 123, 142, 159). In No. 142 he styles himself "Rex Merciorum" in the exordium of the charter, and "Rex Anglorum" in the attesting clauses, precisely as in the charter to St. Denis. Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 3, ed. Thorpe, only refers to one charter of Offa, in which this title is assumed, A.D. 795.

³ Eadberht of Kent, in his charter to

the monastery of St. Peter, Thanet, in 761, bestows "duarum navium transvectionis censum" at Sarr, "sicut a regibus Merciorum, Æthilbaldo videlicet et Offan longe ante concessum est tributum in loco cujus vocabulum est Lundenuic." (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 106, vol. i. p. 129); and in Æthelbald's charter, in 747, (No. 97, *ibid.*) he grants to St. Peter's, "totam exactionem navis eorum, mihi jure publico in *Lundoniensi portu* prius competentem," and this is confirmed by Offa, No. 112, *ibid.* According to Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 643, vol. iv. p. 247, ed. fol., *Lundenwic* was the ancient name of the port of *Sandwich*, from its being the entrance to the port of London.

⁴ Printed in Doublet, p. 720, and Felibien, *P. J.* No. 62, p. xlii.

of Wessex, dated at London⁵ (?), in November, 857, the nineteenth year of his reign, by which he recites, that having asked permission of the Roman pontiff Benedict,⁶ to bestow some of his worldly possessions on holy places, the treasurer of the monastery of St. Denis, named Huniger, had been sent to him by the Pope, together with envoys of the Emperor Hludovicus [Louis II., son of Lothaire], bearing the papal license and blessing; and who forthwith proceeded to lay his complaints before the king, in regard to the injuries done by his people to the property of the martyr St. Denis in various parts of Britain, particularly at Rotherfield, Hastings, and Pevensey, as also at Lundenwic. The king not only heard him favourably, and punished the offenders, but with the consent of his *fideles*, he decreed that all the possessions held by the Holy Martyrs in his dominions should be for ever free from exaction; and to this he added as a gift, out of his treasury, twenty marks of gold, a silver vase of the same weight, and two purple palls, to adorn the tomb of the aforesaid martyrs. The charter is thus attested. "✠ Ego Æthelwulfus, Rex Anglorum, manu mea concessionis hujus præceptum firmavi, signo victoriosissimæ crucis Christi impresso."⁷ The seal is not mentioned, but Doublet again testifies its existence on the charter (no doubt, *en placard*), in the following words, "*Avec le sceau de cire sain et entier, auquel est empreinte l'effigie, de relief, dudit Seigneur Roy, après le naturel.*" This charter is now, as before stated, unfortunately lost.

The last of the series is the charter of Eadgar, dated at York, 26 December, in the second year of his reign, [960⁸], who, on the complaint made to him personally by Vitalis, Præpositus of the monastery of St. Denis, against Togred,⁹ Provost of the king's household, for taking away three hundred sheep and fifty oxen from their vill of Rotherfield,¹ one

⁵ "In Lindonia Civitate," Doublet, which is probably an error of the copyist for *Lundonia*, as is also the date "*die undecimo nonas Novembris*," for which we should, perhaps, read *quarto*.

⁶ Benedict III. who held the papal see from 855 to 858.

⁷ Printed in Doublet, p. 785.

⁸ Dated wrongly 961 by Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 141.

⁹ According to Lappenberg, this Togred is the same individual who is mentioned in the Saxon chronicle in 966 and 999, as

Earl Thored, son of Gunner; but this seems to me very doubtful.

¹ It would seem by this, that the chief proprietorship of Rotherfield still remained in the hands of the Abbot of St. Denis, although King Alfred in his will (made between 872 and 885) bestowed the ham of *Hrytheranfelda*, with other places in Sussex, on his relative Osferth. At the period of the Norman Conquest, the monks appear to have lost their rights in Rotherfield, for it is not mentioned in Domesday Book as belonging to St. Denis,

hundred measures of salt from their salt-pans, and one hundred and fifty *solidos denariorum* from the *agricolæ* of Hastings and Pevensey, immediately caused the whole to be restored by the offender ; who was ordered, moreover, to carry the charter over to Paris, and place it on the sepulchre of the Holy Martyrs.² This charter was written, at the king's command, by Ediluinus, "*regiæ domus cartigraphus*." There are no other witnesses' names subjoined, nor does the king (as was usual) add his cross and subscription, but an impression from his seal was attached (although not mentioned in the charter) and still remains.

The two charters, now preserved in the Hôtel Soubise, are here reprinted *literatim*, but with the punctuation supplied ; and the principal variations in Doublet and Felibien will be found noted in the margin. The charter of Offa is written on a piece of parchment, folded lengthways into fourteen folds, and measures $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width ; a form of unusual occurrence in Anglo-Saxon grants, which are generally of greater width than length. The writing is in a fair open, but rather uneven character, as seen in other contemporary charters. The Saxon letters *f*, *z*, *p*, *r* and *p*, are used in it, and the orthography is occasionally irregular, such as the use of *u* for *o*, and *b* for *p*.

CHARTER OF OFFA, A.D. 790.

[*Archives de France, K. 7, olim K. 23.*]

EVIDENTIA RERUM ET EXPERIENTIA declarant cassabundam mortalium uitam, et innumeris cotidie calamitatibus constringi, ita dum taxat ut ante a quibus teneri ac possideri putatur, repente et mumentaneo interuallo lugubriter euanescat. Ideo singulis quibusque sollicitè studendum est, ut dum indulta temporum spatia dī nutu concessa manent, ne sine fructu spiritalium³ bonorum⁴ easdem indutias transeant. Quam obrem ego in dī nomine OFFA rex merciorū, suggerente Maginario abbate per missum suū Nadelharium, de terra illa quæ ÷ in loco illo, in portu uidelicet qui nuncupatur Lundenuuic, ubi duo fr̃s Agonauuala seu Sigrinus omem⁵ suam possessionem spontanea uoluntate ante duos

but to the King, in demesne, as of the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux ; and William I. by his charter confirmed the grant made by Gilbert de Tonebridge to the church of Rochester of the church of Rotherfield. See *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 164.

² Printed in Doublet, p. 817, and in

Felibien, *Pièces Just.*, No. 105, p. lxxix., and from the latter reprinted in Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens de France*, tom. ix. p. 397, in 1757.

³ *spiritualium* D. and F.

⁴ After *bonorum*, D. inserts *ac virtutum*.

⁵ Mistake for *omnem*.

annos scō Diunisio, martyri precioso, qui ÷ in Francia, sociisque eius dederunt, ego quoque censum omnem quod in parte mea iure accipere debui, et ad usus proprios adhuc retinebam, siue in auro, siue in argento, siue in redditibus aliis, totum ob amorem dī omnipotentis et reuerentiam preciosorum martyrum Diunisii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, iam dicto abbati Maginario ac scē congregationi monachorum, uel eorum successoribus, in eodem munasterio preclaro, quod ÷ constructum in Gallias, in honore ipsorum martyrum libenti ac deuoto animo, una cū uoluntate meæ congugis (*sic*) filique mei,⁶ et obtinatum meorum consensu, ab hac die concedo, cessumque imperpetuum esse uolo, ita ut ab hac die nec ego, nec posteres (*sic*) mei, neque aliquis ex potestatibus huius sæculi redditum aliquem exinde quaua ratione reposcant, neque recipiant, sed semper in tempore meo uel meorum successorum, in potestate iā dicti abbatis et monachorum, fauente xpo, amplius et perfectius permaneat. Preterea donatum qđ amicus nř et fidelis Berhtuald⁷ dux, et frater eius Eadbalð,⁸ de receptaculo suo Ridrefelda, quod ÷ in pago qui uocatur Successa, super fluuium Saforda, et de portu⁹ super mare Hasting^s et Peuenisel, quo modo ante dies istos, legaliter subscriptis testibus, ad eosdem scōs martires, qui sua deprecatione ab infirmitate nimia, qua tenebatur iam dictus dux, eum recuscitauerant, fecit, petentibus eisdem atque prefato abbate, nos et consessus obtinatum meorum uno eodemque consensu laudamus et confirmamus. Si quis autem hanc nřam nřoque constitutionem desiderio roboratam, quam ad scōs martyres pro amore dī et salute nřa fecimus, detrahendo uel uiolando infregerit, illa maledictio ueniat super eū, Ite maledicti in ignem aeternū. Qui autē seruauerit et adiuerit, cum scīs dī uiuat imperpetuum. Ut autē hæc pleniorē obtineant uigorem, manu propria subter firmauimus, atque nři anuli impressione signari fecim⁹.

ANNO DOMINICÆ INCARNATIONIS DCC. xc.¹ Indicē xiii. Anno namq; regni mei xxxiii.² cum his testibus, secundo die pascae, pridiae idus Aprilis, in Tomepordig,³ hanc concessionem cum signo crucis xpi confirmaui.

- + Ego Offa rex Anglorum hanc donationem meam⁴ manu mea confirmaui et subscripsi.
- + Hygberht archiepī subscripsit.
- + Unuona episcopū subscripsit.
- + Cyniðryð regina subscripsi.
- + Ecgferð filius regis subscripsit.
- + Brorda dux subscripsi.
- + Bertuald dux subscripsi.⁵
- + Eodbalð dux subscripsi.⁵

⁶ *filiasque meas*, D. and F.

⁷ *Berhtualdus*, D. and F.

⁸ *Eadbalðus*, D. and F.

⁹ *portubus*, D.

¹ *septingentesimo nonagesimo septimo*, D.

² *xxiii.* (falsely), F.

³ *tomepordig*, D. and F.

⁴ After *meam*, D. adds *et principum meorum*.

⁵ Both these names are omitted in D.

+ Eduinus comis⁶ subscribsi.

+ Ego Nadelharius monachus cum fr̃e meo Uitale et Eodbald duce de manu regis litteras has accipiens, et mecum deportans in Franciã, super sepulcrum sc̃i m̃i Diunisi couseruandas imperpetuum, iubente eo posui, ubi pro rege memoria inter reliquos benefactores agatur imperpetuum. Añ.

L. S.

On the dors of the charter is written in a contemporary hand, in large letters—

PR⁸ OFFANTIS⁹ GLORIUSI REGIS ANGLORUM.

The date of this charter is stated in such precise terms as to afford of itself a good test of the genuineness of the document. The thirty-third regnal year of Offa and the thirteenth indiction both come within the year 790, whilst the second day of Easter, in the same year, actually fell on the twelfth of April, as noted in the charter. Among the witnesses who subscribe their names are, Hygberht, *Archbishop* (of Lichfield), and Unuuona, *Bishop* (of Leicester), who sign immediately after the king, and before the queen and their son Ecgferth, although the latter had been previously crowned by his father. With regard to these prelates, as well as some others of this period, the greatest confusion and obscurity exist, on which I feel it necessary to make some remarks, at the risk of being tedious. Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 423, seems almost in despair at the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting historical authorities and discrepancy of dates, and says, “nusquam crassiores tenebræ, nusquam plures nodi, quàm in successione episcoporum Mer-

⁶ So in an indorsement of a charter of Offa in the *Cod. Dipl.* (No. 116), we read “Pillheardus misellus comis.”

⁷ After this D. inserts ✠ *Ego Edelwinus Episcopus omni voto scripsi et confirmavi hanc cartam.* It seems quite unaccountable how these words should have found their way into Doublet's text, unless he took them from the copy in the ancient Cartulary of St. Denis, but even then, they are an unauthorised interpolation. No Bishop of the name of *Æthelwine*, living at this period, occurs in Le Neve's *Fasts*,

(edit. Hardy), but I find among the witnesses who subscribe to the first session of the Council of Cealchyth (in 787 or 788) the following one, “Ego *Æthelwinus Episcopus* per legatos suscripsi.” Who was he? Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 304, seems to conjecture he was “*de Scotorum partibus.*”

⁸ *Præceptum.*

⁹ This form is singular, but *Offani* is of frequent occurrence in the charters and *Vita Offa*.

ciensium." He comes, however, to the conclusion that, at the Synod of Cealchyth, held in 785,¹ Hygberht was nominated Bishop of Lichfield, and at the same time the see was constituted an Archbishopric by Offa, to the prejudice of Canterbury; but that Hygberht did not venture to assume the title of Archbishop (not having received his pall from Rome), since he signed the Acts of the Council as Bishop of Lichfield, and died the year after, 786, when he was succeeded by Adulf, who enjoyed the Archiepiscopal dignity until the year 803, at which time (at the Council of Clovesho) Lichfield was reduced again to the rank of a Bishopric. This statement is followed by Hardy, in his recent edition of Le Neve's *Fasti* (vol. i. p. 540), and were it true, the genuineness of Offa's charter might reasonably be questioned. But if we test Wharton's views by the evidence of many Anglo-Saxon charters,² on which no suspicion of forgery rests, they will be found to be completely erroneous. It would appear that Hygberht was first elected Bishop in 779 (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 137), and, admitting even his signature as *Bishop* at the Council of Cealchyth, in 788-9 (the real date of the second session of this Council), yet we find him signing as *Archbishop* in the same years, immediately after Jamberht, Archbishop of Canterbury (*Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 152, 155, 157); and in another charter, dated 789, the thirty-first year of Offa's reign, it is distinctly stated with reference to this Council, "*duobus archiepiscopis, Jamberhto scilicet et Hygeberhto, presidentibus*," (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 156). Subsequent to this date we again find him signing as Archbishop, and even taking precedence of Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury (successor of Jamberht), in the years 792, 793 (but these are doubtful), 794,

¹ This is the date given by the Saxon Chronicle [in the copy Tib. B. IV. it is 786] and Florence of Worcester, but Spelman (with Hoveden) assigns it to 787, and owns he would even prefer 788. Lappenberg however points out that the Synod [the second session] was held in 789, (*Cod. Dipl.* No. 156), but falls into the error, that Adulf was then nominated the first Archbishop of Lichfield, (vol. i. pp. 227-234). The Saxon Chronicle expressly states, that at this Synod of Cealchyth, "Jambryht arcebiscop forlæt sumnedæl his biscopdomes, and fram Offan cnyninge Hygebryht was gecoren."

(*MS. Cott., Tib. B. IV.*); and so also Florence of Worcester.

² Wharton puts these aside, with the remark—"verum impudentium monachorum commenta parum moramur;" but this is not the language of an impartial inquirer. The authority of contemporary charters, if genuine, must be superior to that of historians writing some centuries afterwards. It must be admitted, however, that Wharton had not the body of evidence we now possess by the publication of the valuable *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* by Mr. Kemble.

twice between 791 and 796, 798, and 799 (*Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 162, 164, 166, 167, 175, 1020). It will be seen that these dates corroborate the signature to Offa's charter in 790, and if their united evidence, or even part of it, be admitted, it is certain that Hygberht could not have died in 786, nor could Aldulf have then succeeded him.³ Again, in respect to Unnuona, Bishop of Leicester, we find it stated in the *Fasti* (edit. Hardy, vol. ii. p. 4), that he succeeded Eadberht in 796, and died in 835, when he was succeeded by Wærenberht. These dates cannot be reconciled with his signing as Bishop in 790, and we must again recur to the charters, which prove their great inaccuracy. Already, in 788 and 789, we find Bishop Unnuona signing at the Council of Cealchyth, and often subsequently, together with Hygberht, as late as the year 799.⁴ His successor, Wærenberht, first occurs at the Council of Clovesho, in 803, and continued to sign till the year 814,⁵ when we lose sight of him. It is evident, therefore, that William of Malmesbury is in error, when he names Wærenberht as one of the bishops who were proposed to be subject to Aldulf, the new Archbishop of Lichfield, in the time of Pope Adrian (who died in 795), and of Offa (who died in 796); and we may hence reasonably infer, that he errs also in regard to Aldulf. The author of the *Vita Offæ* commits still greater blunders, for he not only copies the above account of Malmesbury, but adds to it, that, at the very time (*ipso tempore*) Aldulf obtained the pall from Pope Adrian, Wærenberht, the Bishop of Leicester, died, and Unnuona, "*regis cancellarius et consiliarius familiarissimus*," was substituted in his place (thus reversing the

³ The acts of the Council of Verulam (Spelman, i. 309) in 793, rest on very dubious authority, but if admitted, the name of *Humbert*, Archbishop of Lichfield, must be an error for *Hygbert*. A charter also in the *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 163, dated 793, in which *Aldulf* signs as Bishop of Lichfield, is not genuine. There is a later charter, dated 801, the fifth year of Coenwulf, in which *Hugbert* appears as signing himself *Bishop* (evidently an error of the transcriber for *Archbishop*) before Æthelwald, Archbishop of Canterbury. This charter is not marked as doubtful, but I think it is likely to be so. (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 1023). I am not ignorant of the assertions relative to the consecration of Aldulf in 786, but I do not believe them to rest on sufficient proof, when critically examined. The accounts given

of Aldulf by Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*, vol. i. p. 119 (ed. Hardy), and by the author of the *Vita Offæ*, are filled with so many errors, that it is impossible to rely on them; and *Hygberht* is ignored by both! The first certain mention of Aldulf in the charters seems to be in the year 803.

⁴ See *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 116, 153, 155—157, 159, 175, 1020. The charters dated in 806 and 810, (Nos. 192, 1026), in which Unnuona's name appears, are not genuine.

⁵ *Ibid.* Nos. 183, 186, 190, 203, 206, 1024. The charter, No. 1018, dated in 798, in which he appears, is doubtful, and the Acts of the pretended Council of Bacanceld, in 798, (Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 317), are, by the editor's own admission, the acts of the Clovesho Council, in 803.

actual order of succession); and further, that soon after (*cito post*), the Archbishop Aldulf himself having died, Humbert, called also Bertun, was appointed his successor!!⁶ The real order of succession to both sees is proved unquestionably by the *contemporary* lists given in MS. Cott. *Vespasian*, B. VI., fol. 101, in which we have, (1) *Eadberht*, (2) *Unuona*, and (3) *Uucærenberht*, as Bishops of Leicester; and (1) *Berthun*, (2) *Hygberht*, and (3) *Aldulf*, as (Arch)bishops of Lichfield. The successors in each series are added by a *later hand*. On the whole, therefore, I think we may confidently conclude that the signatures of the two prelates attached to the charter of Offa, do not at all affect the genuineness of the document.

The charter of Eadgar is also written on a long piece of parchment, measuring $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is folded lengthways into ten folds. It is remarkable for the Frankish form of writing the king's name, *Ædgarðus*, and for the constant use of the vowel *u* for *o*. The Anglo-Saxon letters *f*, *p*, and *r* (not *z*) are used in it, and there is a peculiarity in *ð* for *d* at the end of some proper names.

CHARTER OF EADGAR, A.D. 960.

[Archives de France, K. 17.]

ÆDGDARDUS per dī gratiam rex Anglurum, præsētibz et futuris. Quia nos ad æterna gaudia bonurū operum exhibitio sine dubio perducet, dignum est ut dum adhuc quandoq; morituri uiuim⁹, unde dō placere valeam instantē operemur.⁷ Unde ego rex dī dispensatione, sed meo peccator opere, cum essem florens in palatio meo, et gloriosus in regno, et de huius mundi glā quia cito euanescit sepe mecū suspirando cogitarem, anno secundo regni mei, indictione iii. septimo kl Jan, uenit ad nos in Eburaca ciuitate uir strenuus Uitalis nomine, et prepositus munasterii preciosorum martirum Diunisii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, quorū sacra corpora honorifice locata sunt in Francia, in æccā Daguberti regis, citra Parisii urbem, ubi et ipse rex ulim sepultus est, et lamentabiliter in conspectu nro, nrorū⁸ principum, conquestus est super dom⁹ nostre pposito Togred, quod in uilla eorum Ridrefelda, ccc. oues, et l. bues, et de salinis eorum c. mensuras sat, et ab agricul qui sunt in Hastengas et Peuenisel, c. l. solidus denr⁹ quasi ex pre-

⁶ MS. Cott. Nero D. I. f. 18, written in the *autograph* of Matthew Paris. In reality, Aldulf did not die till after 814, and his successor was *Herewine*.

⁷ *operemus*, D. and F.

⁸ Ought to be *nrorumque*.

⁹ *denarium* D. and F.



Seal of Offa, A.D. 790.



Seal of Eadgar, A.D. 960.

cepto nro abstulerit. Quam iniustitiam ego ipse perhurescens, ad integrum eis cuncta restituere feci, et hoc ex presentium nrorum principum consensu constitui, ut nullus eis ulterius in regno nostro aliquid auferat, sed collata sibi omnia ea securitate et libertate deteneant, regant atq; dispanant, qua tenuisse conprobantur illi qui eis contulerunt. Qui autem contra hoc nostru preceptu fecerit, et eis aliquid p putestatē abstulerit, capitali sententia puniatur, et illius uniuersa pussessio regio tesauo addatur. Huic aut nro pposito Togred, quia seruus di munachus pro eo deprecatur, in hoc parcim², ut ablata cuncta prius iuxta nram pceptiunē scis di restituat, et has nri precepti litteras ad Gallias secum ferat, et super scōrum sepulcra martyrum pro emendatiune ponat. Ipsa autem sca congregatio uirorum qui ibi die noctueque incessanter excobant, pro nobis deprecantur, ut a nobis famem, pestem, et gladium ihe xpc dñs auertat, et potenti dextera sua nos defendat.

Ædiluinus regiæ domus cartigraphus, iubente domino meo rege Ædgarð² scripsi, et in auditu p̄sentiū legi et subscripsi.

Et ego Togred, ex impio domini mei regis Ædgarð, ad sepulcra scōrum mī³ Diunisi, Rustici, et Eleutherii, hoc pceptu conseruandū detuli.

L. S.

On the dors is inscribed in large letters, in a contemporary hand,

PR⁴ DE ULTRA MARE.
PR⁴ ÆDGAÐ REGIS.

The seals on the charters of Offa and Eadgar (as represented in the annexed engravings⁵) are attached *en placard*, but not exactly according to the mode practised under the Carlovingian race in France; for instead of the wax being laid on both *above* and *beneath* the parchment, in both the instances before us another small piece of parchment has been stitched on to the charter, on the spot where the seal was intended to be impressed, namely, at the right hand corner of the lowest fold of the document; and the wax having then been affixed, the impression of the seal was made, after which, the ends of the smaller piece of parchment were folded over it, so as to form a sort of *chemise*, or

² *domno Edgardo D., domino Edgardo F.*, leaving out the words *meo rege*.

³ *martyrum, D. and F.*

⁴ *Præceptum.*

⁵ Casts of these seals were taken by the late Mr. John Doubleday, but, by accident,

he transposed the names of the monarchs to whom they belonged; and this error is repeated in the series of casts of the seals of English sovereigns exhibited in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

covering. This unusual mode of attaching the seals seems to have been adopted for the express purpose of protecting them from injury during their transit from England to the monastery of St. Denis. The seal of Offa is of brownish wax, of nearly circular form, measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, and represents a bust in profile, turned to the right, and wearing a crown or circlet, on which a floreated ornament is visible. The king is represented without a beard, but with long hair, hanging down by the side of the face, and gathered up behind. The expression of the features indicate thought and care, but might fairly bear out the description of Offa's anonymous biographer, "*elegans corpore, eloquens sermone, acie perspicax oculorum.*"⁶ The legend round the head appears to have originally been OFFA REX (as is generally seen on his coins), but at present there are but faint traces of the name, and only the letters REX are tolerably distinct.⁷ There can be little doubt that the impression was made from the king's signet ring, as is asserted in the words of the attesting clause, "*manu propria subter firmavimus, atque nostri annuli impressione signari fecimus;*" a form which was borrowed from the Franks, as is shown in the diplomas of Pepin and Charlemagne.⁸ It is evident also, that this bust is really a portrait of the Mercian monarch, and not an antique gem, as is so frequently the case in the seals of the Frankish sovereigns. The execution is superior to what we find on the coins of Offa, although it has been truly remarked of them, that they are of better taste and workmanship than any of the preceding or later Anglo-Saxon princes. Ruding conjectures that this marked improvement was due to the skill of Italian artists, whom Offa might have brought from Rome,⁹ and if so, the execution of the seal may also be ascribed to the same influence. It is certain that the heads on the coins of his predecessors, and also of his immediate successors, are executed in the most barbarous style imaginable.

⁶ *Vita Offæ Secundi*, ap. Wats, p. 10, ed. 1641.

⁷ The seal was in just the same state at the beginning of the XVIIth century, as we learn from Sir Robert Cotton's note in MS., Harl. 66, f. 91.

⁸ See Filibien, particularly the charters dated 775, 782, and 790.

⁹ *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. p. 118, ed. 1840. Ruding speaks enthusiastically, and says, "These coins have the head of Offa in a style of drawing which is without parallel in the money of this island, from the time of Canobelin to the reign of Henry VII." On the coins his head appears often without any ornament, but

The seal of Eadgar is also of brown wax, measuring nearly $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in width, but is somewhat injured at the edge. The centre is evidently an impression from an antique oval Roman gem, representing a bust in profile, turned to the right, very similar to those used by Louis le Debonaire and Charles le Simple. This gem was, no doubt, set within a metal rim (as was also usual in France), on which was inscribed a legend; but the impression is unfortunately not well enough preserved to show more at present than indistinct traces of letters.¹

Before I conclude these remarks, it may not be irrelevant to sum up the amount of our present information as to the use of seals among the Anglo-Saxons previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor. The instances known are these:—

1. The seal of Berhtwald, Duke of the South Saxons, A.D. 788, *en placard*.

2. The seal of Offa, King of Mercia, A.D. 790, *en placard*.

3. The original leaden bulla of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, *circa* A.D. 800—810. This interesting relic, the authenticity of which I do not doubt, was purchased for the British Museum in 1847, at the sale of Walter Wilson, Lot 445. It is said to have been brought from Italy, and it is possible that Coenwulf may have caused it to be suspended to some grant made to a foreign religious house. On the obverse is the legend ✠ EOENVVLF RE LIS, and on the reverse, ✠ MEREIORVM. In the centre is a small cross moline, joined at the ends, as appears also on his coins. This bulla was engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 449, but in the engraving the holes are not shown through which the cords passed to attach it to the charter, and the centre ornament is falsely represented as a quatrefoil.

4. The seal of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, A.D. 837, *en placard*.

5. The original brass matrix of the seal of Æthilwald,

also with a diadem or double fillet of pearls, and pendants behind. In a few instances he is represented with his hair arranged in bands, in a fanciful manner.

¹ In 1759, the Benedictines thus described it,—“Il est en placard, et non suspendu. Il représente un buste de profil. Ayant été répliqué, il a marqué sa forme sur le parchemin. La charte au bas de laquelle il est appliqué, porte tous les caractères de vérité et d'authenticité qu'on

peut désirer.” *Nouv. Tr.* tom. iv. p. 204. A recent authority, M. Natalis de Wailly, in the *Éléments de Paléographie*, 1838, tom. ii. p. 109, speaks of the seal in the following terms,—“Le sceau d'Edgar est en partie mutilé, et ne laisse voir que des traces fort confuses de la légende; cependant on distingue le mot *Rex*, en avant de la partie inférieure du buste. Mais la base des lettres s'appuie, contre l'ordinaire, sur le circumference.”

Bishop of Dunwich, *circa* A.D. 850, preserved in the British Museum. It bears the inscription ✠ **ΣΙΓ ΕΘΙΛΥΥÆΛΔΙ ΕΠΙ**, and was engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 479, but is there said to be ornamented with *wolves'* instead of *bulls'* heads, the horns of which are distinctly visible.

6. The seal of Eadgar, sole monarch, A.D. 960, *en placard*.

7. The original matrix of the seal of the Monastery of Durham, preserved in the Chapter library, probably as early as A.D. 970, bearing a cross in the centre, with the legend around, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛΥΜ ΕΥΔΒΕΡΗΤΙ ΠΡÆΣΥΛΙΣ ΣΕΙ**. Engraved in Smith's edition of Bede, 1722, App. p. 721. See also Raine's *History of North Durham*, p. 53.

8. The seal of Wilton Abbey, used in the time of Eadgar, probably *circa* 974; an impression of which is appended to the Harleian Charter 45 A. 36, (written *temp.* Edw. III.). It represents the figure of a female in a monastic dress, with the legend, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛ ΕΑΔΛΥΘΕ ΡΕΛΑΛ ΑΔΕΛΡΗΕ**.

9. The original brass matrix of the seal of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, *circa* A.D. 985, in the British Museum; bearing his effigy, and the inscription, ✠ **ΣΙΛΙΛΛΥΜ ÆΛΡΗΕΙ ΑΥ.**, with an arabesque ornament on the back. Engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 359.

With this accumulated evidence before us, we may be well justified in concluding that the Anglo-Saxon monarchs and nobles were well acquainted with the use of seals from the middle (at least) of the VIIIth century; and although they appear to have considered it unnecessary to authenticate or issue ordinary instruments "under seal," yet that on particular occasions they conformed to the usage practised on the Continent. Hickes, in commenting on the well-known passage of Ingulph, argues chiefly against the use of *pendant* seals before the time of Edward the Confessor, and in this respect (excepting the *bullæ*) he is no doubt right; but at the same time he seems to admit that the Anglo-Saxons occasionally employed seals for documents of a less formal character, such as letters missive. His words are—"Quinimmo sigillorum cujusvis generis (*en placard* and *pendant*) RARIOR erat USUS apud Anglo-Saxones. Quorum quidem Reges quandoque legimus iis literas suas munivisse. Sic in superioribus ostendi Æthelredum Regem per Ælverum Abbatem sigillum suum, Saxonice *his in segl*, hoc est, literas suas quas Brevia vos vocatis, sigillo vel signo suo signatas,

ad sapientes curiæ comitatus misisse.”²—*Dissert. Epist.* p. 71. The passage in the document referred to, reads as follows:—“pa sende se cyning be Ælvere abbude his *inseġel* to pam gemote at Cwicelmes-hlæpe,” and Hickes endeavours to show that by *inseġel* we must understand, not a seal, but a *monogram*, which, he thinks, was usually *stamped* in ink (but sometimes written) on the instrument; and in support of this interpretation he refers to a charter of William I., printed in the *Gramm. Anglo-Saxon.*, p. 137, in which a cross is made below the writing, with some letters on each side, thus: $\frac{p}{co} | \frac{ill'}{qs}$. It is really mortifying to find so learned a man as Hickes indulging in such unfounded and idle conjectures. There is not a shadow of evidence that the Anglo-Saxons ever made use of Monograms, nor does a single instance exist among the numerous charters that have been preserved, of such a practice. As to the charter of William, if it were even genuine, it proves nothing, but the charter itself is in the Cottonian collection, *Cart.* VIII. 15, and on examination it turns out to be a forgery! It is worthy notice, that in the *Life of Cnut*, by Snorro, the historian speaks of the king’s seal being lost, and uses the same word, *incigli*, as is quoted above in Anglo-Saxon. Hickes of course rejects this testimony, but without any reasonable ground. The discoveries of late years have done much to throw light on the habits and customs of our ancestors before the Norman invasion, and it is not improbable that some fortunate accident may yet bring to light the seal-rings of some of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, and thus give us undeniable testimony on a subject which has so long been a *quæstio vexata*.

F. MADDEN.

² This document is printed by Hickes, *ibid.* p. 4, and in the *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 693, where it is assigned to the years

995-6. The original is in MS. Cott. Aug. II. 15.

Original Documents.

DIVINATION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BY AID OF A MAGICAL CRYSTAL.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. JAMES RAINE, JUN.

THE curious document which is now for the first time printed, occurred to me in the course of a long and laborious search into the registers of the Archbishops of York. It presents an interesting picture of the life of a magician.

As much has been written about the use of the magic crystal, from that consulted by Paracelsus to the recent practices of similar divination in our own time, I shall content myself with making a few observations upon the document before me.¹

The culprit, one William Byg alias Lech, came to Wombwell in the southern part of Yorkshire, about the year 1465. For the next two or three years he earned a livelihood by recovering stolen property through the aid of a crystal. His fame for good and evil began to spread abroad, and he soon found himself in the hands of the vicar-general of the Archbishop of York, upon a charge of heresy. The fear of the heavy pains and penalties which could be inflicted for so serious an offence drew a full confession from the culprit. In it he gives us an account of the manner in which he practised his art, of his experiments and their success.

In the course of his examination Byg mentions one circumstance of interest. He says that he left his books, probably of magic, in his chamber at Greenwich, soon after the death of the late Duke of Gloucester (1446). This is the celebrated Duke Humphrey. Whether Byg had anything to do with Master Bolingbroke or Dame Margery Jordaine, who are said to have flattered the vanity and hastened the end of that popular though ill-fated nobleman, we cannot now tell. At all events, it is probable that the persecution, which at that time arose against the professors of that art, in which Byg was then a student, obliged him to leave the vicinity of London and retire to a secluded village in Yorkshire.

The following punishment was inflicted upon the culprit. He was ordered to walk at the head of a procession in the Cathedral Church of York, holding a lighted torch in his right hand, and a rod with his books hanging to it, by a string, in his left. A paper inscribed with the words—*Ecce sortilegus*—was to be affixed to his head. On his breast and back two other sheets of paper were to be placed, each bearing the words—*Invocator Spirituum*,—whilst his shoulders were to be decorated with similar ornaments, charged with the appalling title of *sortilegus*. Thus attired, he was ordered to make a full recantation of his misdemeanors, and to seal it by committing his books to the flames. A similar repudiation of

¹ See a notice "on Crystals of Augury," by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. v., p. 51. A stone supposed to be Dr. Dee's "Show-stone," a ball of smoky quartz, given to

him, as he affirmed, by an angel, is to be seen in the British Room at the British Museum. It had been preserved in the mineralogical collection.

his errors was to be made in the parish churches of Pontefract, Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham.

It will be observed that Byg's confession before the Commissary Poteman was made on the 22nd of August, 1467. He did not, however, make his full submission before the 23rd of March in the following year, when he was released from the pains of excommunication and received his sentence. The punishment, for such an offender, was but slight. This apparent lenity may perhaps be accounted for. It is very probable that some persons of consequence had required Byg's assistance, and thus the deceiver was rescued by the dupe. With great adroitness he implicates with himself several persons of rank and consideration. By doing so he probably saved himself. The Wombwells were even then rising into importance, and the Archbishop of York, with the princely blood of Neville flowing in his veins, would beloth to lay his hands upon a Fitzwilliam.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to state here, that for the last three years I have been preparing for the press a biographical account of the various dignitaries of the church of York. This work, which I propose to call the "Fasti Eboracenses," was commenced by the late Rev. W. H. Dixon, M.A., Canon Residentiary of York. In it, it is my intention not to content myself with a bare list of names, but to collect the preferments and services of each ecclesiastic at York and elsewhere from every available source, and to arrange them after the fashion of the Athenæ Oxonienses. If any member of the Institute will kindly furnish me with any information which he may possess, he will confer a great favour upon me, and take away from the imperfections of a very difficult and laborious work. JAMES RAINE, JUN.

In quadam causa hereticæ pravitatis et sortilegii.

Willelmus Byg alias Lech, de Wombwell Ebor. dioceseos, de heretica pravitae suspectus, juratus ad sancta Dei Evangelia per ipsum corporaliter tacta, coram venerabili viro magistro Willelmo Poteman legum doctore, in Christo patris et domini, domini Georgii permissione Divina Ebor. Archiepiscopi, &c., vicario in spiritualibus generali, xxi. die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxvj, de fideliter respondendo requirendis ab eodem. Interrogatus et examinatus dicit, quod circiter duos vel tres annos ultime elapsos venit iste juratus ad villam de Wombewell, causa moram trahendi in eadem, et ibidem usque modicum ante festum natalis Domini ultimi preteriti moram traxit. Et dicit interrogatus quod cencies, a tempore quo ipse primo pervenit ad villam de Wombewell, ad reducendum bona furtive subtracta, artem quæ sequitur occupavit, viz., primo juvenem quemdam annorum etatis citra xij usitavit statuere super scabellum coram ipso Willelmo, et in manu pueri sive juvenis hujusmodi posuit, ut dicit, unum lapidem cristallum, ipsum cogendo dicere Pater Noster, Ave et Credo, secundum informationem istius jurati, et tunc verba proferre subsequencia; *Domine Jhesu Christe, mitte nobis tres angelos ex parte dextera qui dicant aut demonstrent nobis veritatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus.* Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit juvenem hujusmodi prospicere in lapidem, et petiit ab eo quid viderit, et si aliquid viderit, juvenis retulit ipsi jurato, et quandoque ut dicit, juvenis hujusmodi vidit in lapide prædicto bona subtracta et quandoque subtractores bonorum in eodem lapide, et quandoque unum angelum, et quandoque duos angelos, et nunquam ultra. Et si primo viderit angelos apparentes, tunc verbis sequentibus usus est ipse juratus eisdem dicere; *Domini Angeli, ego precipio vobis per Dominum et omnia sua nomina sancta, et per virginitatem, gratuite dicatis nobis veritatem et nullam*

falsitatem de omnibus hiis de quibus nos interrogabimus, et aperte sine dampno meo et omnium presencium. Et tunc, ut dicit, fecit hujusmodi juvenem ipsos angelos sive angelum interrogare, sub hiis verbis; *Say me trewe, chylde, what man, what woman, or what childe hase stolne y^e thyng, and shewe me thing in his hand;* et tunc usus est specificare subtracta. Et tunc, ut dicit, juvenis ipse clare prospiciebat in lapide hujusmodi cristallino subtractores bonorum ac ipsa bona subtracta. Et si juvenis hujusmodi prius noverit personas hujusmodi subtrahentes, voluerit specificare nomina eorundem, sin autem voluit per manum suam designare in qua patria et qua parte ejusdem subtractores hujusmodi moram trahebant. Sed pro majori parte, ut dicit, ipsi qui aliqua bona habuerunt subtracta juvenem secum adduxerunt qui noverit partes suspectas in hac parte. Et ulterius dicit quod (si) juvenis hujusmodi post primam conjuracionem nichil in lapide prospex(er)it, iteravit ipse, (viz. ipse juratus) ipsam conjuracionem, dicentes; *Domine Jhesu Christe mitte nobis tres angelos, etc.* Et dicit, quod habuit ipse juratus firmam fidem de sciendo de hujusmodi bonis subtractis, si angelus vel angeli apparuerit vel apparuerint et juvenis hujusmodi loqueretur. Et dicit, quod vigesies juvenes hujusmodi nullam apparenciam in lapide viderunt, nec ipse juratus aliquo tempore. Et dicit, interogatus, quod primo post adventum suum usque Wombewell ipse juratus per artem suam recuperavit et reduxit, ad instanciam Johannis Wombewell, unum flammeolum ejusdem Johannis furtive per filiam suam propriam subtractam. Et dicit, quod alio tempore citra idem Willielmus xvij vel xix nobilia in auro et argento Johannis Steven, moram trahentis in quadam villa prope et juxta villam de Wombewell situata, ad majus per tria milliaria negligenter per ipsum perdita et omisa, ac per quandam ancillam ejusdem Johannis inventa, ac per ipsam ab eo detenta et concealata, per artem predictam eidem fecit restitui et per eandem deliberari, et habuit et recepit ipse juratus a dicto Johanne Stevens pro labore suo vjs viij^d. Et dicit, quod circiter festum Sancti Andreæ ultimo preteritum venerunt ad istum juratum usque Wombewell quidam Bisshop et Pagett de Derthington, et alii viri quorum nomina ignorat ipse juratus de presenti, et nunciaverunt eidem jurato qualiter duo calices ab ecclesia de Derthington subtractæ fuerunt, desiderantes eum, quatenus vellet, eis suum auxilium in hac parte pro recuperacione eorundem exhibere. Quorum votis applaudit ipse juratus, ut dicit, et tunc habuerunt, ut dicit, ipsum juratum ad quemlibet honestum virum nomine Fitzwilliam armigerum, et ab inde usque Darthington cariarunt, et in presencia ejusdem Fitzwilliam, necnon cujusdam Seurdvill et aliorum quamplurium, produxerunt predicti Bisshop et Pagett duos pueros, et eos sedere fecerunt super ij herpicas, et artem suam predictam in eis exercuit predictus juratus, ut dicit, et alter ipsorum puerorum, ut dicit, vidit in lapide predicto quemdam virum, sed quem nescit, ut dicit habentem calicem argenteum in manibus suis, et aliter, ut dicit, diffamavit nunquam ipse juratus vicarium de Darthyngton seu aliquem alium super premissis. Et dicit quod ipse juratus recepit a seniore Pagett xiiij^d, et a juniore Pagett xx^d pro labore suo in premissis. Et alia quam plura bona diversorum hominum subtracta arte sua predicta ad eorum proprietarios reduxit infra tempus sic prædictum. Et dicit quod premissam artem didicit a quodam Arthuro Mitton a Leycistre, circiter annos tres ultra elapsos, sed habuit libros suos apud Greynwiche cito post mortem ducis quondam Gloucestre in camera ejusdem apud Greynwich, et dicit quod credit firmiter angelos predictos cicius apparuisse per lecturam suam super libros predictos. Et dicit se credere modo ipsos fuisse malos angelos.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1856, HELD AT EDINBURGH,

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

THE Inaugural Meeting took place on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 23, in the Queen-street Hall. LORD TALBOT, on taking the chair, thus addressed his distinguished audience.—It affords me very great pleasure to be able to attend this meeting of the Archaeological Institute. It is the first opportunity we have had of extending the range of our operations beyond the confines of England; I trust it will not be the last. We could not have selected a more appropriate locality, unequalled in the varied interest of its historical associations, than by visiting the ancient capital of Scotland. It is most gratifying to find that the objects in which we take special interest are liberally responded to by this country, and particularly by this city—the Chief Magistrate of which will now address to us his hearty welcome.

The LORD PROVOST then said—I am requested by the Corporation, and I take leave also in name of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to offer to your Lordship and the members of the Archaeological Institute, the expression of a cordial welcome on your arrival in this city. I am glad to assure you that there are amongst us, gentlemen who will readily aid you in the interesting pursuits to which the members of the Institute devote themselves. We indulge the hope that, in this, the capital of our ancient kingdom, there may be found objects of interest which may profitably engage your attention during the time you remain amongst us. There are here many striking memorials of our history, so closely interwoven with that of your own country. Some of them relate to events which we can contemplate with feelings differing widely from those which animated the actors. The memorials of many a well-fought struggle attest the prowess of both nations; they attest, too, our successful efforts to secure our independence, which you are too generous not to admit we should be unwilling to forget. The vast advantages, then unforeseen, which have accrued to both countries from their being united under one Government, might well have prompted the desire, although they did not justify the means, by which in earlier times it was sought to be accomplished. In prosecuting your inquiries, you view those subjects to which your attention is called, divested of that passion which, in some measure, is the invariable accompaniment in scenes where we are the individual agents. We all now readily acknowledge the advantages derived from that union of the two countries, which, at the beginning of the last century, was mourned over by many true patriots as the most dire calamity that could befall their country. Our literature is entwined with yours: we are united by ties which every one would lament to think could, by any contingency, be dissolved. I observe that, amongst other subjects, you are to direct attention to our architecture. In some of

our structures you will find evidence that our architects vied with those of their own age. Of these, Melrose is a striking example; and an interesting specimen till recently existed in this city. We are unfortunately unable to show Trinity College Church, but the materials of which it was composed still remain, and we possess the means for its restoration. The effort for that purpose will, I feel assured, receive the countenance of the members of the Institute. I leave such details to the members of our Society of Scottish Antiquaries, whose pursuits are akin to those which engage your attention. I cannot advert without sincere regret to the absence of one personally known to some, and by reputation, to all of you. I refer to Dr. Daniel Wilson, author of "*Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*," and of the "*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*." His presence, on an occasion like the present, would have been invaluable. We must all deplore the expatriation of one, whose unwearied energy and intelligence might have aroused, at such a meeting, a widely extended interest in our Scottish Antiquities. There are other members of the Society who will readily assist your inquiries and discussions. Amongst those who are to give active aid I observe the name of Mr. Robert Chambers, who has devoted a large portion of his valuable time to antiquarian research, and who is equally known in the literary world in England as in his native country. We shall all, however, accompany you cordially in a pursuit which, I may say, is universally acknowledged as the handmaid of history, and now takes its legitimate place as a science. It seems to me to partake also of the nature of a pious duty to the memory of our ancestors. Some of those memorials to which you direct our attention were formed by them for the express purpose of handing a record of their deeds down to posterity. It is surely a duty incumbent on us to read the lessons which many of these were intended, and all of them are fitted, to teach. And now let me again assure you of a hearty welcome, and of our earnest desire that no effort may be wanting on our part to make your visit at once agreeable to you, and as I trust and believe it will be, instructive to us.

LORD TALBOT then said—It is my duty, in behalf of the Archaeological Institute, to return their best thanks to the Lord Provost for the very kind expressions which he has used, and the cordial welcome which he has offered us on the part of the Corporation and the citizens of Edinburgh. Associated for the purposes we have in view, it is always particularly gratifying to meet with co-operation, but particularly from those institutions which were founded centuries ago, and which ought to be our great bulwarks for the protection of ancient monuments—I mean the Corporations. It is truly gratifying to find that at last we have a corporation of Edinburgh that really and sincerely feels it their duty to preserve the memorials of the ancient greatness of this country, and that it is quite consistent with all the advances of modern science and progress not to destroy venerable and beautiful monuments because they happen to be ancient. It is truly gratifying to find that we have in Edinburgh a corporation that will not, we confidently hope, sanction the destruction of such a structure as Trinity Church, that will not sanction the destruction of a West Bow, and other places of old and venerable associations exposed to the destructive course of modern events. It is truly gratifying to find that public opinion and the opinion of this great city has set itself right in these respects. There do arise in the course of the revolutions to which this world is subject, certain saturnalia in which much is destroyed, which afterwards the very destroyers

would wish to have restored. But there comes a day of repentance, and it is gratifying to find that throughout the length and breadth of this great country such a feeling is increasingly prevalent. One of the great objects of our society is to infuse throughout all classes, high and low, a respect for ancient monuments. Hitherto, the wanton destruction of such memorials has not been confined to one class; the highly-educated classes in many instances have been as guilty as the lowest and most ignorant. We trust that in future this cannot be the case, and not only that there will be an universal feeling for the preservation of these monuments, but that it may be accompanied by a disposition to make available for scientific inquiry all that information which is so essential when any vestiges are discovered. We live in an age when no pursuit partaking of a literary or scientific character can be looked upon as purely a matter of curiosity or of caprice. We live in an age when Archaeology, which used to be the scoff of some years ago, is elevated to the rank of a Science, and takes its place as the handmaid of History, and when it is found to supply many of those deficiencies which we regret in history, and to explain many of those difficulties which the imperfections or the contradictions of the Chronicles of the day continually present to the Historian. I may remark that, in these days of encroachments and annexations, there are one or two annexations which we are fairly entitled to make. We cultivate the most friendly feeling towards kindred societies, particularly the British Association, whose objects are to advance the interests of Science; still we cannot but feel that they occupy some ground which does not in strict propriety belong to them. I cannot but think that their sections of Philology and Ethnography ought to belong to us, and I think we ought to make an effort in order to obtain that concession. With respect to Edinburgh, it is most gratifying to hold our first foreign meeting, so to speak, in this city. It certainly would have been delightful to have held it some years back, and to have had associated with us some of the earliest and most enthusiastic friends of Archaeology. It would have been delightful to have seen among us Charles Sharpe and Patrick Chalmers, but above all, to have had among us that noble writer who has done so much to promote a respect and veneration for things ancient, and who surrounded them with the wizard charm of his genius and imagination. We have also, as the Lord Provost mentioned, to regret the absence of Dr. Daniel Wilson. I hoped we should have had him here on this occasion. It is truly lamentable to think that a scholar of his high capacity and attainments should be thrown away where he is, banished to the wilds of Canada, and I cannot forbear to express the earnest hope that before long he may be recalled in triumph to his native land. If we have to regret the absence of many votaries of our science, we have, however, great reason to be proud of those who are present. We have reason to be proud of Mr. Cosmo Innes, who has done more to extend the knowledge of ancient monastic history and family evidences than any antiquary in our country. We have reason also to be proud of the researches of Mr. David Laing, of the exertions which Mr. John Stuart has so successfully made to give a fresh impulse to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and not least, of his important work on the early "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," the result of many years of indefatigable and intelligent research. One of the chief attractions of the Meetings of the Institute is the Museum. I am assured that, on the present occasion, owing to the liberality of private individuals and public bodies in contributing their treasures for exhibition,

we have never had a more varied and interesting collection since the Institute was formed. I regret that an extensive series of historical portraits has not been included in these remarkable illustrations of Scottish history and antiquities, as I believe there is no country which has greater treasures of that kind than Scotland. Lord Talbot proceeded to state that the Society anticipated the honour of a visit at this meeting from the Duke of Northumberland, who had in the most liberal manner permitted the Institute to place amongst the treasures in the temporary museum many interesting reliques preserved in his museum at Alnwick Castle. That noble patron of their exertions had on many occasions given his valued encouragement to this Society, and engaged in various important enterprises to promote the study of Archæology, particularly in causing a Survey to be made of the Roman Wall and ancient vestiges north of the Tyne. This important contribution to Archaeological literature would shortly be produced, through his Grace's liberality, and the original Survey of the Wall of Severus, recently completed by Mr. M'Lauchlan, would by his Grace's kind permission be exhibited in the Museum. It was gratifying to notice, as they had often to complain of the apparent supineness of the Government wherever science, antiquities and literature were concerned, the course adopted by Lord Panmure with reference to the Ordnance Survey of Scotland. His Lordship had, at the suggestion of the Society of Antiquaries, conveyed through their president, the Marquis of Breadalbane, given directions to the engineers employed in the work to note down, in the course of their investigations, everything relating to antiquities, and to mark correctly all ancient sites connected with the different roads, ancient works or encampments to be metwith throughout the country; those would be a most important record and guide for future antiquaries. Being intimately connected with Ireland, Lord Talbot well knew the benefit derived from the Survey there, where the greatest attention had been paid to everything relating to antiquities; and some of the details of that Survey had been published, containing the most curious and authentic records of matters connected with local vestiges. After some remarks relating to Irish antiquities, Lord Talbot concluded by returning the thanks of the Institute to the Lord Provost and the city for the kind welcome they had received.

The REV. DR. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE then delivered a discourse On the practical Advantages accruing from Archaeological inquiries. (This interesting address will be given in full in the ensuing volume of this Journal).

MR. JAMES YATES moved a vote of thanks to the learned historian of the "Roman Wall," which was carried by acclamation.

MR. COSMO INNES, after begging in name of the Senatus of the University, the Faculty of Advocates, and other learned bodies of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, to give the Institute a hearty welcome to that city, as had been done by the Lord Provost on behalf of the Municipality, proceeded to offer a few remarks on the present state of archaeological study in Scotland. He said—If we look back at the study of antiquities—even as many of us can remember it, thirty years ago—even as pursued by the most intelligent antiquaries—we shall find no reason to be ashamed of its progress. We cannot but remember how glibly we then spoke of Roman bronze tripods and Roman camp kettles. Every brass sword or axe was Roman! Every grave that contained an urn or marks of fire was confidently ascribed to the Romans! Dealing so freely with the Romans, it is no wonder that we took equal liberties with our own people. Our antiquaries

and so-called historians—despising records, and not yet acquainted with the distinctions which limit the periods of each style of middle-age architecture—spoke loosely of churches and castles built before Malcolm Canmore—of surnames older than the Conquest—of historical facts that rested on the authority of Boece and his Veremund, or the later fables of Abercromby's "*Martial Achievements!*" Those were the days for disputes and confident assertions about Culdees, by men who did not seek for their records, and Druids of whom we have no records; while to the skirmishing inroads of Danes was attributed every monument that bespoke peculiarly times of peace and leisure for its manufacture. The delusion had not yet quite passed away which blinded the critics of the last century to the inconsistencies of what were published as "*The Poems of Ossian,*" and prevented their winnowing the corn from the chaff of M'Pherson. If those patriotic hallucinations are not gone quite, they are disappearing. And, not content with abolishing what ought to be obsolete, we have made some progress towards a rational and solid system of national antiquities—apart alike from the credulity of an infant science, and the foolish denial of everything which we in our ignorance pronounce to be improbable. Much of that progress in systematising has been embodied in our friend Dr. Wilson's "*Prehistoric Annals.*" But no one would acknowledge more readily than Dr. Wilson himself, first, that in that work, system has been somewhat too much aimed at; and, secondly, that, however attractive and useful, it deals with but a small and subordinated section of the antiquities of Scotland. Its period is professedly pre-historic, and we must not impute to it as blame that it omits from the national antiquities heraldry—charters—records—architecture—all that concerns written history, literature, and the fine arts. These great fields have not, however, meanwhile lain uncultivated, as we trust to show, and it is as regards them chiefly that we rejoice to have an opportunity like the present to compare our speculations with the more matured and defined archaeological science of our neighbours of England. It is not the least proof of our advancement that such a body as the Archaeological Institute find us worthy of a visit, and regard us as capable of appreciating it. We cannot forget that that body numbers among its members men distinguished in all branches of science and literature, and who have joined to the highest reach of philosophy a genial love of Archaeological inquiry. I must not do more than allude to such men, some of whom are among us, and some are soon to be. You know there are among them the great philosopher who, expatiating among the wonders of physical science, or the deeper mysteries of the human mind, thinks it no unworthy relaxation from severer studies to investigate the architecture and characteristics of our ancient cathedral churches. There are in their ranks men who have placed English history on its true basis, by collecting its materials from the charters of the Anglo-Saxon age, and have shown us a record, not of battles and genealogies, but of the real inner life of our Saxon forefathers. There are not wanting philologists to trace our vernacular tongue to its Germanic fountain, to fix its dialects to each province, and to give precision to the artificial, and to some of us, mysterious, system of old-English rhythms. But while these men are conspicuous in the more abstruse parts of our common study, we see in the lists of the Institute names well known and dear to the lover of ancient and mediæval art, the numismatist, the ecclesiologist, the herald, the collector of seals, to all who have studied antiquities in any of its hundred

branches. And let us not fear that such guests will not find fitting welcome from men worthy of them here. They will find among us, I think, a well-trained band of zealous antiquaries—men who have the true feeling for old learning, old art, old manners, everything old but old error. They will find men here already known to the world, and whom I need not point to—writers who have illustrated their country's history, or gathered with filial care the scattered fragments of her early poetry and song. Others there are, less known beyond our own territory, not less instrumental in aiding the onward progress of Archaeology. We have a few scholars deeply engaged in investigating genuine Roman antiquities, a few zealous numismatists, one or two heralds, one or two—alas! but one or two—philologists, little inclined to benefit the world by their lucubrations on the interesting mixture of tongues among us. We will make you acquainted, too, with some scholars who, conscious though they be of powers that could command popularity and might aspire to fame, yet devote their time to the study of records, statistics, and charter learning; some of them only at rare intervals delighting the public with an occasional essay on early Scotch architecture, others giving the leisure of many years to the patient investigation of a mysterious class of primæval monuments, the result of which is shown in a work like that recent noble production of the Spalding Club.¹ These are the pursuits of cultivated intellect. But you are not to believe that, where these are followed, the subordinate assistants—the handmaids of history and antiquarian science—are neglected. Let the herald, or the lover of ancient seals, of antique gems, pay a visit to the workshop of our friend Henry Laing, and he will find himself in the presence of no common workman, no illiterate collector. But we have among us to-day other archaeologists besides our friends of the Institute, and our brethren of the *Societas Antiquariorum Scotiæ*. During those times when silver Tweed divided hostile kingdoms, and we on this side the Border spoke of our *aid enemies of England*, a common enmity to England united Scotland with France. We borrowed much from her—manners, language, arts, we certainly imitated her architecture; we are said to have copied her cookery. We gave in return that which we could—at all times the staple of our country; we sent bands of hardy, adventurous Scots—young Quentin Durwards, if not Crichtons—to make their way, to push their fortune with the sword or with the pen. The French armies overflowed with them. The French universities were half Scotch. Political circumstances still bound us closely to France when our James V. married successively two French Princesses, and his daughter Mary became for a short space Queen of France as well as of her old narrow kingdom. We are not, then, to be astonished that our history has attracted the sympathy of Frenchmen. While Mignet has given us perhaps the first honest narrative of Mary's life, a countryman of his has published the most extensive and valuable collection of State papers concerning the intercourse of Scotland with France, that has ever been brought together for laying the foundations or illustrating our history. Another scholar of France, who has already done much for philology and early literature, has employed his leisure in tracing the history and adventures of some of those Scotch knight-errants who spent their lives in his country. I have heard that he finds the territory of Aubigny, near Orleans—the Lordship with which our Stuart,

¹ *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. By John Stuart, Sec. Soc. Ant. Scot., Aberdeen : printed for the Spalding Club, 4to.

the High Constable of France, was rewarded for his gallantry at Baugé—still tenanted by numerous Stuarts, preserving the name of their heroic Lord through four centuries. He will tell us that he has discovered an idiom, formerly well known in France, as the "*Patois Ecossais*." He can even produce specimens of verse printed in that mongrel dialect.

But now, as to the purpose—the permanent benefit to be derived from a gathering like the present. Shall we do for our modest pursuit—a pursuit that has always attracted scholars and gentle natures—what a greater Association has done for higher science? I think we cannot fail. Let us become acquainted with those pressing forward in the same career; let us measure our achievements, our deficiencies, our powers, with theirs; let us learn to take pleasure in cordial co-operation or in generous rivalry. There is a freemasonry in our subject. All countries contribute to illustrate it; all other studies bear upon it. Every scholar is an antiquary; all good antiquaries are friends and brothers.

Mr. COLQUHOUN, of Killermont, proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Professor Innes, and to the learned institutions of Edinburgh, whose kind feeling towards the Institute he had expressed in so gratifying a manner. Mr. Colquhoun adverted to the important lessons and elevating impulse to which the study of the past, pursued in its legitimate bearing, should ever tend. The acknowledgment was seconded by Mr Joseph HUNTER, V.P. Soc. Ant., and passed unanimously.

A communication was received from His Grace the DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND, expressing his intention to be present during some part of the proceedings of the meeting, accompanied by the Signor Canina, President of the Museums of the Capitol of Rome, and his Grace proposed that distinguished antiquary as an Honorary Foreign Member of the Institute. Signor Canina was forthwith elected by acclamation.²

The meeting then adjourned. The Temporary Museum of the Institute was arranged in the newly completed buildings of the National Gallery, by the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, and with the approval of the Hon. the Board of Manufactures. Various objects of historical or antiquarian interest were also liberally made accessible to the Institute, more especially the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the collections formed by the principal public institutions. Permission to view the Regalia, preserved at the Castle, was granted by the Lord Provost and the authorities; access to Holyrood Palace was conceded by the Chief Commissioner of her Majesty's Public Works; and by sanction of the Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland, an important chronological series of Scottish Charters from the earliest period, and a selection of interesting Historical Documents, were submitted to inspection in her Majesty's General Register House. The visitors of that invaluable depository were received with the most obliging attention by Mr. Joseph Robertson and other gentlemen connected with the establishment.

At the evening meeting in Queen Street Hall,—

Mr. ROBERT CHAMBERS read a memoir on "The Ancient Buildings of Edinburgh and the Historical Associations connected with them." Mr. Chambers said Edinburgh was not a town of much consequence till the

² Whilst this report was in the press, the sad intelligence of the sudden death of this accomplished antiquary has reached us. We cannot refrain from the

expression of deep regret at the untimely loss of one whose refined taste and attainments were scarcely equalled by any of his contemporaries.

latter part of the XIVth century. Froissart speaks of it in 1385 as the Paris of Scotland. He says it did not contain so many as 4000 houses, meaning, beyond a doubt, 400, for it then consisted of but a single street. No houses of that era survive to prove how small, rude, and frail they were; wood continued to be a large material in the domestic architecture of our city throughout the XVth century, during which Edinburgh was gradually becoming a town of importance, a frequent seat of Parliament, and the residence of the monarch. A house had an inner stone fabric, but there was always a wooden front six or seven feet in advance, formed by projecting beams. We do not probably possess in Edinburgh any houses of older date than the close of the XVth century. About that time the Cowgate was building (a name which appears to be a corruption of "Sou'gate," i.e., Southgate) as a new town or suburb for the accommodation of the higher class of people. A few of the primitive houses of the Cowgate, built about 1490 or 1500, still exist, and are interesting as the contemporaries of many castles, the ruins of which are now scattered over the country. They consist of a ground floor, for shops, a galleried floor above, and a series of attics. The style of door seen in all these early wooden houses is remarkably elegant. The next stage of house-building gives us the same form, with merely a little more elevation and the addition of some ornamental work. About 1540, houses were three and four storeys high. The gallery in front of the first floor was usually open. There the family could promenade and enjoy the open air in privacy and comparative safety. Of the wooden-fronted houses of about 1540 we have still several interesting specimens, serving to recal to us Mary's reign. There is a fine example at the head of the West Bow. The covered space in front of the booths is still open, and used for the exhibition of merchandise, though of a humble kind. In this respect, the house forms a last surviving relique of what the High Street was in mercantile respects in the XVIth century. Three or four specimens of this form of house are still to be seen along the north side of the High Street. The characteristic features of all are alike—the strong skeleton-work of stone, with the wooden front six or seven feet in advance, the outside stone stair projecting into the street, and the handsome moulded doorway. One good specimen opposite the head of Niddry Street is worthy of special notice, on account of its double form. In 1572, when the castle and the city were in possession of the Queen's party and beleaguered by the troops of the Regent, the exigencies of the people for fuel led to the demolition of many of the timber buildings. The latest example of houses with wooden fronts is in the Netherbow, dated 1600. The mediæval custom of putting inscriptions on houses was displayed largely in Edinburgh, but not so much before the Reformation as after. Having given many interesting specimens of these quaint inscriptions, Mr. Chambers proceeded to state that houses wholly composed of stone, which before the reign of Mary had been rare exceptions, began after that period to become common. The earliest examples were built by wealthy citizens. The stone mansions of the latter part of the XVIth century were constructed in a very substantial manner. From the reign of Charles I. there was a continual progress towards plainer forms. During the first half of the XVIIth century the growing prosperity of Scotland expressed itself in Edinburgh in a wish for more liberal and airy accommodations. As an example of the taste of that period, we may take James's Court, built about 1728. Conveniences for cleanliness, supply of water, and lighting were, however, almost unknown.

No house in Edinburgh built at that period was without a small closet off the dining-room for private devotional exercise. The latter half of the XVIIIth century saw the Old Town thrown into the shade by the elegant streets of the New.

The memoir was illustrated by numerous drawings, chiefly prepared, with much artistic skill, by Mr. W. F. Watson.

On the motion of Mr. JOSEPH ROBERTSON, a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Chambers, and the proceedings closed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24.

A meeting of the Section of HISTORY took place, by the kind permission of the Royal Society, in their rooms at the Royal Institution, COSMO INNES, Esq. (President of the Section), in the Chair.—The following Memoirs were read:—

“Contract betwixt the Town Council of Edinburgh and William Aytoun, for completing the building of Heriot’s Hospital, Dec. 1631, and Feb. 1632; with a brief notice of the foundation of the Hospital.” By DAVID LAING, F.S.A.Scot.

“The Ossianic Controversy.” By the Hon. Lord NEAVES.

“On the Condition of Lothian previous to its Annexation to Scotland.” By J. HODGSON HINDE, V. P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle.

“Notice of a Document relating to the Knights Templars in Scotland, in 1298.” By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, F.S.A. Scot.

The Section of ANTIQUITIES assembled in the Queen Street Hall, EDWIN GUEST, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge (President of the Section), in the Chair.

A memoir was communicated by EDWARD CHARLTON, Esq., M.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, “On a Runic Inscription discovered during the recent works of restoration at Carlisle.” A paper on the same subject was also contributed by the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland.

A memoir was read, “On the Barrier of Antoninus Pius, extending from the shores of the Forth to the Clyde.” By JOHN BUCHANAN, Esq., of Glasgow.

JAMES SMITH, Esq., of Jordan Hill, communicated a notice of the Discovery of the City of Lasea, in Crete.

JOHN STUART, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, then read a valuable dissertation “On the Early Sculptured Monuments of Scotland.” He observed that they might be considered the earliest existing expressions of the ideas, and the most genuine records of the skill, of the early inhabitants of the country. He referred to the general use of pillars as memorials of events from the earliest period, and to the occurrence of such pillars in Scotland, both singly and in circular groups, as sepulchral memorials. The earliest notices furnished to us by our national historians serve only to show that the purpose and meaning of the sculptured pillars had been forgotten before the time when these notices were written. According to Boece, the hieroglyphic figures on them were borrowed from the Egyptians, and were used by the natives in place of letters; and both he and subsequent historians have assigned a Danish origin to many of them—an idea which is quite repudiated by the present race of Danish

antiquaries. Mr. Stuart stated that the class of stones to which he desired to call attention comprised about 160 specimens. These consisted either of rude unhewn pillars, on which were sculptured various symbolic figures; of oblong dressed slabs, having crosses and other figures cut on their surface; and in a few cases of cruciform pillars with sculpture. The symbols of most frequent occurrence were stated to be—1st, two circles connected by cross lines (familiarily termed the spectacle ornament), which was sometimes traversed by a figure resembling the letter Z; 2nd, serpents, sometimes alone, and at other times pierced by a figure the same as that last mentioned; 3rd, a crescent; 4th, an animal resembling an elephant; 5th, a mirror and comb; 6th, a fish.² Besides these figures, the stones presented instances of priests in their robes with books, men shooting with the bow and arrow, bird-headed human figures, processions of religious, centaurs, monkeys, lions, leopards, deer, and beasts of the chase, besides many others. It appeared that while the same symbols perpetually occurred on different stones, yet on no two stones was the arrangement the same, which seemed to imply a meaning and intention in the arrangement of them. Their geographical distribution was then adverted to, and it appeared that of those stones between the Dee and the Spey by far the larger number were rude pillars, having incised symbols without crosses; while in the country on either side, the stones combined elaborate crosses with the symbols as well as with scenes of various kinds, exhibiting in many cases minute pictures of dress, armour, hunting, and other subjects. The symbols, except in two cases, were not found in the country south of the Forth, and were thus confined to the ancient country of the Picts. There was one stone having an inscription, in letters hitherto undeciphered, but which to the learned eyes of the late Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, presented the appearance of the Phœnician character; four of the stones had inscriptions in the ancient Ogham character, and one presented an inscription in letters not unlike those of the old Irish character. Mr. Stuart then pointed out various points of analogy and difference between the Scotch crosses and those in Ireland, Wales, and the Isle of Man. He adverted to the striking similarity of the style of ornament on the Scotch crosses to that in the ancient Irish and Saxon manuscripts, and drew the conclusion that while there were many points common to the crosses of all the countries referred to, yet those in Scotland bore most strongly the impress of Irish art, as exhibited on remains of various sorts, ranging in point of date from the VIIth to the XIth century. Nor was this different from what might have been expected, for while the genial influences of Christianity were imparted to different districts of Scotland through other and earlier missions, yet to that of St. Columba and his followers must be attributed the widest range and the most abiding impression. In Ireland it was customary for St. Patrick to consecrate the pillar stones of the heathen to Christian uses, and the erection of crosses seems to have followed; while several instances existed to show the erection of crosses at Iona in the time of St. Columba to mark events of various sorts; and it might be supposed that crosses were erected in Scotland by the early missionaries, in place of the older stones of the native inhabitants, with the view of altering and sanctifying the principles, whatever they were, which led them to set up their rude pillars. Of the Scotch stones referred to, above sixty have been found in some degree of

² The principal symbols here enumerated, are noticed, Arch. Journ. vol. vi. p. 89.

connection with ancient ecclesiastical sites, and most of those which have been dug about have shown traces of human sepulture. It appeared also that diggings had been made in several stone circles called "Druidical," and that there also sepulchral deposits of various sorts had been discovered. It was stated that the sculptured stones occurred in groups in various parts of the country, as well as the unsculptured pillars which were so often found in the shape of circles. The recent discovery of a sarcophagus at Govan had enabled us to trace the ornaments and figures of men and animals so common on the crosses to a use undoubtedly sepulchral; and the fact that some of the symbols had been found on silver ornaments dug from the sepulchral mound at Norries Law, led to the same result.⁴ With regard to the sculptured stones, Mr. Stuart was inclined to hold them as sepulchral monuments, and that the circles were also intended to serve for this end, and probably others not known to us. As to the ornamentation on the crosses and on other mediæval remains, Mr. Stuart supposed that it might have descended from the central reservoir of Roman civilisation; but if the symbols could also be derived from this source, we should naturally expect to find them in other countries open to the same influence. Hitherto, however, no instance of the symbols had been found in other countries, and the only inference which remained was, that most of them were peculiar to a people on the north-east coast of Scotland, who used them, at least partly, on sepulchral monuments; that the early missionaries found them in use on their arrival, and adopted them for a time, in a more elaborate shape, on their Christian monuments, as is seen on those stones where the cross and other Christian symbols occur along with the figures on the ruder pillars. Mr. Stuart's observations were illustrated by drawings of the different symbols referred to in the paper, in their simple form as they occurred on the rude pillars, and also in their elaborate shape on the sculptured crosses; and the volume of representations of the Sculptured Stones, newly completed for the Spalding Club, was submitted to the meeting.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Stuart, referred to the great value of his memoir, and of the indefatigable research with which he had pursued the investigation of a subject of great interest. Archaeologists were deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart for the admirable work recently produced by him under the auspices of the Spalding Club, by which a fresh light had been thrown on an important class of ancient remains hitherto scarcely known to the antiquary, except through the illustrations of the monuments of a limited district, produced by the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers.

By the kind invitation of the Lord Provost and the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, the members of the Institute were received at that Institution, and inspected the architectural features of the structure, as also various ancient reliques there preserved. At two o'clock they partook of a collation in the hall, and subsequently proceeded under the guidance of Mr. Robert Chambers to visit the more remarkable ancient buildings and sites of historical interest in the Old Town, the Canongate, &c. terminating with the Castle.

An evening meeting took place in the Queen Street Hall. A discourse

⁴ These ornaments are figured in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 249, and they were exhibited by Mrs. Dundas Durham in the

Museum of the Institute at the Edinburgh Meeting.

was delivered by the Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., on the Sculptures of Trajan's Column, and the illustrations which they supply in regard to the Military Transactions of the Romans in Britain. A complete series of representations of the Sculptures on a large scale was displayed, prepared under Dr. Bruce's direction.

A notice was also communicated of the Diplomatic Correspondence regarding Public Affairs in Scotland and England at the latter part of the XVIth century, comprised in the official reports or *Relazioni* made by the envoys of the Republic of Venice to the Doge and Senate; with a transcript and translation of one of the most interesting portions of the Collection, concerning the succession to the throne, and the position of Mary Queen of Scots. These valuable historical materials were brought before the Institute by the Rev. JOHN DAYMAN, Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, by the kind permission of Henry Howard, Esq., of Grey-stoke Castle, in whose possession the Diplomatic collections are preserved.

Thursday, July 25.

An excursion was made by special train to Abbotsford, and the Tweedside Abbeys,—Melrose, Dryburgh, and Kelso. In the evening the members were received by the Hon. Lord Neaves and Mrs. Neaves, at a *Conversazione*, and a very numerous party enjoyed their kind hospitalities on this occasion.

Friday, July 26.

The Historical Section assembled at the apartments of the Royal Society, COSMO INNES, Esq., presiding, and the following Memoirs were read:—

On the Progress and Prospects of Science in Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century, as compared with the same at Cambridge a century later; with illustrations of several remarkable coincidences between the Genius, the Studies, and the Discoveries, of Napier of Merchistoun, and Sir Isaac Newton. By MARK NAPIER, Esq., Advocate.

The Four Roman Ways.—By EDWIN GUEST, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

On the Connection of Scotland with the Pilgrimage of Grace.—By W. HYLTON D. LONGSTAFFE, Esq., F.S.A.

In the meeting of the Section of Architecture, the chair was taken by the Rev. W. WHEWELL, D.D. (President of the Section). The following Memoirs were received.

Sketch of the History of Architecture in Scotland, Ecclesiastical and Secular, previous to the union with England in 1707.—By JOSEPH ROBERTSON, Esq., F.S.A. Scotland. (Printed in this volume, p. 228.)

Notices of the various styles of Glass Painting, chiefly as accessory to the Decorations of Ecclesiastical Structures; illustrated by parallel examples of design in MSS., Sculptures and Fresco decorations in the Middle Ages.—By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A.

On Dunblane Cathedral, and the Correspondence between its Architectural history and that of the Cathedral of Llandaff.—By EDWARD FREEMAN, Esq., M.A.

On the Remains of Sweetheart Abbey (*Abbatia dulcis cordis*) in

Galloway, afterwards called New Abbey, and their architectural peculiarities.—By the Rev. J. L. PETIT, F.S.A.

In the afternoon an excursion was made, through the hospitable invitation of the Right Hon. R. C. Nisbet Hamilton, M.P., to Dirleton Castle, where luncheon was kindly provided for the numerous visitors, and the remarkable remains of that fine example of the Edwardian fortress were examined under the obliging guidance of Mr. Joseph Robertson.

At the evening meeting in the Queen-stret Hall, Professor SIMPSON delivered a discourse on the Vestiges of Roman Surgery and Medicine in Scotland and England. He observed that there were in Britain, during its occupation by the Romans, two classes of physicians—those engaged in the public service, and private practitioners. There was no doubt that the Roman army was accompanied by a medical staff; there were incidental references to them in ancient authors, and monumental tablets to Roman army physicians had been discovered in this country. The existence of private practitioners appeared by the fact that a considerable number of medicine-stamps had been discovered, bearing the name of the physician, of a disease, and of the medicine used for its cure.⁵ He alluded also to surgical instruments, which had been found in this country, especially the remarkable collection in the possession of the Hon. Sir George Clerk, Bart., at Pennycuik House near Edinburgh. Some of them are similar to those discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The learned Professor remarked that some of the noted inventions, usually regarded as of the most recent times, had been forestalled centuries ago. Reference was made to relics of Roman pharmacy, and some medicine bottles of various forms were shown; the so-called lachrymatories found in graves, he suggested, might be medicine bottles buried with articles of food and dress, which were believed to be necessary for the departed in another world. The Professor also exhibited a nursing-bottle, discovered at York with Roman remains; these objects are occasionally found in the graves of children. A reference to dietetic vestiges and relics was followed by some remarks on the medicinal herbs introduced into this country by the Romans—a subject regarding which very little is yet known. The amount of information possessed by Roman physicians, as to all diseases, Dr. Simpson observed, was very remarkable. They were defective in anatomy and physiology—the dissection of the human subject was not then practised—but all diseases which were matter of direct observation were well described, and Galen noticed 120 diseases of the eye, as many perhaps as are known at the present day. They were acquainted with all the mysteries of dental surgery, and false teeth were very common among Roman ladies and gentlemen, if we may believe Martial. All the principal surgical operations now known were described by Roman authors, and they were acquainted with the use of anæsthetic agents for producing sleep in operations which were attended with pain, mandragora being used for that purpose. Professor Simpson alluded to some other matters in which the Romans were farther advanced than modern nations in times of boasted civilisation, such as cities fully drained, extramural cemeteries, and baths in a state of great perfection. Professor Simpson has subsequently published an interesting memoir,⁶ to which we may refer those of our readers who desire

⁵ See Professor Simpson's valuable memoirs on medicine stamps of the Roman Period, in the Monthly Medical Journal.

⁶ Published by Sutherland and Knox, Edinburgh, 8vo., 1856.

further information on subjects connected with the knowledge of medicine in Roman times. It is entitled—"Was the Roman Army provided with Medical Officers?" It is accompanied by a representation of the inscription to the memory of *Anicius*, found at Housesteads on the Roman Wall.

At the close of the meeting the members of the Institute proceeded to the residence of the Lord Provost and Mrs. Melville, by whose kindness a very agreeable *Conversazione* terminated the varied occupations of this day.

SATURDAY, JULY 26.

At ten o'clock a meeting was held at the Queen Street Hall; Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding. Mr. J. M. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on the antiquities of the Heathen period, with more especial reference to the illustrations of their types and peculiar character presented by examples and drawings, exhibited in the Temporary Museum. He referred first to the specimens of ancient urns which had been discovered in recent times, drawing particular attention to those found in Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland. Some are exceedingly elegant in design, and display much taste and skill in the execution of their ornament. In others, of the Anglo-Saxon period, this beauty of shape and decoration is not found. From these circumstances, he was led to draw a distinction between the periods to which they belonged. It appeared to him, when he looked at the elegant form and beautiful ornamentation of some of these urns, that it was inconsistent to suppose that so much taste for design existed contemporaneously with the productions of the inferior specimens. He then proceeded to make some observations on the weapons of warfare employed by the ancients, and referred at length to the implements of stone; there was no reason, as Mr. Kemble observed, to suppose that these did not exist in many cases contemporaneously with, as well as previously to, the weapons and implements of metal, inasmuch as, long after the discovery of metals, men would continue to use the ancient form of implements. This would more particularly be the case in reference to matters connected with religion. In reference to implements of stone, nothing was more remarkable than the similarity of their forms all over the world. This was, no doubt, owing to the nature of the material of which they were made. Arrow-heads were amongst the objects which, it might readily be supposed, had been made of stone, long after metals had been used for purposes both of war and peace. The arrow was a thing to be thrown away, and therefore would be made of the less valuable material. The same might be said of spear-heads and other missiles intended to be thrown at the enemy. He then proceeded to remark that nothing was more common than to assert that bronze weapons were of Celtic origin. But this was unquestionably erroneous. Bronze, it was shown, was among the ancients the heroic metal, and was, doubtless, spoken of by Homer poetically, in allusion to the arms of his heroes, when the metal in question was not literally referred to. Bronze had been employed long prior to the use of iron, and no doubt was capable of forming a weapon that would readily take a sharp edge.

Mr. DAVID LAING, F.S.A. Scot., then read a communication on the Portraits of Lady Jane Grey.

Mr. A. H. RHIND, F.S.A., read a Memoir on the History of the

Systematic Classification of Primeval Relics. (Printed in this volume, p. 209.)

The meeting then adjourned to the Museum, where Mr. Kemble resumed the subject of his discourse, and gave some highly instructive observations on the vestiges of the Earlier Periods, as illustrated by the extensive series of antiquities of stone and bronze, from all parts of Great Britain, and Ireland, there brought together, as also by the extensive display of drawings representing reliques of the same classes, preserved in the museums at Dublin, at Hanover, and other collections in Germany. This remarkable assemblage of drawings was contributed to the Museum of the Institute by the Council of the Royal Irish Academy and by Mr. Kemble.

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, Jun., F.S.A., also gave an interesting discourse in the Museum, in explanation of the extensive series of drawings of examples of mediæval art, and of the use of mosaic decorations as accessory to architecture, prepared by his skilful pencil and displayed in the Museum. Mr. Scharf subsequently gave, in the Museum, a detailed and artistic notice of the extensive series of sculptured ivories, contributed by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., Mr. Webb, and other collectors, whose kindness had enriched the display there presented, accompanied also by a large assemblage of casts from sculptures in ivory sent for exhibition by the Arundel Society.

A numerous party accompanied Mr. Robert Chambers at a later hour, and under his kind direction visited St. Giles' Church, Holyrood Palace, and the *Maison Dieu*, the Magdalene Chapel, Cowgate, with its windows of stained glass, stated to be the only remains of their kind, of earlier date than the Reformation, now existing in Edinburgh. Mr. J. H. Parker offered some remarks on the architectural peculiarities of these and other buildings to which the attention of the party was addressed, and the examination terminated with a visit to St. Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage, and the elegant little vaulted structure known as St. Margaret's Well, now entombed in the sub-structure of a Railway station.

In the evening the members of the Institute assembled, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chambers, and found a very hearty welcome at their residence in Doune Terrace. A selection of Scottish songs and ancient melodies, chiefly of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, formed a very pleasant and appropriate feature of this gratifying soirée.

MONDAY, JULY 28.

A meeting was held, at ten o'clock, in the rooms of the Royal Society, COSMO INNES, Esq., presiding; and the following Memoirs were read:—

Notice of an unpublished letter from James V., king of Scots, addressed to Henry VIII., in 1526. By JOSEPH BURTT, Esq., Chapter House, Westminster. (Printed in this volume, p. 270.)

On King Edward's spoiliations in Scotland, in 1296: and unpublished evidence relating to the Coronation Stone. By JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq., V.P. Soc. Ant. (Printed in this volume, p. 245.)

Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., made a communication regarding the antiquities of Orkney and Shetland, and described various interesting remains of a very ancient date. He in particular referred to the cathedral

of St. Magnus, Kirkwall.⁷ He described the state of decay into which it had fallen previous to Government spending about 3000*l.* upon it in 1846. He then spoke of certain differences which had arisen between Government and the Burgh Council—the latter having now taken the matter into their hands, and committed, as the Institute must consider, some barbarous outrages. They had entirely screened off the choir from the nave, in order to use the former as a parish church, the screens closing up the spaces between three of the finest arches. They had raised the floor four feet, thus hiding all the bases of the pillars, and had put in a gallery that hid the capitals, and the erection of which had knocked off considerable portions of the foliage. In fact, they had just dealt with these ornaments as a man had done some years ago, who, on being told to clean the cobwebs and dust from these beautiful carvings, thought he had made a great discovery when he hit upon the plan of knocking them off altogether. They had dug up the remains of Bishops and Earls without any care for the preservation of their tombs. They had built a chimney going up from the transept, and had knocked great holes under the windows of the aisles to admit ventilating pipes. He hoped his Scotch friends would keep a sharp eye on these doings, and not allow these venerable buildings to be thus sacrilegiously dealt with.

Lord NEAVES remarked that he was formerly Sheriff of Orkney, and he was glad to say he had no concern whatever in this sacrilege, nor, as he believed, had his successor in that office. He could speak with the highest commendation of the constant zeal and enthusiasm with which Sir Henry Dryden had devoted himself to the investigation of the antiquities of Orkney and Shetland. He regretted exceedingly the disgraceful condition to which, as Sir Henry had stated, the venerable cathedral of St. Magnus had been brought through the recklessness of the local authorities.

Mr. ROBERT CHAMBERS read a paper on Edinburgh Castle as it existed before the siege of 1573. He said that in the present Edinburgh Castle, under the mask of a modern military station and barrack, were the broken and degraded remains of a national fortress and royal residence of the old days of Scottish independence. He proposed to attempt to trace the history of the principal old buildings, and to show as far as possible what the Castle was before the great alterations which it sustained in consequence of the memorable siege of 1573. Previous to that time the buildings of the Castle were less numerous, as it showed scarcely any beyond the limits of the upper platform of rock or citadel, towards the east. On the lower and wider platform, towards the north and west, there was little besides a wall of defence running along the summit of the cliff, with turrets at intervals, and having in it a postern whence it was possible to descend the face of the rock. Notwithstanding its limited accommodation, however, it appeared to have been proposed in 1523 to have a garrison of 400 soldiers within the Castle. On the upper platform were various buildings, some of which still existed, while others have been demolished in the siege referred to, or had given way to more common-place structures. At the north-east angle was a palace which had been used by successive Scottish Sovereigns before Holyrood existed. We have no means of

⁷ This highly interesting fabric, commenced, as it is believed, by Earl Ronald, in 1138, forms the subject of several plates in Mr. Billings' *Baronial and*

Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii., plates 42 to 47, which may enable the reader to appreciate the injuries noticed by Sir H. Dryden.

tracing this palace to a very early date. The saintly Queen Margaret, consort of Malcolm Canmore, lived in Edinburgh Castle at the end of the XIth century, but none of the existing buildings could be identified as of her time, with the exception of the small chapel standing detached on the loftiest pinnacle of the rock, which, after a long period of neglect, had been repaired a few years ago. The massive series of buildings which rose from the rock at the south-east angle of the upper quadrangle or parade-square constituted strictly what remained of the palace as existing previous to 1573. It was evident that in this angle we had the structures of a series of ages. In a central situation, and now constituting the officers' barracks, was an ancient building, still exhibiting the characteristics of the tall square towers of which so many examples survived in Scotland, which had evidently been built isolatedly; this might probably have been the palace of David I., and was at all events, apart from the chapel, the oldest structure in the Castle. On the south side were the traces of an ancient hall, originally a noble apartment 80 feet long by 33 broad, and 27 feet in height, lighted by tall mullioned windows from the south, and having a ceiling of fine timber arch-work in the style of the Parliament House, but now, with inter-floors and partitions, constituting the garrison hospital. This hall was connected with numerous historical associations. Adjoining to the east side of the primitive tower, and constituting the south-east nook of the quadrangle, was a portion of the palace, either built or refitted for Queen Mary, including the small bed-room in which she gave birth to James VI. This building originally extended further to the north than it now appeared to do, but the northern part having become ruinous, a new building was engrafted upon it in 1615, with a goodly front towards the square, and many handsomely ornamented windows and a battlemented top. In this modern part of the building was the fire-proof room, in which the Scottish regalia were kept. It had evidently been prepared for this purpose at the re-edification of the building in 1615, as it rested on a strong vaulted chamber, now forming part of the garrison tavern. During many ages the Castle was occasionally used as a state prison, and for some time in the reign of James VI., it was used as a prison for debtors. In 1541-2 a Register-house was built in the Castle, but its situation was not now known. The eastern front of the Castle towards the city presented a considerably different appearance from what it now did, and its former aspect, Mr. Chambers observed, must have been more striking and picturesque. The central object was a donjon or keep, rising sixty feet above the summit of the rock, and known by the name of David's Tower, a fabric believed to have been erected by David II. From this tower a curtain wall extended along the front of the rock to a comparatively small or slender tower, which still existed at the north end of the Half-moon battery, but almost merged in the later buildings. The curtain wall then extended northwards till it joined another tower of greater importance, which, as nearly as could be traced, rose from the rocky platform exactly over the site of the present portcullis gate of the Castle. This was the Constable's Tower, being the residence of that officer. It was fifty feet high, and was accessible by a stair which ascended the face of the rock, in the style of that seen under the castle of the well-known armorial bearings of Edinburgh. Indeed, there could be little doubt that this heraldic castle and its stair—though such objects were always more or less conventional—was mainly a representation of the Constable's Tower. By this stair,

and through the tower, was, if he judged rightly, the sole access to the upper platform or citadel. On the curtain wall, thus divided into three parts, a range of cannon was disposed, but the wall being low, a second or smaller range of cannon was placed on the summit of the rock within. At what time any exterior defences were added did not appear, but they found that, when Kirkaldy of Grange held the Castle for Queen Mary, against her son's Government, from 1570 to 1573, there was a triangular court in front below the rock, bounded by a wall twenty feet high, and denominated the Spur. This was ultimately found to be a disadvantageous arrangement, owing to the number of men required for defending it, and in 1649 it was demolished by order of the Scottish Estates. Mr. Chambers then proceeded to describe the siege of the Castle by the Regent Morton, with an auxiliary force sent by Queen Elizabeth under Sir William Drury, with a train of artillery. Five batteries were opened against it, and in nine days David's Tower and the Constable's had been wholly beaten down, and the besiegers effected a lodgment in the Spur. Perishing for want of water, for the well had been choked up by the fall of David's Tower, Kirkaldy capitulated. Of the whole eastern front, from the royal lodging to the southern extremity, it did not appear that any part survived, except the small intermediate tower, now embedded, as it were, in the Half-Moon Battery. The present eastern front was mainly as it was fashioned by the Regent Morton after the siege. The Half-Moon Battery was the principal feature in the renovations, and a considerable work it was for the time, and furnished one of Morton's motives, said several historians, to debase the national coin. Underneath the site of the former Constable's Tower, and designed as a substitute for it, in the modern economy of the fortress, was a strong, square building containing an arched passage, which had one time a portcullis and three hinged gates, and which formerly had a battlemented top, instead of a mean, slated roof as at present. On this the author of the paper had detected certain cognizances of the Regent, which he believed to be those alluded to in a contemporary history as indicating his ambitious character. The memoir concluded with some remarks as to the origin of the name of "*Castrum puellarum*," or Maiden Castle, given by early writers to Edinburgh Castle, a name common to many ancient sites, both in Scotland and England. It had been suggested by the late Mr. Chalmers, of Auldbar, that the derivation was from *Mai-dun*, a fort commanding a wide plain or district.

Lord TALBOT conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Chambers, not only for this memoir, but for the kind services he had so courteously rendered throughout the meeting of the Institute.

The following memoirs were also read :—

"On the Analogy of Scottish and French Baronial Architecture." By J. H. BURTON, Esq.

"On the Genealogy and Succession of the St. Clairs of Roslyn." By ALEXANDER SINCLAIR, Esq.

"On the Houses of Fitz-Alan and Stuart; their Origin and early History." By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A. (Printed in this Volume, p. 333.)

At the close of the meeting, a numerous party proceeded on an excursion to Borthwick Castle, Hawthornden, and Roslin Chapel.

In the evening, a *Conversazione* took place in the Museum of the Institute, and the entire suite of the galleries was brilliantly illuminated for

the occasion. The attendance was very numerous, each person holding a ticket for the meeting being permitted to introduce a friend.

Amongst the distinguished visitors by whose presence the Institute was honoured on this evening, were—their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, the Earl of Southesk, the Earl of Kintore, the Earl of Airlie, the Hon. Lady Ruthven, the Lord Provost and Mrs. Melville, Lord Neaves, Lord Handyside, Lord Curriehill, the Commendatore Canina, Dr. Waagen, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Sir Robert and Lady Arbuthnot.

TUESDAY, July 26.

The Annual Meeting of the Members was held in the rooms of the Royal Society, at nine o'clock. Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding.

The Report of the Auditors for the previous year (printed page 191, *ante*) was read, as also the following Annual Report of the Central Committee, and both were unanimously adopted.

In submitting to the Society the annual review of the progress of the Institute, as also of the results of investigations and efforts for the extension of archaeological knowledge, the Central Committee viewed with renewed pleasure the retrospect of the past year. The influence of the Institute in promoting a taste for the study of archaeology, and the higher appreciation of all vestiges of antiquity and art, has been increasingly evinced.

The friendly correspondence with antiquaries in all parts of the country, and with many provincial archaeological societies, has constantly brought before the meetings of the Institute an ample provision of remarkable facts, and ensured speedy intelligence of the discoveries which have occurred. Whilst, moreover, many new members have joined the ranks of the Society, such communications have often been received from persons not enrolled on its lists. The continued demand for the publications of the Institute, and especially for the Journal, claimed notice, as evincing that their varied and instructive character had proved acceptable to the public at large.

Not only, however, had the last year been marked by friendly co-operation on the part of numerous archaeologists and archaeological societies in our own country. The proceedings of the Institute had excited considerable interest on the Continent; an exchange of publications had gradually been established between various foreign societies and our own. Early in the past year a most gratifying communication was addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France, signifying the desire to establish friendly relations with the Institute, to maintain with our society the mutual communication of all such facts and observations as might tend to throw light on the earlier history of France and England. M. Fortoul proposed at the same time to present to our library the various works produced under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction, and he requested that the Journals of the Institute should henceforth be sent to him, in order that our future researches might be duly noticed in the Bulletins published in France under his direction. The increasing publicity thus given to the proceedings of the Institute cannot fail to produce a very advantageous extension of our relations with foreign lands, and the communication with which we have thus been honoured by the French minister, has doubtless tended to invite attention to the proceedings of our meeting in North Britain, which has been attended by some French *savans*, whose names have long been associated with the progress of archaeological science and of art.

Amongst recent archaeological investigations of special interest, the Committee regarded with renewed gratification the important undertaking achieved by direction of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, in the detailed survey of the Roman Wall. The admirable ichnography executed by Mr. Maclauchlan, who had carefully delineated the features of that remarkable barrier, the camps, earthworks, and military positions, had been produced by his Grace's kind permission at the Shrewsbury meeting. On the present occasion the Society had enjoyed the satisfaction of inspecting the first portions of the survey, reproduced by the aid of lithography from the original drawings: and they had thus received an earnest of the continued liberality of the Duke, in the furtherance of archaeological science, and the assurance that at no distant time this valuable survey, by which so much light must be thrown on the earlier history of the north of England, will be accessible to the numerous students of the vestiges of Roman occupation. The Duke had, with his accustomed gracious liberality, permitted selection to be made amidst the treasures in his museum at Alnwick Castle, to augment the interest and instructive character of the Museum of the Institute formed during the present meeting.

The Committee had viewed also with satisfaction the liberality and good taste shown by the Earl Bathurst, to which allusion had been made in their Report of the previous year. The building erected by that nobleman at Cirencester to form a suitable depository for the reliques of Roman times, the mosaic pavements and other objects discovered on the site of *Corinium*, had been completed, and the removal of the tessellated floors successfully achieved under the direction of Professor Buckman, who had communicated, at one of the London meetings of the Institute, a full report of that difficult operation. (Printed in this Volume, p. 215.)

It had frequently been a cause of complaint, that no public commission for the conservation of national monuments should have been constituted in this country, as in France, and that no control should be available to avert the injuries too frequently caused by caprice or neglect; as also, in suitable occasions, to supply the requisite funds for the preservation of those structures or remains of national interest, for which the protection of the state might justly be claimed. The Committee had received, with the highest satisfaction, the report of Mr. Salvin in regard to the works of restoration at Holy Island, carried out under his direction by authority of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Public Works. During the previous year the attention of the Institute had been called to the neglected state of the Abbey Church of Lindisfarne, and the imminent jeopardy in which those interesting remains, situated on crown lands, actually were. The matter having been subsequently brought under the consideration of the Government, a liberal grant was forthwith made for the requisite repairs, and the work had been entrusted to the skilful hands of Mr. Salvin. Those members of the Institute who might be disposed to combine a pilgrimage to Holy Island with their visit to Edinburgh, on the present occasion, would view with gratification the conservative precautions which had been adopted, and witness the good results of such well-timed liberality on the part of the Government. The Committee could not refrain, also, from the expression of their gratification, in stating the course pursued in regard to the ancient Pharos and Church within the walls of Dover Castle. Complaint having been made at the meeting of the Society in November last, that those interesting remains had been disgracefully desecrated, a memorial had been addressed

to Lord Panmure on the part of the Institute, requesting his consideration of the evil. That appeal had been most courteously received, and Lord Panmure in reply had given the fullest assurance that those venerable structures should henceforth be preserved with suitable care.

The Committee have referred, in their Reports of previous years, to the lively interest and satisfaction with which they viewed the growth of a series of national antiquities in the rooms recently appropriated to that purpose in the British Museum. On former occasions they have been called upon with regret to complain of the remissness of the Trustees on this important point. But they would now, with gratification, advert to the purchase of the instructive Museum of Antiquities collected in the City of London by Mr. C. Roach Smith, which has been ultimately deposited in the National Collection. A more vigilant care and cordial recognition of the value of such collections, as materials tending to illustrate the History, the Arts and Manners of our own country, seem to have marked the proceedings of the Trustees. Frequent acquisitions for the collection in the British Room have been made, and there is reason to hope that our National Antiquities will soon occupy the position which they claim so justly in the great national depository. In making mention, however, of the name of Mr. Roach Smith, in connection with recent proceedings at the British Museum, the Committee, whilst deeply regretting the loss of the "Faussett Collections," of which English antiquaries had so earnestly desired the acquisition for the national depository, could not omit to recognise the important service rendered to English archaeologists in the publication of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*," the original record of the investigations so successfully pursued by the Rev. Bryan Faussett, in forming those collections. That volume, edited with great care and ability by Mr. Roach Smith, from the MS. in possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer, might indeed be regarded as a leading feature in the progress of archaeological science during the past year.

The losses which the Institute has sustained by the deaths of members are less numerous than in some former years. There are, however, some of our earlier and valued friends, now no more, whose names must on this occasion be remembered with sincere regret. At the last visit of the Institute to the northern parts of the realm, the Society received valuable assistance and co-operation from one whose persevering devotion to the cause of historical and antiquarian investigation, for many years, fostered the growth of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, an institution which now pursues its course of intelligent and energetic operation in the Northern Marches, under the encouragement of its noble patron, the Duke of Northumberland. The name of John Adamson, so many years Secretary of that Society, will always be associated with the pleasing recollections of the welcome which the Institute found, in 1852, on the banks of the Tyne. Nor can we recall, with less deep regret, that accomplished and zealous fellow-labourer in another locality, the Rev. William H. Massie, of Chester, who gave the impulse to the formation of an institution in that city, for purposes kindred to our own, and which attained, under his auspices, a position of influential activity in a county so rich in historical recollections, and where the encouragement of intelligent regard for national antiquities is so much to be desired. The friendly interest with which Mr. Massie promoted the success of our proceedings at the last annual meeting in Shrewsbury, will be gratefully remembered by all who had occa-

sion to appreciate his amiable character and attainments. Of another member, who, for many years, has constantly aided our investigations, by his vigilant observation of archaeological discoveries, always imparted to us with friendly readiness, special mention must be made—the late Mr. Allies, formerly resident at Worcester, and an indefatigable collector of all that might illustrate the earlier antiquities of his native county. In 1840 Mr. Allies produced a work, the principal object of which was to throw light upon the vestiges of Roman occupation in Worcestershire, regarded by Nash and other writers as not established to any extent. The results of this inquiry were subsequently extended, in a second edition, in 1852, comprising “The Ancient British, Roman, and Saxon Antiquities and Folk-lore” of that county,—a mass of curious materials thus rescued from oblivion. Amongst other members of influential position, or by whose co-operation at our annual meetings encouragement has been given to the proceedings of the Society, we must name with regret the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle; the Rev. William Walker, Rector of Slingsby, by whom the proceedings of our meeting at York were aided; the Rev. G. J. Cubitt, of Winchester; and Mr. Vernon Utterson, so long known through his extensive acquaintance with our early literature and poetry; we would also make honourable mention of the late Mr. Godfrey Meynell, of Derbyshire; of Sir B. F. Outram; Mr. Joseph Neeld, M.P.; Mr. Orlando Mayor; Mr. Martin, librarian to his Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn; Mr. Lardner, of the British Museum; and of Dr. Nelson Clark, whose friendly assistance at the Oxford meeting claims cordial acknowledgment.

It would be unfitting to close this report without adverting to the auspicious circumstances which have marked the present meeting. The Institute will take leave of this ancient and beautiful capital of Scotland with a grateful sense of the encouragement received from the Lord Provost and municipal authorities, with many other of the most distinguished of its citizens, as also from the learned societies and institutions of Edinburgh, especially the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and their noble President, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Honourable Board of Manufactures, the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, the Royal Society, the Faculty of Advocates, and from many persons of note and influence, whose names are honourably associated with the encouragement of science and art.

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Society nominated to fill the vacancies, were then proposed to the meeting and adopted.

Members retiring from the Committee:—The Hon. W. Fox Strangways, *Vice-President*; R. R. Caton, Esq.; the Rev. J. B. Deane; H. Porteous Oakes, Esq., M.P.; Frederic Ouvry, Esq.; Edward Smirke, Esq.; T. H. Wyatt, Esq. The following gentlemen being elected to fill the vacancies:—The Viscount Holmesdale, *Vice-President*; William Burges, Esq.; Augustus W. Franks, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., British Museum; John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., M.A.; George Nicholson, Esq.; Sir S. M. Peto, Bart., M.P.; Sir Charles Price, Bart.

Lord TALBOT then invited the attention of the members to the choice of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Several invitations had been received or cordially renewed, evincing the friendly interest with which the annual proceedings of the Institute were generally regarded. Amongst the requisitions addressed to the Society on the present occasion, the repeated

assurances of welcome received from the city of Chester, as also from the institutions kindred to their own, established there and at Liverpool, had encouraged, as Lord Talbot believed, a very general wish that the meeting in 1857 should take place at Chester. An unusual attraction to that locality would moreover be presented in the ensuing year by the exhibition of Art-treasures of the United Kingdom, announced to take place at Manchester during the summer of next year. One important feature of that remarkable project was the illustration of the progress of ancient and medieval arts and art-manufactures, on a scale of classification never hitherto contemplated in any country.

The following invitation from the city of Chester, to which the common-seal was appended, was then submitted to the meeting.

"At a monthly meeting of the Council of the City and Borough of Chester, duly convened and holden at the Exchange in the said City and Borough on Friday, the 11th day of July, 1856.

"Resolved—That the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland be requested to hold their Annual Congress for 1857 at Chester."

A very cordial renewal of their former invitation, presented at the Shrewsbury meeting, was likewise received from the Council of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The proposition was unanimously adopted, that the meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Chester.

The proceedings of the meeting of members having thus been brought to a close, the following memoirs were read.

On the Round Towers of Abernethy and Brechin.—By T. A. WYSE, Esq., M.D.

Notices of the Family of the Murrays, of Perdw, in Fifeshire, and of two of their sepulchral memorials, in Dunfermline Abbey.—By W. DOWNING BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.

Account of Excavations made on the site of the ancient city of Panticapæum, in the Crimea, and of the tombs in the neighbourhood of Kertch.—By DUNCAN M'PHERSON, M.D., late Inspector of Hospitals, Turkish Continent. A detailed narrative of these researches, with numerous illustrations representing the antiquities now deposited in the British Museum, will shortly be published.

Mr. A. HENRY RHIND, F.S.A., read a memoir on Megalithic Remains in Malta. Referring to plans, drawings, sections, and some relics recovered from the ruins, Mr. Rhind described the more prominent features of the remains at Hagar Kim and Mnajdra in Malta, and in connection with them incidentally adverted to the "Giant's Tower" in the neighbouring island of Gozzo. For further details he indicated the various existing sources of information,¹ and then proceeded to examine the opinion invariably urged, that these monuments were Phœnician temples. Conceiving that the question of their origin was of very material importance, from the obvious influence which its decision must exert on various channels of research, he would venture to inquire whether in reality it had been accurately determined. In the first place, it would be well to observe in what sense the name "Phœnician temple" was used, for it might be applied in two

¹ Houel, *Voyage Pittoresque*, iv. Della Marmora in *Annales Nouvelles de l'Institut Archæologique*. Admiral Smyth and Mr. Vance in the *Archæologia*, vols. xxii. and xxix. Gerhardt, in the

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akad. der Wissen. zu Berlin, for 1846. The *Malta Magazine* for 1840. Dr. Vassallo, *Monumenti Antichi nel Gruppo di Malta*, &c.

different significations. According to one way a given structure of unknown origin being selected, it might be simply asserted that Phœnicians reared it at a period antedating their recorded works, or according to a fashion not traceable in any extant allusions to their practice; and a statement of this kind would amount only to a convenient mystification similar to that so stubbornly bound up in the common epithet Druidical. The other method was to examine the structure with reference to the various attainable sources of information relating to the people in question, after historic data first reveal them to us, to pronounce accordingly, and so to make use of their name in the only manner which would attach to it a real meaning. There was also the medium course of finding by the latter means germs of identity, or indications of similarity sufficiently marked to refer the structure back to a time when recorded forms were not so fully developed as they subsequently became. With regard to the Maltese ruins the legitimate system, at all events, had been followed; and as it had been the habit to search for specific evidence to ascribe them to the Phœnicians, he proposed to direct attention to the nature of the arguments which had been thus adduced by the various authors already named, and by others whose works were also quoted.

It had been pointed out that the same species of ornament, small circular indentations which cover some of the megaliths in these buildings, was found on vases with Phœnician inscriptions; but as a precisely similar decoration was common on Mexican pottery, was present on a perforated button stone from a so-called "Pict's House" in Caithness, produced to the meeting—in short, was to be met with everywhere, from the Cyclopean Gateway at Messina to the paddles of the Sandwich Islander, no weight could be allowed to the analogy, as this and other simple decorative designs likewise adverted to, were too universal to prove affinity. There was, however, at Hagar Kim, another specimen of ornamentation, sufficiently peculiar to be fairly viewed as characteristic, namely, a plant or tree sculptured on the sides of a very remarkable rectangular pedestal. This figure Mr. Vance averred to be a palm, stating that the discovery of the fact first led him to look to the Phœnicians as the designers; for that tree was emblematical on the coins of Tyre and Sidon.² But Mr. Rhind expressed his inability, after some experience in the region of the palm, to recognise in this sculpture an approximation to the outline of that tree; neither did it seem to him conceivable that any one should have planted it in a species of flower-pot, as it there appeared, and have delineated it in a manner entirely at variance with its real form. Moreover, what was quite as much to the purpose, the Phœnicians did not represent it in any such conventional and inaccurate style, for on their coins³ it stands out in its natural and unmistakable contour.

Again, it had been asserted that certain rude statuettes discovered in Hagar Kim, being seven in number, were effigies of the Cabiri; and accordingly the ruin was declared to have been a temple to that brotherhood, erected by the Phœnicians who worshipped them. It is well known that there is nothing in ancient mythology more uncertain than any definition respecting the Cabiri. Even in Strabo's time the whole question was involved in such confusion that he devotes a long disquisition to show that

² Eckhel *Doctrina Nummorum*, iii., 385.

³ *Gesennii Monumenta Phœnicia*. Tab. 38.

not only their names but their number was very doubtful. Granting, however, as the desired basis, Sanconiatho's statement, that, excluding Esculapius, they were seven, the ingenious speculation in question, which is advanced by Dr. Vassallo, would still fall to the ground; for although he seemed to have perceived feminine characteristics in only two of the figures, Mr. Vance had previously described them all as female, a decision in which the author's examination of them in the Public Library at Valletta, where they are preserved, led him to coincide, and which will not harmonise with any account of the sex of the majority of the Cabiri. Moreover, Dr. Vassallo appeared to have overlooked the actual number of statues brought to light, as a contemporaneous record, the "Malta Magazine" for 1840, gives it as *eight*, and Mr. Vance, who, as having been the finder, must be held as the correct authority, distinctly specifies *nine*.

Another argument had likewise been brought forward, to the effect that these ruins in Malta and Gozzo present in their arrangement a resemblance to the Paphian temple of Venus. But let any one examine the plan of the latter and of one of the former, as given by Gerhardt himself who makes the allegation, and it would be seen that the coincidences are slight and inconclusive, while the discrepancies are so many and so marked, that the result is about as satisfactory as would be a comparison between the Egyptian Temple of Dendera and the Mosque of Omár.

After discussing several others of the more tangible reasons adduced for terming those monuments Phœnician temples, Mr. Rhind concluded by pointing out that it was well to remember there was a more comprehensive method of viewing the question. Even had the alleged resemblances been made out, individual, much more if supposititious, points of contact in cases of this kind were far from conclusive. In short, the reasonable system of criticism had not been followed, of taking into account all, and not fragments of, the existing data which could help us to decide what Phœnician edifices really were or were not. If, then, we set about the inquiry in this manner, and examine the few available sources of information regarding this extraordinary people from the earliest dawn of history until their glory had departed—if, among other facts of an indirect nature, we remember the species of skill which distinguished them as the artificers of Solomon's temple, and the peculiar development thereby evinced—if we recognise any force in the corroborative testimony that Menander and Dios, ancient writers cited by Josephus,⁴ mention the temples to Hercules and Astarte built by Hiram with a roofing of cedar, as towering above what are termed the spacious and magnificent buildings of Tyre—if we give any weight to the narrative of a native of Spain, Silius Italicus,⁵ descriptive of the brilliant decorations admired by Hannibal in the shrine at Cadiz, said to have been the original structure raised by the Phœnicians on the first establishment of their colony, at least 1100 years B.C.—if, above all, we note the architectural subjects on Phœnician coins regarded as representations of sacred fanes, we shall unquestionably find that any idea we can on these and other grounds form of Phœnician temples, will in no sort or degree be realised by the Maltese megalithic remains.

It was, as before implied, entirely another question whether in times so remote as to be unrevealed to us, the Phœnicians might not, in keeping

⁴ Antiq. viii. 2, and apud eund. Cont. Apion, lib. ii., cited in *Ancient Universal Hist.* ii. 5.

⁵ Lib. iii.

with their then mode of architecture, have reared the fabrics in question. Neither did it bear upon the discussion that the erection of megaliths was at one period undoubtedly practised in the East, and that even in or near the territory once possessed by that race, a circle of rude stones still stands. For, granting that Phœnicians in primordial ages, when unknown to us by that or any other name, followed very different forms in the structure of their temples from those which they employed in historical times, it would not be the way to throw light upon the subject, to attempt an identification by misapplying to the old order of things, which must be at best only an ethnographical speculation, evidence relating to the new which has the more definite basis of recorded facts. Indeed, such an anomalous method would produce a degree of confusion hardly less complete than if, some hundreds of years hence, supposing the architectural results of modern civilisation, and the vestiges of semi-barbaric antiquity to be then alike in ruins, an inquirer of the period possessing only a few scattered allusions to Gothic edifices, were to apply odds and ends of these to the monoliths on Salisbury Plain, and decide that Stonehenge was the remnant of an English Cathedral.

The author hoped on another occasion to review the analogies or discrepancies which, as compared with ancient relics elsewhere, the Maltese remains exhibit, and so to deduce from them at least something of archaeological significance; but he expected to be better able to enter into this general discussion after a contemplated examination of certain monuments in other islands of the Mediterranean.

A memoir was also read, communicated by Mr. BARNARD DAVIS, F.S.A. On some of the Bearings of Ethnology upon Archaeological Science. (Printed in this volume, p. 315.)

The following communications were likewise received:—

Notes on Masons' Marks, preserved among the operative masons of Scotland. By ANDREW KERR, Esq., of H.M. Board of Works: with notices of similar marks occurring at Holyrood Chapel, communicated by DAVID LAING, Esq.

Observations on ancient Tenure Horns. By WESTON S. WALFORD, Esq., F.S.A.

Notice of a sculptured monument inscribed with Runes, recently found built into the church tower at Kirk Braddan, in the Isle of Man. By the Rev. J. G. CUMMING, M.A., F.G.S., of Lichfield. A cast from this curious fragment was sent for exhibition in the Museum of the Institute. A detailed work on the Runic and other monumental remains in the Isle of Man, has been announced for publication by Mr. Cumming.*

The Roman inscriptions existing on the rocks at Coome Crag, Cumberland. By the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN.

The noble president then announced that the proceedings of the meeting being concluded, the agreeable duty devolved upon him to express the hearty thanks of the Society to the numerous friends and public bodies by whom they had been so graciously received. Lord Talbot adverted especially to the kind facilities afforded to the Institute by the Royal Society, in whose rooms they were then assembled; by the Hon. the Board of Manufactures, also, through whose approval, with the sanction of the Lords Commissioners

* This volume will comprise illustrated notices of thirty-six sculptured crosses; some of which are elaborately sculptured.

Subscribers' names are received by Mr. Lomax, Lichfield. The price will be 12s. 6d.

of Her Majesty's Treasury, every facility had been granted at the National Gallery for the purposes of the temporary museum. Their cordial thanks were justly claimed by those who had so liberally sent the valuable objects or antiquities in their possession, to enhance the instructive character and historical interest of that attractive collection; and amongst those who had conferred such favour on the Institute, their grateful acknowledgment was especially due to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, to the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl Morton, with numerous contributors to the Museum, who had freely confided the treasures in their possession; whilst the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and various provincial institutions, at Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Cupar, Peterhead, Inverness, Kelso, and Montrose, had with most friendly consideration placed at the disposal of the Institute the antiquities preserved in their respective museums. On no former occasion had so extensive and remarkable a combination been presented to the archaeologist, of the vestiges of the ancient races by which North Britain had been peopled. To the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, Lord Talbot desired also to express the warm thanks of the Institute, regretting that the project at one period entertained by the Academy, in regard to the formation of an exhibition of Scottish Historical Portraits, had not been realised. He hoped that so interesting an object might be successfully achieved on some future occasion. To those who had taken part in the proceedings of the Sections, their thanks would be unanimously rendered, and not only to old and tried friends of the Society, —Dr. Whewell, Dr. Guest, Mr. Kemble, and many whom he had here met with gratification, but to those who had now first joined their ranks—to Lord Neaves, Professor Innes, Mr. Robert Chambers, Professor Simpson, Mr. Napier, Mr. Burton, and more especially to Mr. Rhind, who had so indefatigably exerted his influence to arouse, in favour of the Institute, the sympathies of antiquaries and of scientific institutions throughout Scotland. To none, however, were they more indebted for that ample measure of kindred interest and hearty co-operation in their cause, by which the gratification and success of the previous week had been insured, than to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—to Mr. John Stuart, their secretary; to their treasurer, Mr. Johnston, to Mr. Robertson, Mr. David Laing, Mr. Boyle, and other influential supporters of that Institution. No small part of the friendly consideration with which the Institute had been welcomed, had arisen from the fact that the Society of Antiquaries had won, in Edinburgh, more than merely local renown, through the attainments of such men as Daniel Wilson and Patrick Chalmers—of those, likewise, who now so honourably promoted the cause of historical and archaeological research. Lord Talbot concluded by presenting to the Museum of that Society an extensive series of models, exemplifying all the rare or peculiar types of the earlier antiquities of Ireland, as a small mark of his obligation for the zeal and goodwill which the Antiquaries of Scotland had evinced in giving their valuable assistance towards the extension of the archaeological series in the Dublin exhibition in 1852.

Mr. STUART, on behalf of the Society, returned their thanks for such a valuable acquisition; and after a very gratifying expression from Lord HANDYSIDE, of the satisfaction with which the visit of Lord TALBOT and the members of the Institute to Edinburgh would be long remembered, the meeting concluded.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the meeting, and the general purposes of the Institute. The Town Council of Edinburgh, 50*l.*; the Royal Academy, 50*l.*; the Lord Provost, 5*l.*; the Marquis of Breadalbane, 20*l.*; the Duke of Buccleugh, 5*l.*; the Duke of Roxburghe, 5*l.*; Lord Murray, 5*l.*; Lord Handyside, 5*l.*; Lord Neaves, 3*l.*; the Right Rev. Bishop Terrot, 2*l.*; Hon. B. F. Primrose, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Sir James Ramsay, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir John Maxwell, Bart., 10*l.* 10*s.*; Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir R. K. Arbuthnot, Bart., 2*l.* 2*s.*; the Solicitor General, 5*l.*; Sir W. Johnston, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Sir John Watson Gordon, 2*l.* 2*s.*; the Dean of Faculty, 3*l.* 3*s.*; F. Abbot, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. W. Adam, 1*l.* 1*s.*; the Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. H. Burton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Adam Black, Esq., M.P., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. John Brown, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. T. Boyle, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; David Bryce, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. G. Burt, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Robert Cox, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Sir W. Gibson Craig, Bart., 5*l.*; J. T. Gibson Craig, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; Robert Chambers, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Alex. Christie, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Clarke, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; David Cousin, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Charles Cowan, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; Sir H. Dryden, Bart., 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Dundas, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Baillie Brown Douglas, 3*l.*; Barron Graham, Esq., 3*l.*; E. S. Gordon, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Fraser, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., Master of Caius College, 5*l.*; G. Harvey, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. Horne, Esq., 5*l.*; Baillie Hill, 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. O. Hill, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Cosmo Innes, Esq., 3*l.* 3*s.*; T. B. Johnston, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; David Laing, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. Miller, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Professor More, 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. K. Mackenzie, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. MacLagan, Esq. M.D., 1*l.* 1*s.*; D. McLaren, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; David Muir, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; W. H. Hay Newton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mark Napier, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; George Patton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; J. Noel Paton, Esq., R.S.A., 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. H. Rhind, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; G. B. Robertson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Joseph Robertson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; George Seton, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. M. Smith, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. Dr. Stevenson, 3*l.*; John Stuart, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Professor Swinton, 2*l.*; John Thomson, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Professor Simpson, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Rev. J. M. Traherne, 2*l.*; George Traill, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; Major-General Yule, 2*l.*

Monthly London Meeting.

November 7th, 1856.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq., M.A., in the Chair.

A communication from the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings was read, accompanying the present of a copy [of the "Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, the late House of Commons, drawn from actual survey and admeasurements, made by direction of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Works, accompanied by observations on the original and perfect state of the Building." The official letter stated that "the drawings, comprising the plans, elevations, and sections, with their various architectural details, were executed by direction of the Government, after the fire of the Houses of Parliament, for the purpose either of restoration, or for the preservation of a memorial of that interesting building. As the First Commissioner considers this work to be of a nature

which cannot fail to afford interest to the antiquarian, the architect, and the public at large, he has much pleasure in placing it at your disposal, with a view to it being deposited in the library of the Archaeological Institute."

A special vote of thanks was directed to be recorded for this valuable present.⁷

Mr. KEMBLE gave some account of excavations at Mereworth Castle, in Kent, the seat of Viscount Falmouth. This noble mansion was erected in the first half of the XVIIIth century by John Earl of Westmorland, from the plans of an Italian artist, upon the site of an earlier structure. In the course of last year, during some alterations of the park, a few hundred yards from the house, the labourers discovered several pieces of ancient pottery, flanged tile, and much oxydated iron. As this pottery, upon examination, appeared to be Roman, a further investigation was made in the month of October in this year. The examination of the ground in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the sherds had been discovered, made it probable that it was the site of an ancient barrow, which had probably been levelled during Lord Westmorland's works, partly by cutting down the barrow itself, partly by raising the adjacent ground, the house itself having been surrounded by a moat. A trench was therefore driven in the usual direction, and the workmen almost immediately came upon a stone structure, similar in every respect to those which we find in the circumference of the Saxon barrows in Germany, viz., a low wall of loose stones, about three feet thick, and two or three courses high. Proceeding towards what was presumed to have been the centre, they found considerable quantities of a black substance, which might be charcoal or lignite, the result of decomposed wood, and several large iron nails of a kind well known to archaeologists. Together with these were an iron pin about four inches long, and several sherds, of which hereafter. The earth at this point was much mixed and darkened, and it was easy to follow the different strata. As the trench, which was about four feet deep, advanced, a heap or cairn of small stones was found, in and about which were numerous pieces of charcoal—not lignite,—and which, on being removed, disclosed a great number of fragments of pottery of very various kinds. The inclement weather prevented his continuing the excavations at that time, but a few days later, Lord Falmouth having again set his labourers at work upon a part of the ground still closer to the site of the first discovery, exhumed several flat tiles, which appear to be Roman, some fragments of pottery of a very curious description, and one large brass of one of the Antonines, probably M. Aurelius, in an extremely worn condition, indeed, almost unrecognisable. This lay between two of the tiles, and near it was a fragment of Samian ware, with the scallop pattern, also very much worn at the edges. Unburnt bones of some animal, perhaps swine, were also remarked. Some of the fragments of pottery were exhibited by Mr. Kemble. A portion of them were unmistakeably Roman, comprising portions of very fine Samian ware; but there were several large fragments which the student recognises at once as Saxon; and among the portions of iron discovered, was a small socketed bill-hook, which has every characteristic of Saxon manufacture. It is obvious that a very interesting interment has here been

⁷ This sumptuous volume, in Atlas folio, comprises plates, from careful drawings by Mackenzie, one of which gives a res-

toration of this highly interesting structure.

discovered, which will probably throw a good deal of light upon some disputed points with regard to the Roman occupation of West Kent, and the localities of some of their stations. Mr. Kemble reserved, however, all further observations upon these points till the excavation, which it is Lord Falmouth's intention to renew at a more favourable season, shall have been carried to a greater extent.

Mr. Kemble also gave some details of an excavation made by the Rev. L. B. Larking and himself on the site of the cromlech or stone kist called "The Adcombe" or "Coldrum" Stones in Kent, with the adjoining magnificent stone circle, and exhibited specimens of the pottery exhumed by them, some of which was undoubtedly of Saxon manufacture. He pointed out the significance of the name, derived from Anglo-Sax.—*ád, a funeral pile*, and the coincidence between Surrey and Kent, in both of which counties, side by side, are found Ádes cumb and Ádinga tún. We do not give any further details, however, at present, as the excavations will be resumed next year, and Mr. Kemble will then enter into a close examination of the results obtained, and the important archaeological and ethnographical conclusions to which they have led.

The Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland, communicated the following observations on Roman Inscriptions on Coome (or Combe) Crag, Cumberland:—

"The romantic rocks, called Coome Crag, are situated on the margin of the river Irthing, about two miles west from the station called Amboglanna (now Birdswald), on the Roman Wall, and about a quarter of a mile on the south side of North Wall and Vallum. They are chiefly remarkable for a Roman inscription, which, as I venture to read it, may perhaps be allowed to have some importance in the controversy respecting the authorship of the Great Barrier.

"The Lysons, in their 'History of Cumberland,' direct attention to this inscription, of which they offer the following reading:—

S E V E R V S

A I

V

"They say—'the name Severus may have been intended for that of the Emperor Septimius Severus, the builder of the Roman Wall, or of Alexander Severus, in whose reign considerable buildings and repairs appear to have been carried on at the northern stations.' Other antiquaries have visited these Crag, and appear generally to have partially adopted the reading of the Lysons—namely, Severus Alexander.*

"Having had opportunities of inspecting this important inscription, and correcting my views of it by careful rubbings, I venture to lay before the Institute a reading totally at variance with that given by the Lysons and other antiquaries. I also send for examination full-sized tracings (from the rubbings) of the letters of this, and of some other inscriptions which I have discovered on the face of these Crag. The double lines show where the letters are still distinct and visible; the double-dotted lines where the letters, or parts of letters, are not so plain, but where traces may still be seen and felt by careful examination; the single-dotted lines represent those parts where there are no decided traces or vestiges now remaining. The letters appear to have

* Mention is made of these crags by Dr. Bruce, Roman Wall, pp. 63, 258.

He suggests the reading of the chief inscription—SEVERUS ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS.

been cut very deep at first, and pitted with the point of the pick, and thus some parts of the letters would probably be shallower than the others. These shallower parts have probably been obliterated by the corroding effects of time and the weather—the deeper-cut parts only being left. In consequence of the uneven face of the Crag the rains may have taken into those letters which are now remaining, as channels, and may thus have had the effect of wearing and keeping them deeper.

“The chief inscription consists of three lines, and I venture to suggest that it may be read thus (see wood-cut)—L. SEP. SEVERVS (for Lucius Septimius Severus) IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS.

“The lower part of the letter L, for Lucius, is traceable, but the upper part is gone. The second letter is very evidently an S. The third letter has no marks on the right side of the upright stroke so as to make the letter E, as supposed by the Lysons, while the lower part of the loop of the letter P is distinct and pointing upwards, the top of the loop being quite gone—the lowest side-mark on the left side is also distinct (but probably only a very small part of it is now left), and there is also a trace of the middle side-mark, so as to make the tied letters EP; and thus we have the letters SEP for SEPTIMIUS.

“There appears to be room between my third and fifth letters for the letter S only, of the beginning and end of which we find traces. The letter V is as evident as any letter on the rock, although the Lysons do not copy it correctly: and there are good traces of the side-marks so as to make the tied-letters EV. The same may be observed of the next letter, which may be read ER. The letters V and S cannot be mistaken, Thus we obtain the word SEVERUS. The Lysons read the first line as SEVERUS only, either overlooking the V, or misplacing the letters V and E. Now the letter V in the word Severus is one of the most distinct letters in the whole word—in fact, one of the first to catch the eye on the discovery of the inscription, and it is almost impossible to imagine how any mistake could have occurred respecting this letter. It is also quite evident from the tracing of the letters that the doubtful space between my letters P and V is not sufficient to contain the two separate letters V and E. The only letter which is not fully traceable is the first S in my word ‘Severus,’ and that one letter is sufficient to fill up the entire space. With the exception of some slight abrasions the other letters are all sufficiently manifest. If we suppose this line to have contained the word ‘Severus’ only, then it must have been spelt ‘Seevrus’ instead of ‘Severus’—a blunder to which it is difficult to reconcile our notions of Roman inscriptions.

“In the second line the letter I is traceable, and has a pick-hole near the top deeper than the other part of it. In the second letter M the first stroke is traceable, while the last two strokes are very distinct, although supposed by the Lysons to be the letter A. The third letter is evidently the letter P, having the upright stroke perfect, and also the lower part of the loop, with a good trace of the remainder. There is no trace whatever of any mark on the right side of the upright stroke of this letter, either diverging at right angles from the bottom, or pointing downwards from any point higher up, so as to form the letter L in Alexander. The stem of the T,

L SPSEVRVS
I MPATOR

M EVSTVS

and the left side of the O, are distinct enough, and so is the terminating side of the R. The remaining marks and traces of this line are sufficient to indicate the word 'Imperator.' The face of the rock shows that there could not be space enough for the word 'Alexander.'

"In the third line we find only slight and partial traces of the tied-letters A and V. The principal part of the second letter is clear, and was not an unusual form of the letter G, but reversed. The remaining letters are good. The letters in this line are much smaller than in the two preceding lines. The word is undoubtedly 'AUGUSTUS.'

"Having thus attempted to show that the chief inscription ought to be read 'Lucius Septimius Severus Imperator Augustus,' and not 'Severus Alexander Augustus;' I shall now proceed to notice the other inscriptions on these crags. I believe I am correct in stating that no explanation has been hitherto offered of these inscriptions, and that some of them have not been previously discovered.

"About fifteen inches above the 'Severus' inscription are the traces of some letters, some perfect and some not visible, which I venture to read as the word MATHERIANUS. (See woodcut.)

"My reason for reading these letters as Matherianus is simply this: About four yards on the south side of the 'Severus' inscription, on the same face of the rock, and almost close to the ground, I found the same word in clear and perfect letters. (See woodcut.) This word is very satisfactory, and admits of no doubt, the only imperfect part being the side loops of the tied-letters E and R, of which however there are traces. It is probably as perfect as any Roman inscription now in existence. The face of the crag slopes inwards, and rather projects above it, and to this cause we are probably indebted for its excellent preservation. The name 'Materianus' occurs in 'Spartian's Life of Severus,' in the list of persons put to death by the Emperor, soon after his accession, and hence we may infer that such a name was in use among the Romans at that time.

"About five yards on the north side of the 'Severus' inscription are the letters DE very well defined, and about two feet below these letters we find nearly the whole of the word AUGUSTUS, some parts of the letters being about half an inch in depth.

About a yard on the north side of the word 'Augustus' are marks and traces of letters, which appear to be centurial, and which, I think, may not improperly be read as follows—C.LAEG.VI.C. or CENTURIO LEGIONIS SEXTÆ CENTURIO, i. e., the centurion of the Sixth Legion. The centurial mark C, reversed, both precedes and follows the name of the Legion. The reversion of the letter C is noticed by Heinesius, pp. 55, 722. Instances are also given in Camden, and elsewhere. On this rock we have also examples of the reversion of the letter G.

"On a part of the rock, a little distance above this centurial line, we may perceive traces of letters, which however may be pronounced to be now illegible.

"These inscriptions (thus read), when viewed in connection with an inscription, found at the distance of only a few miles, in an ancient quarry on Haltwhistle Fell,⁹ in the immediate vicinity of the Wall, where the Sixth Legion was also recorded, raise a probability that this part of the Wall was built by the Sixth Legion: and these inscriptions, when viewed in connection with the inscription on the Gelt Rocks,¹ where reference is also made to the time of Severus, raise another, and apparently a very strong probability, that the Wall was built by Severus. I would observe, however, that whether these crags were actually used in building the Roman Wall, or in repairing it, or for some other purpose, must be now merely a matter of opinion."

Mr. JAMES CARRUTHERS, of Belfast, sent the following notice of a supposed discovery of Roman Remains in Ireland. The rare occurrence of any reliques of that age in Ireland, gives an additional interest to any discovery which may appear to present such vestiges, whilst at the same time it renders the careful investigation of their claim to be regarded as of Roman date the more indispensable.

"About five years ago, a man who lives in the townland of Loughy, near Donaghadee, county of Down, Ireland, when moulding potatoes in his field, being obliged to remove some of the subsoil, observed a quantity of black earth in a hole about two feet deep, which, on examination, was found to contain a large number of beads of various sizes, several armillæ, many articles of bronze, a brass coin, and the bowl of a very small spoon.

"A few months ago, the following portion of this discovery came into my possession:—a pair of bronze tweezers, a bronze fibula (similar to one in Plate XLI., Vol. I. of C. R. Smith's 'Collectanea Antiqua'), two bronze finger rings, one spiral and the other plain; a little bar of bronze, about the thickness of a straw, an inch and a-half long, having a small knob at each end: it is quite perfect, and has not the appearance of being a portion of any other article—I cannot imagine what its use could have been; the bowl of a very small spoon, apparently made of base metal, and very much decomposed; one hundred and fifty-two glass beads, blue, green, purple, yellow, semi-transparent white, displaying beautifully-executed spiral ornaments in yellow enamel, and a small one in amber: one of the



Beads of glass and amber, with reliques of bronze, found in Co. Down.

Scale, one-half.

⁹ Bruce's Roman Wall, p. 63. This inscription has been wantonly destroyed.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

purple beads is ornamented with three small yellow knobs, placed at right angles; two armillæ, one made of purple glass, which, from its appearance, evidently had been cast in a mould, the other is of Kimmeridge shale; they are of a small size, being only two inches and three-quarters each in diameter.

"Mr. C. R. Smith, in his 'Collectanea Antiqua,' Vol. III., page 35, gives a valuable and interesting account of the manufacture of shale bracelets and beads, in the following words:—'The bracelets and beads, formed of the so-called Kimmeridge coal, are particularly interesting, as specimens of a native manufacture, which has only been discovered, or rather understood, of late years. Circular pieces of bituminous shale, found almost or quite exclusively in the bays of Kimmeridge and Worthbarrow, in Dorsetshire, and commonly called 'Kimmeridge coal money,' have been long known and collected, but their origin for some time remained unsuspected. Mr. W. A. Miles attributed them to the Phœnicians, who, he imagined, 'made and used them as representatives of coin, and for some mystical use in sacrificial or sepulchral rites.' The late Mr. J. Sydenham was happier in his explanation, and proved not only that there was nothing mystical about them, but that they were the rejected portions of pieces of shale, which had been turned in the lathe by the Romans, who occupied the district, for making bracelets. In a paper read at the meeting of the British Archaeological Association, at Canterbury, Mr. Sydenham entered at length into the subject, and set the question at rest. Of the waste pieces thrown out of the lathe as the refuse nuclei of rings, large quantities are found beneath the pastures of the Purbeck district. There is an extensive bed of the material on that part of the Dorsetshire coast, and it appears to extend a considerable distance, and a vein of it was pointed out to me by Mr. C. Hall, on his land at Ansty. The Kimmeridge shale seems to have been extensively worked by the Romans, and manufactured, not only for personal ornaments, but also for various other purposes. Professor Henslow discovered an urn formed of it, and Mr. C. Hall possesses a leg of a stool, carved in the same material.'

"Having visited the finder a few days ago, for the purpose of obtaining all the information possible regarding the discovery, I learned that the grave contained, in addition to what came into my possession, a bronze needle, about four inches long; a number of large amber beads, which were carried away by the neighbours, who had assembled on hearing of the discovery; several glass and shale armlets, which were broken while removing the earth from the grave.

"I was anxious to ascertain if there had been a coin with the remains, as I expected a Roman one. I asked the indirect question, 'Did you observe a coin like a half-penny?' The man replied, 'No, but that he found one a little larger than a farthing, but much thicker, and so yellow that he thought it gold; but, on sending it to be examined by a chemist in Newtownards, it was pronounced brass.' I have no doubt it was second brass of the upper Roman empire. The discovery of this coin in the grave seems to prove that the interment was Roman. I made inquiry if there had been either glass or pottery, such as a lachrymatory or urn, found with the remains, but none had been discovered.

"It is a difficult matter to assign a cause for a Roman interment in Ireland, as that people never had a settlement here. It is not improbable that

the deceased had been voyaging past the county Down, and had either died unexpectedly on board, or in a fit of sickness, after having been removed on shore. In the latter case, the locality where the grave was discovered, from its sheltered situation, would have been most suitable for an invalid."

By the kindness of the Council of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, we are enabled to place before our readers the accompanying representation of some of these reliques, from a drawing by Miss Carruthers. It will be observed that apparently nothing distinctive of Roman character is found in these curious objects, which seem rather to be cognate with ornaments such as commonly occur in this country with remains of the Anglo-Saxon age.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, V.P., described the results of his recent explorations at Chesterford, in a field between the wall of the station and the river Cam, where he had been led to suppose that an ancient cemetery had existed. Some interments had been brought to light; in one instance a coin of Constantine was found close to the skull, possibly deposited as a *Naulum* for the transit of the Styx. Two days previously to the meeting, a small low wall was found, alongside of which lay the remains of five infants; no other traces of buildings being noticed near the spot. Mr. Neville had found low walls apparently of similar character, with cinerary urns deposited adjacent to them, at Linton and Icklingham, and he desired to invite attention to the occurrence of such constructions of masonry in cemeteries of the Roman period, with the kind promise that at the next meeting he would give a more detailed account of his late excavations at *Icianum*.

The Rev. J. H. HARWOOD HILL, Rector of Cranoe, Leicestershire, sent an account of the discovery of Roman reliques in the parish of Hallaton, in that county, upon the property of N. Simkin, Esq. The deposit, supposed to have been of a sepulchral character, was found in draining and ploughing up a piece of green sward, which had been previously under the plough; the remains were found at the depth of about two feet in cutting the drain, and were unfortunately much broken in taking them out, and still more through the ignorance of the labourers, by whom the vases were broken in pieces in search of money. Mr. Hill sent sketches of the various objects discovered, comprising a skilnet or *trulla* of bronze, the handle perforated with a trefoil for suspension, in this vessel were found bones, with some kind of unguent; fragments of bronze vessels, in very mutilated condition, one of them being the upper portion of a *præfericulum* or jug, of fine workmanship, with a band of foliated ornaments round the neck; a portion of a bronze ladle, as supposed, in very imperfect state; a handle of a vessel, with the figure of a youth dancing, and the straight, reeded, handle of a *patera*, of the same metal, terminating in a ram's head. Of glass, there were found the handle and the long neck of a bottle of deep violet-coloured glass, similar probably to that found in one of the Bartlow tumuli, (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. ii. fig. i.)² four small *unguentaria*, of the kind usually designated as lachrymatories, and of light green colour, and a ribbed dish of the same colour, broken into many fragments. Of fictile ware, there were several portions of "Samian," comprising, when put together, a dish and two small cups of the ordinary forms, such as

² Compare also the glass vessel found at Litlington, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pl. xlv. fig. v.

were found in the Bartlow tumuli and elsewhere.³ In their general character, indeed, these various reliques, the mutilated remains of vessels of great beauty, closely resemble the objects discovered in those Roman tombs, as also at Shefford, Bedfordshire, and at Topesfield, Essex.⁴ It is remarkable that in all these deposits the bronze handle of the *patera* occurred terminating in the head of an animal, being in the discovery last mentioned, that of a lion; at Bartlow the perfect vessel was found, with the ram's head and reeded handle, similar to the fragment described by Mr. Hill. Of the bronze skillet, the only vessel in the deposit at Hallaton, which was preserved entire, examples have frequently occurred. Two, found in Arnagill, Yorkshire, have been figured in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 47. References to other examples may be found in the Museum Catalogue, Transactions of the Institute at the York Meeting, p. 10. The site of the discovery described by Mr. Hill is a commanding position on the flank of a steep ascent facing the south, where two ancient roads seem to have intersected one another. The space occupied by the remains was about 5 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in.; there was no indication of a barrow, but the deposit had evidently been placed in a cist of wood, and was probably sepulchral. Before the enclosure of Hallaton parish, an ancient road, the remains of which are clearly seen, passed close to the spot; it was the nearest way from Medbourne, a Roman station on the *Via Devana*, to Burrow Hill, on which are vestiges of an extensive encampment. There are also traces of entrenchments on all the highest hills between those places; a few hundred yards from the spot where the reliques were found there is an encampment, on a hill called Ram's Head, where a few years since other antiquities were brought to light, in forming plantations on Lord Berners' property in the parish of Keythorpe. Mr. Hill sent also sketches of three sculptured coffin-slabs found a few months previously at Hallaton, in the churchyard.

Mr. JOSEPH FAIRLESS, of Hexham, communicated the following note of an ancient interment found near that town. About the close of August, in the present year, in a deep cutting through dry gravel for the works of the Border Counties Railway, a little north of the confluence of the Tyne, the workmen came upon a stone cist, containing a male human skeleton, the lower extremities doubled up, with an urn of common type, measuring about 5 inches in height, and faintly scored with a lozengy pattern; it contained some carbonised mould or ashes. The grave was formed of flat stones placed edgeways at the sides, top and bottom, and covered by a large slab, about 5 ft. in length, and 8 inches thick. The internal dimensions of the cist were, length, 42 in.; breadth, 24 in.; depth, 18 in. A small cup or *patera* was found near it, similar in form to those discovered at Harpenden, Herts, in 1844, as described in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 254. The doubling up of the body, its position north and south, the inclination to the right side, and the arms crossed over the breast, with the presence also of a small urn containing ashes, indicating possibly partial cremation, are features of interest in regard to the period of this interment.

The Rev. EDWARD THOLLOPE sent a notice of an extensive discovery of sepulchral urns, of the Anglo-Saxon period, in Lincolnshire. They appear to be of the same age and fashion as the urns disinterred by

³ Similar cups of Samian occurred in the deposit at Topesfield, Essex, *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. pl. v.

⁴ Brayley's *Graphic Illustrator*, pp. 344, 378. *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 24.

Mr. Neville at Little Wilbraham, and other examples from Anglo-Saxon graves.

"A few months ago, in the process of working a sand-pit in the parish of South Willingham, Lincolnshire, the labourers suddenly brought to view a number of cinerary earthen vases. Some of these were broken, but I have the pleasure of forwarding for your inspection correct drawings of three of them, two of yellow, and one of dark-grey clay. They are now in the possession of G. F. Heneage, Esq., of Hainton Hall, the owner of the sand-pit. An old Roman road from Caistor to Horncastle passes through South Willingham parish about half a mile from the spot where the urns were found, but it has evidently no connexion with them."

The Rev. JAMES RAINE, jun., sent a notice of the use of a magical crystal, for the purpose of recovering stolen goods, in the XVth century. (Printed in this volume, p. 372.)

Mr. SALVIN reported that the works of restoration at Holy Island having been successfully carried out, through the grant liberally devoted to the purpose by the Government, as stated by him at a previous meeting (see p. 283 *ante*), it had been found requisite to form a protecting fence around the ruins. A further sum having been appropriated to the purpose, H.M. Commissioners of Public Works sanctioned the construction of a sunk fence on the north and east sides of the church; in making this, a leaden plate had been found outside, near the east end, recording the removal of the remains of three of the monks, in 1215, "*ab orto monachorum*." Two stone coffins were found at no great distance. Mr. Salvin produced a ground-plan of the ruins, with sections and elevations of the buildings in their present state, showing the portions lately restored under his directions.

Mr. GEORGE GRAZEBROOK communicated a proposition for the renewal of Heraldic Visitations through the medium of the Assessed Tax Papers; proposing that they should be accompanied, for one year, by a separate leaf with suitable heading, and that each householder, entitled to arms, be requested to insert a description or sketch of his armorial bearings, with any particulars regarding his descent, or the origin of his family. These returns to be collected, and systematically arranged.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER presented two arrow-heads of flint, as specimens of the manufacture of imitative reliques of that description practised in the neighbourhood of Whitby. He observed—"I should like it to be generally known that they can be purchased at Whitby near the church, and that most of them are made by a man who resides, or used to reside, at Fylingdales, close to Robin Hood's Bay. Many of these shameful forgeries have a dusty or earthy appearance well calculated to deceive the unwary. This, as I understood, is caused by their being boiled in mud, and then dried, when the mud adheres to all the inequalities of the surface. These flint forgeries have been made in very large quantities. Amongst others, I was offered a flint fish-hook. Those I send were given to me. I have now little doubt but that the flint weapons I sent last year for exhibition are spurious." (See p. 85, *ante*.) It will be remembered that the Institute had received a similar caution from Lord Londesborough in regard to the Yorkshire fabrications (p. 105, *ante*).

By Mr. HENRY J. ADEANE.—A bronze *lituus*, as supposed, or augur's staff,

lately obtained at Rome. The lituus is frequently represented on ancient works of art, but it is remarkable that no original example has hitherto, it is believed, been found. Possibly the material employed was perishable. Cicero describes it as "*inflexum bacillum*," and Livy as "*baculum aduncum*." The object exhibited may have been formed of ancient fragments of bronze, destined for certain purposes unconnected with the purpose they now suggest; it seems desirable to call attention to the subject in order to invite inquiry as to the existence of any remains of the *lituus* in continental collections, or any precise indication regarding the material customarily used.

By Mr. G. R. WARDLAW RAMSAY.—Two bronze socketed celts in remarkably fine preservation. They were found on his property at Tillycultry, a village situated at the foot of the Ochil hills, about ten miles from Stirling. They lay at about the depth of ten feet, one of them embedded in moss, but in a sandy soil; the other, a specimen with very highly-polished patina, in a bed of green sand, which possibly had been the cause of its perfect condition. It is of a type usually occurring in the southern parts of England, at Kingston, in the bed of the Thames, &c. The sides are ornamented with raised lines, and circles, in similar manner as the celt figured in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 328, fig. 8, but in different arrangement. Compare another socketed celt, with more simple ornamentation, of the same kind, figured in Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 257.

By Mr. G. P. MINTY, of Petersfield.—A bow formed of the horn of an animal, well polished. It resembles in form the ancient Grecian bows, having a double curvature, probably caused by their being constructed of two curved horns united together at the handle, like the bow of the Lycian Pandarus, described by Homer.⁵ It was stated to have been found in the Cambridgeshire fens, between Waterbeach and Ely, some years since, when it came into Mr. Minty's possession through his relative, Professor Miller, of Cambridge. Its length, when complete, was 42½ inches; it was formed of a single horn, and one end, being the part where the horn had joined the skull, has been broken off.⁶ On Trajan's column the Dacians and Sarmatians are represented using bows of the same form, as are also German warriors on the Antonine column. On Roman sculptures in England it occurs on an altar found at Corbridge (Horsley, No. cv.); Rob of Risingham appears to have held a bow of the same fashion, and it appears on a sculpture formerly at Housesteads (Bruce, Roman Wall, pl. xiii.). It has been suggested, considering the great durability of horn, that there is no improbability in the supposition that this bow may have been brought to Britain by some soldier in the service of Rome, and lost in the fens, in which so many Roman relics are found. Mr. Kemble remarked that the "*horn-boga*," or bow of horn, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf and other writings of that period.

Mr. MINTY produced also a large ovoidal pebble of great weight, supposed to be of chert (?), found about 3 feet deep on the side of a tumulus lately in part destroyed on Petersfield Heath. There were several other tumuli, recently removed, but nothing had been discovered with the ex-

⁵ Representations of the Grecian bow, of the double curved form, may be seen in Hope's Costume of the Ancients, pl. 22, 124, 135, 139, 148. Compare also the Parthian, pl. 13.

⁶ See the abstract of an interesting memoir, by Dr. Buist, on the Seythian Bows and Bows of the Ancients, compared with those of India. Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. i. p. 237.

ception of this stone, which attracted attention, as no pebbles of the same kind occur in the neighbourhood; it was supposed, from its regular form and well-polished surface, to be artificial, and the finder had demanded a large price for it.⁷ It measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and is evidently a natural water-worn pebble, which may have been deposited in the tumulus, through some superstitious notion, or as an object of rarity. Mr. Kemble observed that in Teutonic tombs stones occur deposited, doubtless from some supposed virtue or superstition; the ætites, or eagle stone, and echini, often occur in tombs in Germany, and in the Hanover Museum there are two egg-shaped objects from the Luneburg tumuli, formed apparently of Carrara marble. He had never, however, met with a stone of such large size in any ancient grave. Such a stone might have served, he remarked, in the process of "puddling," in mining. Mr. Minty, in regard to this observation, stated that iron mines had been worked in the locality where the stone was found, and it was supposed that they were known in Roman times.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A representation of a bronze spear of remarkably elegant form and large dimensions, exhibited in the Museum formed during the recent meeting at Edinburgh. It was dug up on the hill of Rosele, in the parish of Duffus, Morayshire, and is now preserved in the Museum at Elgin. This fine weapon measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.



By the Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE.—A small bronze boat-shaped spoon, with a loop at one end for suspension: its length is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was found with Roman remains at Chesterford.—Two iron spears, probably of the Anglo-Saxon age, found with three others in railway operations at Finchinbrook, near Bishop's Stortford: one measures about 16 inches in length including the socket, which is open on one side for greater facility in fitting the shaft, and has an iron rivet near the lower end. Mr. Kemble remarked that this open socket appears to be exclusively Saxon: spears of that construction have been found in Cambridgeshire, Wilts, and Gloucestershire, with remains of that period.—The other spear is of very large dimensions, the socket lost: this weapon Mr. Kemble thought might be Roman; it is of very uncommon type.

By the Rev. RICHARD GORDON.—Drawing of a bronze finger-ring to which a key is attached, so as to lie flat on the finger. It was found at Scarborough, and presented lately to the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. A similar key-ring is in Mr. Neville's collection.

By Mr. THOMAS HUGHES.—A diminutive gold ring found at Chester, set with a sapphire; inscribed around the hoop, ✠ DMOAIEVAICLANSIEPAM: the signification of these letters remains unexplained. Date, XIVth century.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Sketch of a cross-slab found at Darley-le-Dale, Derbyshire, in 1855. The cross is placed on a grice of two steps, beneath which is a rudely-designed animal, bearing some resemblance to a horse. This,

⁷ Such water-worn pebbles occur, as Mr. Tucker stated, on Northam Burrows, near Bideford; also in abundance at


Budleigh Salterton, and on the Chesil Bank near Weymouth.

with four crescents, or horse-shoe shaped ornaments, introduced in the angles formed by the shaft and the horizontal limbs of the cross, had led to the supposition that the slab had commemorated a smith or farrier. It is of diminutive size, measuring only 32 inches in length, and is now fixed in the porch. By comparison with other cross-slabs, for example at Hanbury, Staffordshire, and at Bredon, Worcestershire (Cutt's "Sepulchral Slabs," plate 6, 59, &c.), it seems more probable that the horse-shoe symbols are merely part of the conventional treatment of the varied forms of the decorated cross introduced on grave slabs. Another slab, noticed at Darley by Mr. Hewitt, has a cross, sword, horn, and kite-shield.

By Mr. LE KEUX.—A collection of sketches chiefly by Deeble, executed about 1816, and representing architectural subjects in Kent and Dorset. Amongst them are very interesting views of the Pharos and ancient church at Dover Castle, Reculver church, St. Martin's, Canterbury, &c.

By GEORGE CARY, Esq., of Tor Abbey, through the Rev. Dr. OLIVER.—Several deeds, preserved amongst the muniments of the Cary family, at Tor Abbey, Devonshire.

1. Date, *circa* 1190.—Grant by Radulf de Buile (*sic*) to Radulf de Hanton in frank marriage with Joan his daughter, of the services of divers lands late in the respective tenures of Richard Rufus, Randulf de Trewint, Robert Halhedey, Robert de Trewint, Stephen de Trewint, Roger Warin, Robert Rufus, Galfrid "de molendino," Alfred "de molendino," "Magister" John de Wichel and William de Polglas, in his manor of Tredawel, and his mill of Tredawel, with the whole suit (*cum tota sequela*) of his whole manor of Tredawel, as well of freemen as of rustics (*rusticorum*); to hold of him (Radulf de Buile) and his heirs, to the said Radulf de Hanton and his heirs of the said Joan begotten, for ever; and also a reasonable allowance out of his wood of Tredawel for the repair of the mill. Warranty of the premises to the said Radulf de Hanton and his heirs of the said Joan begotten, in free socage, rendering therefor yearly a pair of white gloves at Easter for all kinds of services. "Testibus, domino Reginaldo de Botriaus, Rogero de Trelost, Henrico de Alnet', Guidone de Nouant, Reginaldo de Nimeth, Ricardo de Tregrilla, Nicholas de Ferrs, Willelmo Wisa, Willelmo Walens cum multis aliis."

Seal, of green wax, pointed oval; the device a fleurdelys; legend— s'RAYDVLEI DE BEVIL. This seal claims notice as an example of the use of the pointed-oval form by a person not an ecclesiastic. The ancient Cornish family of Beville, said to have come over with the Conqueror, had their chief residence, as Lysons states, at Gwarnike, near Truro. The manor of Tredawel is in the parish of Altonon, about eight miles west of Launceston; Trewint is a village in the same parish.

2. Undated, probably about 1220. Grant by Richard de Greynville, son and heir of Richard de Greynville, to Alexander Rufus, of a messuage in the town of Bideforde that Robert de Gardino held, which was his (the grantor's) escheat, (*Escheetta*) and also six acres of land. "Testibus, Domino Waltero filio Willelmi, Gregorio de Greynville, Rogero de Fontenay, Willelmo le Turnour, Johanne Tyrel, Rogero de Gilescode, Willelmo Russel, Alexandro de Collecote, et aliis." Seal lost.


3. Date, *circa* 1250.—Grant by Gilbert Bondi to John, his uncle, rector of the church "de Valle Wintone" (Alwington, Devon) of the land of Habedesham which he had of his said uncle. "Testibus, Gilberto Allutario Aldremauno de Valle Winton, Edmundo Allutario Winton,

Nigello Keeke ballivo de Soca Winton, Roberto le bal', Petro nobis clerico de Valle, Willelmo plumbario de valle, et multis aliis."

Seal of dark green wax, of escutcheon form; device, a lion rampant turned sinister, possibly not heraldic; legend—s': GILL'BERTI:

Endorsed in a later hand—"Abotisham."

4. Date circa 1250.—Grant by Juliana de Gylescote to John de Raleghe "*filio* (?) meo" of certain burgages in the town of Bydiforde, and a certain "*pratum forinsecum*." "Testibus, Thoma de Greynville, Ricardo Suellard, Waltero Ganet, Johanne Asketa, Gervasio Giffard, Waltero Sypman, Stephano le Dunne tunc preposito ville, et aliis."

Seal of green wax, of pointed-oval form; device, a rudely-designed flower; legend— s' IYLIANE: D' GILESC'.

5. Date 1275.—Agreement and Bond respecting a rent of nineteen-pence sterling, out of the tenement "de la Olleheghes," which had been released by Hugh de Churletone to Hugh de Curtenay. "Hiis testibus, Dominis Johanne de Hydone, Wydone de Nouaunt, et Henrico de Raleghe, militibus, Aluredo de Porta, Johanne de valle torta, Henrico de Somertone, Henrico de la Wylleyerd, Petro Pudding, Johanne Cacepol, Ricardo de Crokeheye."—"Datum apud Whymples die mercurii proxima ante Cathedralis sancti Petri, anno domini, M.cc. lxxv." Seal lost.

6. 30 Edw. III. (1356).—Agreement for a gift in frank marriage, on the marriage of John Kary with Margaret, daughter of Robert de Holewey; dated at Wynkaleghe on Saturday after the Assumption of our Lady, 30 Edw. III. Whereby the said Robert covenanted to give with the said Margaret the reversion of all his lands and tenements in Holeweye, together with the reversion of all rents and services which he had in the parish of Northlyw, and the reversion of all the lands, rents, and services, in the parish of Beuworthi,⁹ to hold the said reversions, after the deaths of Dame Margaret de Kelly and Robert de Holeweye, to the said John and Margaret in frank marriage; and the reversion of all the lands, rents, and services, in a certain place called Luttedford, in the parish of Northliwy (?),¹ after the death of the said Robert and Joan his wife; and the reversion of all other lands and tenements, rents and services, in the parish of Mortone "*susdit*," after the death of the said Robert. And the said John de Kary was to enfeof the said Margaret of all the lands, rents, and services, in Uppekary, to hold to her and the heirs of the body of the said John and her; and to grant a rent-charge of 10*l.* a-year on the lands and tenements in Uppekary, in whose hands (*meynt*, probably for *meynz*) soever they might come, or by statute merchant or by any other security, according to the ordinance and election of good counsel (the legal adviser) of the said Robert. Neither the said John and Margaret, nor their heirs, were to implead Emma, the daughter of the said Robert and sister of the said Margaret, of the lands, rents, and services, and reversions, nor of any parcel (of them) in Aysbury, Binslond', Bouwode, (*erasure*), so that the said Emma and her heirs might not hold them as her purparty,² and in allowance of³ all the lands, rents, services and reversions which the said

⁸ Parchment injured where *filio* occurs.

⁹ Beaworthy, Devon, near Launceston. Northlew is a parish near Oakhampton, Devon.

¹ This word is obscurely written over an erasure.

² Namely, as her share (of her father's estates).

³ In compensation for.

Margaret, daughter of the said Robert,⁴ in Holewey, Northlyw, Fenne, and Morton, as was more fully above written. For the observance and performance of all the aforesaid covenants on both sides, the said Robert and John were assured by their faith⁵ the day and year above mentioned, in the presence of Thomas de Affetone, Adam de Mileforde, Laurence de Holiwille, William Oliver, Robert de Kary, and the aforesaid Robert and John were agreed that these covenants should be fully performed, in the feast of Saint Michael the year aforesaid.

Seal, of dingy-white wax; an escutcheon within a cusped panel: the bearing appears to be,—on a bend three roses, (the arms of Cary of Cockington, according to Pole). A rose is introduced on each side of the escutcheon. Legend—✠ SIGIL' IOHANNIS D' CARY.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Two sculptures in bone, XIV. cent., portions of shrine work, or of the decorations of a casket.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Casts from sculptures in ivory in the collections at the Louvre and the Imperial Library at Paris, one of them being a representation of Our Lord, with a cruciform ornament behind the head (not a *nimbus*), Greek art, XIIIth cent.; also, the Raising of the Widow's Son, an example of Xth cent., from the Maskell Collection, now in the British Museum.

By Mr. FALKNER, of Deddington.—A representation of a mural painting recently discovered in Horley church, near Banbury, Oxfordshire, on the wall of the north aisle, opposite the south door. The church is of the Perpendicular style of architecture. The painting represents St. Christopher, bearing the infant Jesus; his staff breaks in twain, and on a scroll from his mouth may be decyphered the words, in black letter—"What art thou that art so he . . . bar I never so hevye a thyngge." The Saviour makes reply,—“Yep (?) I be hevye no wunder nys, for I am the kynge of blys.” Beneath appears a man fishing, and fish in the river.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A poniard with a brass crescent-shaped termination to the hilt; the blade flat on one side, and grooved on the other. Found at Gloucester, in forming a drain. Date, about the time of Henry VI.

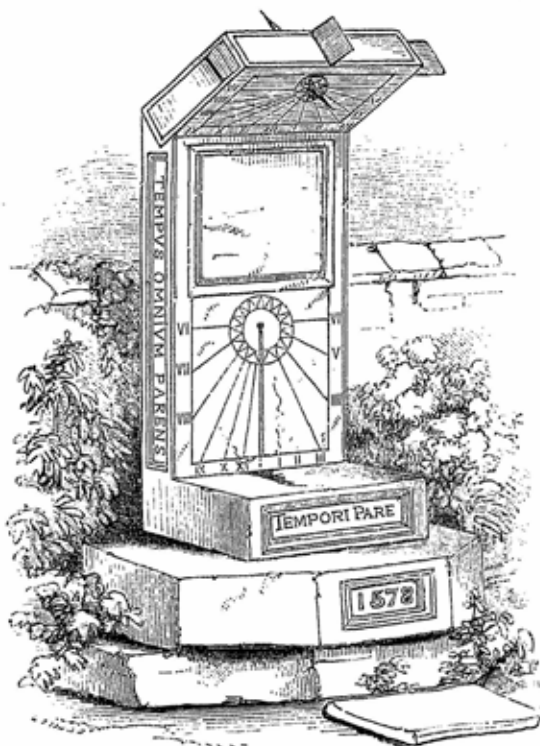
By Mr. J. M. KEMBLE.—A sketch of an engraved tablet of slate, (measuring 17 inches in height, by 8½) in Ightham church, Kent, placed in the recess behind the bust of Dorothy, relict of Sir William Selby, on the mural monument to her memory. She died in 1641. It had been asserted that Lady Selby “was traditionally reported to have written the letter which proved the cause of discovering the Gunpowder Plot.” (Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 248, where the epitaph is given. See also pp. 314, 415.) This conjecture had doubtless been suggested by an expression in the epitaph—“whose arte disclosed that plot” taken in connection with the subjects represented on the tablet. On one side appears the papal conclave, the devil is seated amongst the persons at the council table, and Guy Faux receives his commission. On the other side Guy is seen approaching the Parliament House, in the vaults of which appear faggots covering the barrels of gunpowder. The lower part of the tablet is occupied by a representation of the sea agitated by a tempest, sportive fish, and ships wrecked, doubtless the destruction of the Armada; along

⁴ There is probably some omission here to the effect of—“would have.”

⁵ Had pledged their faith.

the top of the slate is inscribed—"Trinuni Britannicæ bis ultori in memoriam classis invincibilis, subversæ, submersæ; proditiōis nefandæ, detectæ, disjectæ;" and other inscriptions appear in various parts expressing zealous protestant feeling, of which several similar memorials exist. Of one of these, "in æternam papistarum infamiam," an engraved plate at the residence of Sir Chetham Mallett, at Shepton Mallett, Somerset, closely resembling the tablet at Ightham, a rubbing was exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Bristol Meeting. (Museum Catalogue, Bristol Volume, p.lxxxiv.) There can be little doubt that the supposed allusion to Lady Selby, as having written the letter to Lord Monteagle, is wholly unfounded. It is said that some of her needlework was suspended behind the monument, and this very possibly may have been the production of the lady's "arte," displaying some subjects of the popish machinations, similar to that above described.

By Mr. R. R. CARON.—Sketches of a sun-dial of remarkable construction, existing on the terrace in the gardens of Park Hall, near



Sun-dial on the Garden Terrace, at Park Hall, near Oswestry

Oswestry, where the members of the Institute were welcomed with such friendly hospitality during the meeting at Shrewsbury in 1855. At the period when this dial was erected that eminent mansion was the residence of a family named Ap Howel, or Powell, a junior branch of the royal

line of Powis; and in their possession it remained from about 1538 to the death of Thomas Powell, High Sheriff of Shropshire in 1717. His line terminated in an heiress who sold the estate to Sir Francis Charlton, Bart., and by his marriage with his heiress it became the property of the present possessor, Richard H. Kinchant, Esq., (originally written Quinchant) whose family fled to England at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There are several dials at Park Hall, one of them dated 1552, but none of such curious character or in such perfect condition as that here represented. On the back of the dial is the following inscription:—

PRÆTERIT ÆTAS NEC REMORANTE
LAPSA RECEDVNT SÆCVLA CVRSV.
VT FVGIT ÆTAS VTQVE CITATVS
TVRBINIS INSTAR VOLVITVR ANNVS,
SIC QVOQ' NOSTRA PRÆCIPITANTER
VITA RECEDIT OCYOR VNDIS.

On one side, shown in the woodcut, is inscribed—TEMPVS OMNIVM PARENS, on the other—TEMPVS EDAX RERVIV. There has evidently been an inscription on the square panel in front of the dial, now wholly defaced and illegible. There are not less than seven dials combined on this curious example. It measures about 4 feet in height, exclusive of the two footing courses (about 1 foot in height) of which the upper bears the date 1578. There appear to exist several dials in Shropshire of about the same period, and of singular and elaborate forms. One of these, at Madeley Court, has been noticed in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 413.

By Mr. T. BLASHILL.—A drawing of a slab carved with a cross, of very rich design, found at Mansell Gamage, Herefordshire, in digging for the foundation for a new buttress. (See woodcut.) It lay about three feet deep, covering a leaden coffin, and is now affixed to the north wall of the chancel. Date, about 1280.

By Mr. CHARLES TUCKER.—Impressions from the common seal of the city of Exeter, the seal of the Mayor, and the seal for Statutes Merchant. The first is of circular form, and appears to be a reproduction of a seal of more ancient date. It represents two lofty round towers connected by an embattled wall, and between them appears a building of two floors, possibly intended to represent the Guildhall. Above is introduced a sun, a crescent, and a disk between them, which may typify the earth; and at the side of each tower there is a key, the symbol doubtless of the patron saint, St. Peter, and in the exergue are two wyverns. * SIGILLVM : CIVITATIS : EXONIE :—The Mayor's seal is of oval form, and bears a demi-figure of St. Peter, within tabernacle-work, of which the lower part represents two towers and an embattled wall, with an open gateway in the middle. The apostle is portrayed with a lofty *regnum* on his head, having a single crown, in his right hand he bears the symbol of a church, in his left a cross-staff. In the field, on the dexter side, appears a sword, on the sinister side, two keys erect, and in the exergue a leopard's face crowned. * s' MAIORATVS : CIVITATIS : EXONIE. The privilege of electing a mayor was granted to Exeter by King John's charter, about 1200.—The seal for statutes Merchant is circular, and displays the head of Edward II. with a lion passant in front of the bust. On either side of the head is introduced a castle, doubtless in allusion to his mother, Eleanor of Castile, as found also on the great seal of the same king. The inscrip-



T. BLASHILL DEL.

UTTING SC.

Sepulchral Slab found at Mansell Gamage Church, Herefordshire.

From a drawing by Mr. Thomas Blashill, of Stratford.

tion is as follows—* s' EDW' REG' ANGL' AD RECOGN' DEBITOR' APVD EXONIAM. Seals of this kind originated under the statute of Acton Burnel, 11 Edward I., which introduced such recognisances. By that Act the obligation made on the acknowledgment of the debt was required to be sealed with the debtor's seal and the king's seal. It is not clear that Exeter had a seal under it. The only cities or towns mentioned in it are London, York, and Bristol; and at the foot Lincoln, Winton, and Salop are also stated to have had similar statutes. The 13th Edward I. reenacted and amended that Act, and required the obligation to be sealed with the debtor's seal, and also the king's seal provided for the purpose, which should be of two pieces, and the greater should remain in the custody of the Mayor or Chief Warden, and the less with the clerk whose duty it was to write out the obligation. Of this statute there exists no original roll: it is printed from a copy at the Tower, that does not show what cities or towns besides London had seals under it. But on it is the following, "Consimile statutum de verbo ad verbum habent Major et cives Exonie," and immediately follows a memorandum stating that a copy under the king's seal had been transmitted to Lostwithiel (at that time a place of considerable importance as the sole mart for tin), and which memorandum is dated in September, 5 Edward II. It is doubtful when the Tower copy was made. In 5 Edward II. that unfortunate king was controlled by his barons, and obliged to concede certain ordinances limiting his power and correcting some practices of mal-administration. They were forty-one in number, and are given at length in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. i., p. 281, et seqq. The thirty-third, which relates to this subject, shows that the Act of 13 Edward I. had been abused, and ordained that the Statute of Merchants, made at Acton Burnel, should thenceforth hold only between merchants, and that the recognisances should be made and witnessed by four "*prodes hommes et loiaux conuz*," and that only merchants' burgages and their chattels movable should be taken under it. Moreover, it ordained that the king's seals, which are assigned for witnessing such recognisances, be delivered "*as plus riches et plus sages des villes souzdités, a cele garde esleuz par les communautés de meismes les villes.*" The towns mentioned are Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Nottingham, Exeter, Bristol, Southampton, Lincoln, Northampton, London, Canterbury, Salop, and Norwich. This seems to contemplate seals being sent to all these cities and towns, though some of them had certainly seals before; yet possibly Exeter may not have had a seal till then, and the entry on the Tower Roll may have been made at this time. Several of these seals have been engraved, e.g., Bristol, *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., p. 86; Norwich, *Blomefield*, vol. iii. 8vo edit.; and Winchester, *Milner*, vol. i. p. 374, some observations on which last by Mr. J. G. Nichols may be seen in the Winchester volume of the Institute, p. 109. Many of the matrices exist; those which we have seen are of silver.

By Mr. W. H. BRACKSTONE.—Impressions from a small brass seal of the XIVth cent., of the class termed "love-seals." The device being two heads in profile, male and female, respectant, the stem of a tree between them. *IE SV SEL DAMOVR LEL. The matrix appears to have been gilt; it was found at Bridgwater.

By Mr. ROBERT FITCH.—Impression from a gold signet ring found at Pulham, Norfolk, and now in the possession of Mr. C. Cooper of Norwich. The device appears to be the gamb of a bird and a cock's (?) head erased, with the motto *pu to wæðr*. Weight, 11 dwts.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CRANIA BRITANNICA. Delineations and Descriptions of the Skulls of the Early Inhabitants of the British Islands; together with Notices of their other Remains. By JOSEPH BARNARD DAVIS, M.R.C.S. Engl., F.S.A., &c., and JOHN THURNAM, M.D., F.S.A., &c. London, 1856. Imperial 4to.

CONVINCED that the passion for antiquarian pursuits so remarkably manifested since the commencement of the present century, is truly one of the developments of that earnest and deeply rooted feeling of sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of humanity, which pervades the writings of the most original thinkers, and flows from the pens of the greatest poets of the age, we can give no credit to the assertion of a late captious writer on metaphysics, that "Enthusiasts alone essay their ineptitude in loading glass-cases with whatever most completely unites the qualities of rarity and worthlessness."¹ On the contrary, we believe that it is by careful and reflective study of the remains of past ages alone, that the psychologist can form any correct idea of the varying phases into which the ever active inner life of the soul has drawn itself forth, or which it has assumed under the ethnic systems of antiquity. National faith, civilisation, and ideality—individual character, feeling and taste, are not more clearly communicated to us by perusing the immortal writers of antiquity, than by studying the equally venerable relics that have been preserved to our days under cover of the sheltering earth,—nay, in some instances, the latter supply the whole fund of information we possess respecting their times. Nor is knowledge thus obtained so imperfect as might reasonably be supposed from the paucity of materials from which it is deduced; for the emotional character so obvious in nearly every relic that has come down to us, addresses us almost with the distinctness of vocal sound. By these we learn that the intuitive conviction of a happy futurity beyond the grave animated the heart of the painted Briton, centuries before the Roman legions, impelled by craving lust of power, reduced his existence to a state of slavery—more than that, we become acquainted with his simple conception of its joys. By the store of valued trinkets deposited with the corpse of wife or daughter, we not only arrive at certain conclusions regarding domestic economy, but are convinced that the ties of nature were then as strong, and the affections as tender, as at present. In later times we may trace the same element of earnestness struggling for sympathy, throughout the whole range of art—from its infancy—through the conventionality of the middle ages, till it attained remarkable brilliancy at the beginning of the XVIIIth century; and notwithstanding all the sordid objections that utilitarianism can advance, and the destruction that iconoclastic zeal has been able to effect, we rejoice to find that the simplest monuments of antiquity are now meeting with the respect that their importance demands, and their silent appeal to the better feelings of our nature claims from every thoughtful mind.

¹ Natural History of Enthusiasm, p. 6.

It must, however, be granted, that the study of our national antiquities was, previous to the close of the last century, pursued in such a manner as to afford some ground for the want of respect with which it was treated. Its connection with ethnology and psychology was but imperfectly seen; and enquiries were carried on without much regard to inductive reasoning. Indeed, it was only by the discriminating labours of Douglas, that this branch of archaeology began to assume in its details and conclusions, an exactitude and coherence never arrived at before. Since the publication of the "*Nenia Britannica*" by that author, the world has been supplied with a succession of archaeological works, based upon his investigations, whereby an invaluable collection of notices descriptive of the discovery of every variety of utensil, weapon, and ornament, in the graves of the primeval inhabitants of the land, has been accumulated to await the period when some master spirit shall embody the whole into a coherent system. Yet, strange to say, little or no notice has been hitherto taken of the most important of all vestiges—the human skeleton, or of that most expressive work of Creative Power, the human skull. This apathy may be attributed to unconsciousness of the value of these perishable remains, as it is only within the last few years that ethnology has exhibited to the archaeologist a more rapidly widening field wherein to extend his enquiries, than has heretofore been allowed him; indeed, we believe that its important influence upon antiquarian research is even still imperfectly appreciated. That it is yet destined to unravel many obscurities, and to remodel some generally received opinions concerning the primeval population of our island, as well as of the continent of Europe, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is, therefore, with the most unfeigned satisfaction that we receive the first instalment of a publication expressly calculated to fill up the void of which we have already made mention, and which opportunely appearing in the infancy of antiquarian ethnology, is itself mature. It is not saying too much to affirm that this work, the joint product of the assiduous researches of Mr. Barnard Davis and Dr. Thurnam, carried on for several years, will become the text-book of the science of which it treats, and that it will henceforth be indispensable to every student of British antiquities. A just idea of its importance cannot possibly be conveyed without copious extracts, but the following summary of the leading points of the introductory chapters will indicate that subjects of no ordinary interest are brought under review. The first section opens with a rapidly sketched retrospect of the deductions of Blumenbach, and the chief of the subsequent writers upon comparative craniology, followed by some judicious remarks upon the much contested subject of amalgamation of races, typical form of skull, and the subordinate variations which it presents in individuals of the same race and country. The following observations on the latter subject are especially worthy of consideration, as meeting an objection very frequently urged in opposition to conclusions deduced from the cranial peculiarities of any given race, such being represented as promiscuously occurring in all.

"That the forms (of the cranium) are permanent, and not transmutable in the different races, may be esteemed as a postulate. The peculiarities impressed upon the true Negro head in the days of ancient Egypt or ancient Etruria, are still inherently attached to it. So of other races, as far as they have been examined with precision by the aid of sufficient materials. This fundamental axiom may be regarded as a fixed star, whereby to direct our steps in the present inquiry; almost the sole light

shining with steadfastness. It should, however, be premised that not every skull presents the primitive ethnic peculiarities : they are rather to be deduced from an examination of many. The most cursory observation is sufficient to perceive a considerable variety of form of head in the same nation, tribe, or even family. A more careful investigation will develop the limits of this variety, and enable us to determine the central point round which variation revolves. We ought therefore to be prepared to find diversities of form in any one given people, however ancient. This is in accordance with what we observe in all the other departments of nature." (Page 3)

The writer then proceeds to caution the student against too hasty generalisation from these premises, and points out the fallacy of results obtained from the skulls of females and young persons, which seldom possess the gentilitia character in a high degree. The question of amalgamation of races is next treated in a dispassionate and luminous manner, many examples in different parts of the globe being enumerated, which have a direct bearing upon this intricate enquiry. At page 17 are some clearly expressed instructions for ascertaining the measurement of skulls in various directions, and for gauging their internal capacity according to the most approved system. The chapter is concluded with a glance at the national interest attached to the subject. Chapter II. contains a resumé of all that has hitherto been written by previous observers, respecting the physical conformation of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and the continental nations, from which it is assumed that these islands received their population, commencing with the well-known description of Cæsar, and continued to the latest observations of the northern ethnologists. One of the most curious discoveries that has yet been made in connection with this subject is recorded in this division, namely, the prevalence of an elongated form of cranium in skeletons found in the megalithic structures, commonly distinguished by the name of "Chambered Barrows." Whatever significance this fact may have in reference to the theory of a pre-Celtic population having occupied this country, it is remarkable that the same peculiarity has been observed in Northern Europe. The skull from Uley, in Gloucestershire, engraved in the present decade of the "*Crania Britannica*," is an example of this lengthened type of head.² The colour of the hair and eyes, and the prevailing contour of the face, next engage the author's attention ; every authority, ancient and modern, having been examined in order to afford some intelligence upon these particulars. The next chapter is headed "*Anatomical Explanations*," a title which sufficiently expresses its scope ; it is, however, so pleasantly and lucidly written as to convey to the reader, within the compass of a few pages, an amount of necessary information which must otherwise have been sought with much labour in professional works. The last section that we shall now notice is devoted to the consideration of the singular custom of artificially distorting the skull by compression, which has prevailed among ancient as well as modern nations. The facts here stated are perhaps of a more remarkable character than in any other part of the book, and the most interesting examples of abnormal form are illustrated with engravings upon wood. Although it appears to be clearly established, that artificial compression of the skull was

² See a memoir on the remarkable chambered tumulus at Uley, given in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 315.

practised in the south-east of Europe at a remote period, and that it does even yet exist in some parts of France, we think sufficient evidence of the existence of the custom in Britain has not yet been adduced; most of the anomalies apparent in the heads discovered in this country, having been obviously caused by posthumous conditions, numerous examples of which we have seen.

It only remains to be said, that this first decade is sumptuously printed upon imperial quarto paper, to afford space for full-size representations of the skull. It contains ten lithographic plates of heads—Celtic, Roman, and Saxon, drawn upon the stones from the originals themselves, without the intervention of any copy, by Mr. Ford, who is eminent among the anatomical artists in lithography. Two large plates, and numerous well executed wood engravings of accessories, illustrate the letter-press descriptions which accompany the skulls, serving to record the circumstances of their discovery, and point out the characteristics of each specimen. The beauty and fidelity of the engravings are beyond all praise. In conclusion, we cordially recommend the "*Crania Britannica*" to every lover of his country's antiquities, as a work of national importance.

THOMAS BATEMAN.

Archaeological Intelligence.

It is proposed to combine with the great Exhibition of ART TREASURES to be opened in Manchester in May next, an extensive Series of Antiquities, from the earliest periods, with the object of illustrating, in as instructive a form as possible, the Manners and Arts of bygone times. The progressive development of manufactures, from the rudest Celtic period, through the exquisite productions of the various Arts of the Middle Ages, will be displayed to an extent, which must render these collections highly interesting to the Archaeologist, and of great practical advantage to the manufacturer. Mr. J. M. Kemble, it is understood, has been requested to undertake the arrangement of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon department, with which he is so eminently conversant. The Society of Antiquaries of London, with several kindred institutions, have cordially pledged their co-operation, and tendered the loan of antiquities from their museums. Colonel Meyrick, of Goodrich Court, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Hastings, Sir A. Rothschild, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Stirling, M.P., Mr. Wylie, Rev. Walter Sneyd, Mr. Joseph Mayer, Mr. Hailstone, and other owners of valuable private collections, have placed them at the disposal of the Executive Committee. All antiquaries must cordially sympathise in such an undertaking, and those who may possess choice antiquities available for the occasion, should forthwith communicate with J. B. Waring, Esq., Superintendent of the Archaeological Collection, or George Scharf, Esq., jun., 100, Mosley-street, Manchester.

MR. J. W. PAPWORTH is about to publish his long desired "*Ordinary*," comprising about 50,000 coats, ancient and modern. It is the converse of Burke's "*Armoury*," and enables the inquirer readily to ascertain the family to whom any given coat belongs. A simple and very ingenious plan will be found to present perfect facility of reference by means of the alphabetical arrangement of the *arms*. The work is quite ready for press. A peculiar and convenient mode of publication is proposed, in parts; the issue will commence as soon as sufficient subscribers are obtained. His address is, 14 A, Great Marlborough Street.

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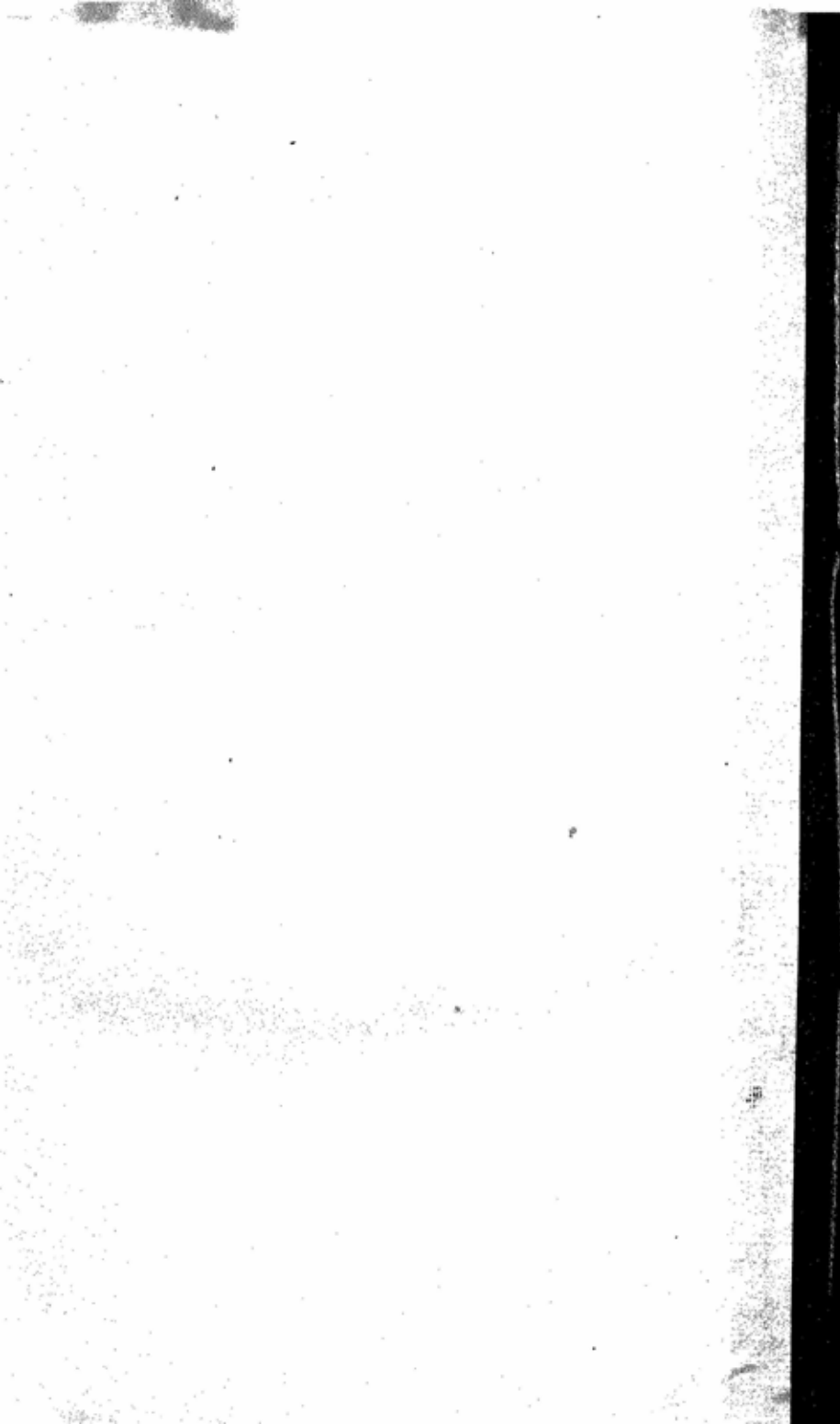
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